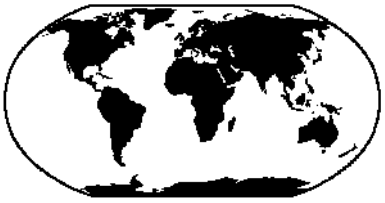
ENCYCLOPEDIA OF WORLD HISTORY

Crisis and Achievement
1900 to 1950



VOLUME V

ENCYCLOPEDIA OF WORLD HISTORY

Volume I
The Ancient World
Prehistoric Eras to 600 c.e.

Volume II
The Expanding World
600 c.e. to 1450

Volume III
The First Global Age
1450 to 1750

Volume IV
Age of Revolution and Empire
1750 to 1900

Volume V
Crisis and Achievement
1900 to 1950

Volume VI
The Contemporary World
1950 to the Present

Volume VII
Primary Documents
Master Index

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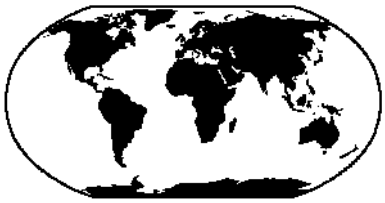
Crisis and Achievement 1900 to 1950



VOLUME V

EDITED BY

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Michael J. Schroeder

Janice J. Terry

Jiu-Hwa Lo Upshur

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Encyclopedia of World History

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ENCYCLOPEDIA OF WORLD HISTORY

Volume V

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About the Editors

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Foreword

The seven-volume *Encyclopedia of World History* is a comprehensive reference to the most important events, themes, and personalities in world history. The encyclopedia covers the entire range of human history in chronological order—from the prehistoric eras and early civilizations to our contemporary age—using six time periods that will be familiar to students and teachers of world history. This reference work provides a resource for students—and the general public—with content that is closely aligned to the *National Standards for World History* and the College Board's Advanced Placement World History course, both of which have been widely adopted by states and school districts.

This encyclopedia is one of the first to offer a balanced presentation of human history for a truly global perspective of the past. Each of the six chronological volumes begins with an in-depth essay that covers five themes common to all periods of world history. They discuss such important issues as technological progress, agriculture and food production, warfare, trade and cultural interactions, and social and class relationships. These major themes allow the reader to follow the development of the world's major regions and civilizations and make comparisons across time and place.

The encyclopedia was edited by a team of five accomplished historians chosen because they are specialists in different areas and eras of world history, as well as having taught world history in the classroom. They and many other experts are responsible for writing the approximately 2,000 signed entries based on the latest scholarship. Additionally, each article is cross-referenced with relevant other ones in that volume. A chronology is included to provide students with a chronological reference to major events in the given era. In each volume an array of full-color maps provides geographic context, while numerous illustrations provide visual contexts to the material. Each article also concludes with a bibliography of several readily available pertinent reference works in English. Historical documents included in the seventh volume provide the reader with primary sources, a feature that is especially important for students. Each volume also includes its own index, while the seventh volume contains a master index for the set.

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Michael J. Schroeder
Janice J. Terry
Jiu-Hwa Lo Upshur
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Eastern Michigan University

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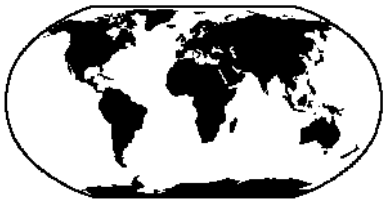

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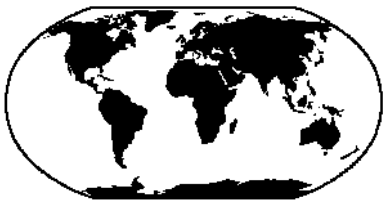

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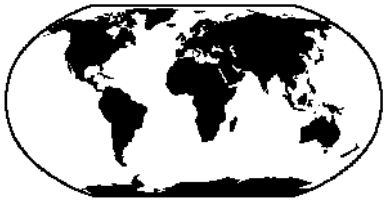


Chronology

1900 Boxer Rebellion
The Boxers, who are Chinese nationalists, stage a revolt that pushes the imperial government to demand the removal of all foreigners from China. The foreigners refuse and have troops sent in to impose their will.

1900 The Boer War
The Boer War is fought between Great Britain, the Boers of Transvaal (South Africa), and the nearby Orange Free State.

1901 Australia Is Created
By an act of the British parliament, the Commonwealth of Australia, a federation of six self-governing colonies, comes into being.

1901 McKinley Is Assassinated
While attending the Pan-American Exposition, U.S. president William McKinley is shot and killed by an anarchist.

1901 Trans-Siberian Railroad Is Completed
The Russians complete the Trans-Siberian Railroad from Moscow to Port Arthur. The railroad opens large-scale access to Siberia.

1902 Anglo-Japanese Treaty
On January 30 Japan and Great Britain sign a treaty of military alliance. The treaty provisions state that if either country is attacked by another country, the cosignatory will maintain a state of benevolent neutrality.

1902 South African Peace Agreement
On May 31 the Boers and the British sign the Peace of Vereeniging, ending the Boer War.

1903 King and Queen of Serbia Are Murdered
Alexander I Obrenovich and his wife, Draga Mashin, are assassinated in the Royal Palace in Belgrade by dissident Serbian Army officers.

1903 Russian Socialist Party Splits
At a meeting in London, the Russian Socialist Democratic Labor Party splits between the Bolsheviks and Mensheviks.

1903 Turks Massacre Bulgarians
Thousands of Bulgarian men, women, and children are killed by Ottoman Turkish troops. At the time of the attack, the Turks are in the process of suppressing a rebellion in Macedonia.

1903 British Conquer Northern Nigeria
The British capture the mud-walled city of Kano in northern Nigeria on February 3. Once Kano falls, the leaders of the various tribes of northern Nigeria agree to indirect British control.

1903 Ford's First Model A
Henry Ford begins selling the Model A automobile for $850.

1903 Panama Independent from Colombia
A revolution led by Philippe Jean Bunau-Varilla, an organizer of the Panama Canal Company, declares Panama independent from Colombia. U.S. naval forces prevent the Colombians from suppressing the revolt.

1903 First Messages Are Sent over Pacific Cable
U.S. president Theodore Roosevelt sends the first message across the Pacific Cable. The message connects San Francisco and Manila.

1903 "Wright Flyer" Flies
On December 17 the first flight in a heavier-than-air vehicle occurrs in Kitty Hawk, North Carolina.

1904–05 Russo-Japanese War
The Japanese defeat the Russian fleet and land forces in this war, which is the first modern victory of an Asian power over a European power.

1904 Entente Cordiale Is Signed
France and Great Britain reach an agreement that resolves all the major differences between them. This becomes the basis of the alliance among France, Russia, and Great Britain during World War I.

1904 British Forces Reach Tibet
Great Britain forces the Tibetans to agree to a series of commercial agreements for the purpose of opening up Tibet to British trade.

1904 Germans Put Down Revolt in Southwest Africa
On January 11 a revolt by native Africans is initiated against the German colonization of South-West Africa. The Germans ruthlessly put down the revolt.

1904 Treaty between Bolivia and Chile
From 1879 to 1884, the War of the Pacific has taken place between Chile and Bolivia. The war ends in a truce. In 1904, a full treaty is signed.

1905 Revolt in Russia
On January 22 the first Russian Revolution breaks out and is put down.

1905 Sun Yat-sen Founds the United League
Sun Yat-sen, the leader of the Chinese Revolution, issues the San-min Chu, or the Three Principles of the People: nationalism, democracy, and livelihood. He advocates overthrow of the Manchu dynasty and the establishment of a republic.

1905 First Moroccan Crisis
A crisis develops between France and Germany over who should have rights in Morocco. War is feared, but it is avoided.

1905 Theory of Relativity Is Published
Albert Einstein, who at the time is a German physicist living in Switzerland, publishes the theory of relativity.

1905 Russo-Japanese Treaty of Portsmouth
U.S. president Theodore Roosevelt acts as the mediator in peace talks between the Russians and the Japanese to conclude the Russo-Japanese War, which Japan had won.

1906 Reform in Russia
On May 6 Czar Nicholas II announces the implementation of the Fundamental Laws.

1906 Dreyfus Affair Ends
The Dreyfus affair in France ends when the French court of appeals exonerates Alfred Dreyfus. The affair contributes to the decision to separate church and state in France.

1906 All-India Muslim League
The Muslims of India found the All-India Muslim League. The league's goal is to lobby for constitutional reform and protect Muslim rights.

1906 France Gains Control of Morocco
After a long conference in Algeçiras to determine the future of Morocco, it is agreed that the French would have special responsibility for restoring order along the Algerian-Moroccan border.

1906 San Francisco Earthquake
The most disastrous earthquake in America's history hits San Francisco on April 18.

1906 U.S. Troops Occupy Cuba
After a revolt breaks out in Cuba, the Cuban leader, Tomas Estrada Palama, asks the United States to intervene.

1907 Peace Conference at the Hague
At the behest of President Theodore Roosevelt, leaders of all major nations meet at The Hague (Netherlands). The major issue for discussion is the attempt to reach an arms limitation agreement.

1907 New Zealand Becomes a Dominion
New Zealand is granted dominion status in the British Empire and Commonwealth, uniting two self-governing colonies.

1907 Passive Resistance in the Transvaal
The autonomous government of Transvaal announces a policy that requires registration and fingerprinting of all Asians. In response 10,000 Indian residents passively protest.

1907 French Warships Bombard Casablanca
In response to the killing of nine European workers in Casablanca, French warships bombard the city on August 2.

1907 Gentlemen's Agreement
Under the Gentlemen's Agreement, the Japanese agree to withhold passports from laborers intending to migrate to the United States. In return, the United States agrees formally not to limit Japanese immigration.

1908 Union of South Africa Is Founded
On May 31 the Union of South Africa is established, a federation of four self-governing colonies in the British Empire and Commonwealth.

1908 Austria Annexes Bosnia and Herzegovina
Austria unilaterally announces the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, two former Ottoman provinces.

1908 Young Turks Revolt
The Turkish sultan Abdul-Hamid II is forced to accede to the demands of the Young Turks, a group of army officers who demand that constitutional rule be restored in Turkey.

1908 King Carlos and Crown Prince Are Assassinated
Assassins kill King Carlos of Portugal, as well as his son and heir, Prince Luis Filipe.

1908 Bulgaria Declares Independence
The Bulgarian Principality declares its complete independence from the Ottoman Empire.

1908 Congo Free State Becomes Belgian Congo
The Congo Free State, which had been the private property of Belgian king Leopold II, becomes an official Belgian colony.

1908 First True Skyscraper Is Built
In 1908 the Singer Building, in Lower Manhattan, is completed. It is the first true skyscraper, reaching 47 stories.

1909 Sultan Abdul Hamid Is Deposed
The Ottoman sultan Abdul Hamid II is ousted by a unanimous vote of the Turkish parliament.

1909 Revolution in Persia
Revolution breaks out in Persia when the shah, Muhammad Ali, seeks to destroy the constitutional monarchy that he himself had created.

1910 Revolution in Portugal
After the assassination of a prominent republican leader, a revolt breaks out against the monarchy.

1910 Japan Annexes Korea
On August 22 Japan officially annexes Korea. It renames the country Cho-sen, and continues the occupation until the end of World War II.

1911 Tripolitan War
Italy declares war on the Ottoman Empire in September in order to acquire its possession, Libya, in North Africa.

1911 Revolution in China
On October 10 a revolution breaks out against the Manchu government, the central government collapses, and Sun Yat-sen becomes president of the Chinese Republic.

1912 First Balkan War
Serbia, Greece, and Bulgaria declare war against Turkey and quickly overrun all Turkish holdings in Europe.

1912 Sun Yat-sen Resigns as President of China
In an effort to unify the country, Sun Yat-sen resigns to allow Yuan Shikai to become president of China.

1912 Italy Annexes Libya
The Italian-Turkish War is brought to an end by the Treaty of Ouchy, which gives Libya to Italy, though the Libyans continue to rebel against Italian domination.

1912 U.S. Marines Intervene in Nicaragua
On August 14 American marines land in Nicaragua to protect American interests from a popular local revolt.

1913 Senators Elected Directly in the United States
The Seventeenth Amendment is ratified, providing for the direct election of senators.

1914 Archduke Franz Ferdinand Is Assassinated
Archduke Franz Ferdinand, heir to the Austro-Hungarian Empire, and his wife are assassinated in Sarajevo in Bosnia.

1914 Austria-Hungary Declares War on Serbia
In the aftermath of the assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand, Austria declares war on Serbia, thus beginning World War I.

1914 Germany Declares War
When the Russians come to the defense of the Serbs, the Germans declare war to defend their Austrian allies.

1914 Germany Invades Belgium
When Germany invades Belgium, a neutral country, to attack France, an ally of Russia, it provokes Great Britain to declare war on Germany.

1914 Japan Declares War on Germany
On August 15, Japan, an ally of Great Britain and Austria-Hungary, issues Germany an ultimatum demanding that the German fleet be withdrawn from the Far East. When they do not receive an answer, Japan declares war against Germany.

1914 Panama Canal Opens
After 10 years of work, and at a cost of $366 million, the Panama Canal is completed.

1914 Battle of Mons
The Battle of Mons is a series of battles that take place around the River Marne. It lasts seven days, with the result that the British and French break the German advance.

1914 First Battle of Ypres
The battle lasts almost four weeks against the German army, and as a result the Allied lines hold.

1915 Second Battle of Ypres
The Allies' major counteroffensive is stopped by the German use of chlorine gas.

1915 *Lusitania* Sinks
Some 128 American citizens are among the 1,200 passengers of the *Lusitania*, torpedoed by a German submarine.

1915 Battle of the Somme
The British launch a major attack against the Germans, using gas for the first time. On the first day of the battle, the British lose 50,000 soldiers. The battle lasts from July 1 until November 8, and the Allies succeed in recapturing a total of 125 square miles of land.

1916 Battle of Verdun
The battle between French and German forces begins in February and lasts until June. The French lose an estimated 350,000 troops in the battle.

1916 U.S. Troops Intervene in Dominican Republic
After continued armed revolts, U.S. officials declare martial law in the Dominican Republic.

1916 Easter Uprising in Ireland
An uprising in Dublin begins when Irish nationalists seize post offices and other installations.

1917 Allenby Takes Jerusalem
British general Allenby attacks the Ottomans in Palestine. The high point in the British assault is the capture of Jerusalem in December.

1917 Russian Revolution
The February Revolution begins as a series of riots protesting food shortages and the Russian suffering in World War I. Czar Nicholas II is forced to abdicate.

1917 Bolshevik Revolution
On November 6, the Bolsheviks, led by the Military Revolutionary Committee, capture most of the government offices and storm the Winter Palace, overthrowing the provisional government.

1917 United States Enters World War I
On April 6 the United States declares war against the

Central Powers (Germany, Austria, Hungary, Turkey, and Bulgaria). The vote is 90 to 6 in the Senate and 373 to 50 in the House.

1918 Treaty of Brest-Litovsk
A treaty is signed between the Central Powers and the Soviet government of Russia.

1918 Battle of the Marne
The Battle of the Marne is a massive attempt by Germany to break through on the western front before American forces could arrive in large numbers.

1918 Battle of Argonne Forest
On September 26, Allied troops begin the offensive. The German high command warns that it could no longer ensure victory, and as the German army begins mutinying, it sues for peace.

1918 Poland Declares Independence
Poland declares its independence as a nation on October 6, 1918.

1918 United States and Allies Intervene in Russia
The United States takes a limited role in the international force that intervenes in the Russian Civil War.

1918 Czechoslovakia Declares Independence
The Prague National Council declares Czechoslovakia independent from Austria-Hungary on October 28, 1918.

1918 Armistice Is Signed in Europe
On November 11, an armistice is signed, bringing World War I in Europe to a conclusion.

1919 Versailles Peace Conference
On June 29, 1919, the Treaty of Versailles is signed, officially ending World War I.

1919 Amritsar Massacre in India
On April 13 British general Reginald Dyer orders his troops to open fire on demonstrators at Amritsar in the Punjab of India; 379 people are killed, and nearly 1,200 are wounded.

1919 Anglo-Afghan War
Afghan ruler Amanullah Khan proclaims a religious war against the British and calls on the Muslim subjects of India to rise up. He leads a failed small-scale invasion of India. As a result Britain recognizes Afghan independence.

1920 Ireland Is Granted Home Rule
The British parliament passes the Government Act. The act calls for the creation of separate parliaments in Northern and Southern Ireland.

1920 Gandhi Leads Indian Independence
Mohandas Gandhi begins a nationwide speaking campaign to enlist support for the nonviolent, noncooperation movement against Great Britain.

1920 Palestine Becomes British Mandate
Under terms agreed to at the Paris Peace Conference, the British government is given the mandate for Palestine, TransJordan, and Iraq.

1920 Syria and Lebanon Become French Mandate
The Syrian National Congress declares its complete independence. The League of Nations wartime Anglo-French agreements officially confirm the land of the French mandate, and French forces take Damascus by force.

1920 Prohibition Begins in the United States
The Senate and House override the veto of President Woodrow Wilson and enact into law a bill outlawing the production, sale, and transportation of all forms of liquor.

1920 Participation by the United States in League of Nations Is Rejected
On November 19 the U.S. Senate votes 53 to 38 against supporting the League of Nations.

1920 Women's Suffrage in the United States
With the ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment to the Constitution, women gain the right to vote.

1921 Modern Turkey Is Founded
On January 20 Turk nationalists led by Mustafa Kemal (Ataturk) adopt a set of fundamental laws that becomes the foundation of the modern state of Turkey. These laws provide for the sovereignty of the people, a parliament elected by male suffrage, and a president with extensive powers.

1921 Reza Khan Becomes Ruler of Persia
Reza Khan arrives in Tehran on February 22, commanding an army of 4,000 troops. His forces topple

the government, and he becomes the new leader of Persia, later named Iran.

1921 Faisal Becomes King of Iraq
In June 1921, Emir Faisal, formerly the king of Syria, arrives in Iraq with British support. Faisal is soon proclaimed king of Iraq. He remains on the Iraqi throne until 1933.

1921 Washington Naval Conference
The United States, Great Britain, Japan, France, and Italy meet and agree to a treaty limiting the size of their respective navies.

1922 Irish Free State Is Established
An agreement is reached that provides for an independent Ireland, having the status of dominion within the British Empire.

1922 Mussolini Seizes Power in Italy
As a result of large-scale demonstrations by his supporters King Victor Emmanuel III appoints Fascist leader Benito Mussolini prime minister and gives him dictatorial powers in an effort to restore order.

1922 British Give Egypt Limited Independence
The British government unilaterally terminates its protectorate of Egypt but retains British troops in the country.

1923 France Occupies the Ruhr
France announces on January 9 that the Germans are in default on their coal deliveries under the terms of the Treaty of Versailles. On January 11, the French occupy the Ruhr district of Germany in order to force the German government into compliance.

1923 Munich Beer Hall Putsch
Adolf Hitler, together with General Erich Ludendorff, attempt to overthrow the German government of the Weimar Republic. The putsch is suppressed by the government.

1923 TransJordan Is Established as a Separate Country
Britain separates TransJordan from the mandate of Palestine and installs Emir Abdullah as the titular ruler.

1924 Mongolian People's Government Is Established
With the support of the Soviet Union, the Mongolian Peoples Revolutionary Government is established. It becomes the first Soviet satellite state.

1924 Lenin Dies
The death of Vladimir Lenin, leader of the Bolshevik Revolution and the Soviet Union, starts a power struggle between Joseph Stalin and Leon Trotsky.

1924 Ibn Saud Takes Mecca
Abdul Aziz Ibn Saud undertakes a campaign to unify Saudi Arabia. In October Ibn Saud captures Mecca, thereby coming close to achieving his goal.

1926 Trotsky Is Ousted
Joseph Stalin wins his battle for control of the Soviet Union by ousting Leon Trotsky from the Communist Party in 1926. Trotsky is assassinated while in exile in Mexico.

1927 Chiang Kai-shek Breaks with Communists
Chiang, leader of the Chinese Nationalists after the death of Sun Yat-sen, initially continues to cooperate with the Russian and Chinese Communists. In 1927, ending the alliance, Chiang sets up a separate government and turns against them.

1927 Lindbergh Crosses the Atlantic
On May 27 Charles Lindbergh arrives in Paris after completing the first solo nonstop flight between New York and Paris.

1928 First Five-Year Plan
The Soviet Union launches an ambitious five-year plan for economic growth under the Marxist model.

1928 Warlord Era Ends
The Chinese Nationalists, led by Chiang Kai-shek, capture Peking (Beijing), ending the Warlord era.

1928 Kellogg-Brand Pact
The Kellogg-Brand Pact, started as a bilateral French-American accord, is expanded to include 62 nations. Its goal is to outlaw war.

1929 Stalin Enforces Collectivization
Joseph Stalin begins a policy of forced collectivization of farms. Small farmers are forced off their land and onto collectives.

1929 Settlement of Tacna Arica Question
Chile and Peru settle a longstanding border dispute.

Under terms of the agreement, Chile is awarded Arica, and Peru is awarded Tacna.

1929 Stock Market Crash
Between October 29, on what becomes known as "Black Tuesday," and November 13, the U.S. stock market loses a total of 40 percent of its value. The stock market crash is the first major event of the Great Depression.

1930 Nazis Win 107 Seats in Parliament
The Nazi Party wins 107 seats in the election for the German Reichstag, later home of the German parliament.

1930 London Naval Accord
Great Britain, the United States, and Japan sign a naval pact limiting the number of capital (major) ships.

1930 Chiang Kai-shek Attacks Communists
Chiang Kai-shek begins the first of five military campaigns against the rebelling Chinese Communists.

1930 Peruvian President Is Ousted
A rebellion breaks out in southern Peru in August. As a result, Peruvian president Ausgusto Leguioa is forced to resign.

1930 Revolt in Brazil
After Conservative Julio Prestes is elected president, a revolt breaks out in the southern provinces.

1931 Japan Attacks Manchuria
In violation of all its treaty obligations, Japan begins the occupation of Manchuria, a region in northeastern China, on September 18. This is the first step toward World War II in Asia.

1932 Coup d'État Ends Absolute Monarchy in Siam
The army stages a coup d'état in Siam (named Thailand) that ends the absolute powers of the monarchy.

1932 Japan Attacks Shanghai
The Japanese continue their assault on China by attacking Shanghai but are forced to withdraw due to Chinese resistance and international mediation.

1932 War between Peru and Colombia Breaks Out
Peruvians seize the Amazon border town of Leticia. This action sparks a two-year war that ends when the League of Nations restores the area to Colombian control in 1933.

1933 Hitler Becomes Chancellor of Germany
Adolf Hitler becomes the chancellor (prime minister) of Germany after his Nazi Party forms a coalition with a centrist party. It is his first step toward dictatorial powers.

1933 Dachau Concentration Camp Is Established
The Nazis round up all potential adversaries, arresting tens of thousands of opponents and Jews. There is no place to put them in jail, so the first of many concentration camps is opened.

1933 New Deal Begins
The inauguration of Franklin Roosevelt as president brings with it the New Deal, which sees the creation of a multitude of government agencies and activities to combat the Great Depression in the United States.

1933 Prohibition Is Repealed
One of the first acts of the Roosevelt administration is the repeal of Prohibition.

1933 Western Hemisphere Agreement
The nations of the Western Hemisphere enter into an agreement in which they renounce aggression.

1934 King of Yugoslavia Is Assassinated
King Alexander of Yugoslavia arrives in France for a state visit on October 9. While traveling in a motorcade with French foreign minister Louis Barthou, both are killed by a Croatian assassin.

1934 Unrest in Austria, Dollfuss Is Assassinated
The Nazi Party of Austria, abetted by the German Nazi Party, attempts to stage a coup in Austria. They take over the chancellery in Vienna and kill Austrian chancellor Engelbert Dollfuss, but the coup fails.

1934 Stalin Begins Purges
Sergei Kirov, a close associate of Joseph Stalin, is assassinated. This prompts Stalin to institute a great purge throughout the Soviet Union.

1934 Mao Sets off on Long March
Continued victories by the Kuomintang Army under Chiang Kai-shek compell the Chinese Communist forces under Mao Zedong (Mao Tse-tung) to flee in what becomes known as the Long March.

1935 Germany Rejects Versailles Treaty
Adolf Hitler announces on March 16 that he is abrogating those portions of the Versailles Treaty that limit the size and weapons of the German armed forces.

1935 Government of India Act
The British parliament passes the Government of India Act. Under its terms, Burma and Aden are separated from India, and India and Burma are given greater measures of self-government.

1935 Commonwealth of Philippines Is Declared
The Filipinos approve a new constitution, passed by the U.S. Congress, under which they are granted independence as a commonwealth.

1935 WPA Is Created
The largest U.S. employment agency is created under President Franklin Roosevelt with the enactment of the Works Progress Administration.

1936 Italy Invades Ethiopia
The League of Nations censures Italy for aggression in Ethiopia but fails to take measures to prevent the country's conquest by Italy.

1936 Spanish Civil War Breaks Out
The Spanish army, led by General Francisco Franco, begins a revolt against the democratic government of the Spanish Republic.

1936 Oil Found in Saudi Arabia
Standard Oil of California discovers oil under the Saudi desert.

1936 Treaty between Egypt and Great Britain
A treaty is signed in August between Egypt and Great Britain. Under the terms, Great Britain is to withdraw all but 10,000 of its troops.

1936 Arab Revolt in Palestine
An Arab High Committee is formed to unite Palestinian opposition to a Jewish state in Palestine and the British mandate.

1937 Sino-Japanese War Resumes
On July 7, Japanese troops clash in maneuvers with Chinese troops at the Marco Polo Bridge, 10 miles west of Peking (Beijing). Three weeks later, the Japanese invade in large numbers, beginning an all-out war between the two countries that becomes part of World War II.

1937 Partition of Palestine
The Peel Commission in the United Kingdom recommends the partition of Palestine into a small Jewish state, a much larger Arab state united with TransJordan, and a small continuing British presence in Jerusalem.

1937 Somoza Family Gains Control over Nicaragua
The legitimate government of Juan Sacasa is overthrown by the national guard, led by General Anastasio Somoza.

1937 Italian-German Axis Is Announced
On November 11 Italy joins an Anti-Communist Pact already in force between Japan and Germany.

1938 Germany Seizes Austria in the Anschluss
On March 12 German troops invade and annex Austria to Germany.

1938 Munich Agreement
In a desperate attempt to avoid war, the leaders of Great Britain and France meet with Hitler and Mussolini in Munich at the end of September. During the meeting, they accede to Hitler's demands to annex the Sudetenland, a part of Czechoslovakia, to Germany.

1939 German Forces Enter Prague
In March 1939, the remaining parts of Czechoslovakia are conquered by Germany.

1939 Madrid Surrenders
The Spanish civil war comes to an end in March with the surrender of Madrid and Valencia.

1939 Pact of Steel
Italy and Germany enter into the Pact of Steel. The alliance pledges that each nation will support the other in case of war.

1939 The White Paper
The White Paper states that since the Balfour Declaration called only for the establishment of a Jewish homeland in Palestine, and since there were over 450,000 Jews in Palestine, Britain has met its responsibilities and that independence should be granted in 10 years.

1939 Soviet-German Non-Aggression Pact
Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union sign a Non-Aggression Pact.

1939 Germany Invades Poland
World War II begins when Germany invades Poland on September 1. On September 3, Great Britain and France declare war against Germany.

1940 Germany Invades Norway
German forces invade Norway and Denmark.

1940 German Armies Invade the Netherlands, Belgium, and Luxembourg
In a flanking move that makes the French Maginot Line irrelevant, the Germans attack the Low Countries. The Netherlands surrenders in four days, after massive German attacks on Rotterdam.

1940 Dunkirk Is Evacuated
The British successfully extricate 200,000 British and 100,000 French troops from the beaches of Dunkirk as German forces advance on France.

1940 Paris Falls, France Surrenders
On June 13, Paris is evacuated by French forces in the face of advancing German troops. France surrenders 10 days later.

1940 Battle of Britain
Germany attempts to subdue Great Britain, attacking major British cities and military installations by air, but fails.

1940 Italy Invades Greece
The Italians invade Greece, expecting a quick victory.

1940 British Attack Italian Forces in Egypt
British troops launch a surprise attack on Italian troops that occupy parts of western Egypt, routing the Italians.

1941 German Forces Invade Greece and Yugoslavia
Germany invades Yugoslavia after a coup in Belgrade that overthrows the pro-German government and replaces it with one committed to neutrality.

1941 German Forces Invade the Soviet Union
Breaking the Soviet-German Non-Aggression Pact, German forces invade the Soviet Union. Germany advances on a 2,000-mile-long front.

1941 Japan Attacks Pearl Harbor
On December 7 the Japanese launch a surprise attack on the American naval base at Pearl Harbor in Hawaii.

1942 Singapore Surrenders
The British fortress at Singapore surrenders to the Japanese.

1942 Philippines Surrender
On December 22, 100,000 Japanese troops land on the island of Luzon. Japanese forces converge on the capital of Manila, forcing the U.S. and Filipino defenders to retreat to the island of Corregidor. On May 6, American forces surrender.

1942 Battle of Midway
The entire U.S. naval carrier force intercepts and sinks four Japanese carriers. This victory is the turning point for the United States in the Pacific war.

1942 German Troops Reach Stalingrad
German troops reach the Russian city of Stalingrad, on the Volga, and besiege it.

1942 British Victory at El Alamein
German forces, under the command of Erwin Rommel, meet the British forces under General Bernard Montgomery at El Alamein. Montgomery has a two-to-one advantage in tanks and is victorious.

1942 Operation Torch
The invasion of North Africa in Operation Torch is designed to encircle German troops there. American troops land in French North Africa with limited opposition.

1942 Japanese Americans Are Interned
On February 20, President Roosevelt issues a presidential order to intern Japanese-American residents of the West Coast.

1943 Casablanca Conference
A conference is held in Casablanca, in French Morocco, January 14–24, between U.S. president Franklin Roosevelt and British prime minister Winston Churchill and their respective staffs.

1943 German Troops Surrender at Stalingrad
The starving and surrounded German troops at Stalingrad surrender to Soviet forces.

1943 Quebec Conference
British and American leaders meet in Quebec to coordinate war plans. At the meetings Winston Churchill and Franklin Roosevelt discuss the upcoming landing in Italy, as well as a future summit with Joseph Stalin.

1943 Teheran Conference
A three-way conference is held in Tehran between Winston Churchill, Franklin Roosevelt, and Joseph Stalin.

1944 U.S. Troops Land at Anzio
American forces land at Anzio, just south of Naples in Italy, in an attempt to outflank the Germans.

1944 Rome Is Liberated
On June 4, American forces, under the command of General Mark Clark, enter Rome, ending effective Italian resistance.

1944 D-Day
On June 6, 45 Allied divisions, with almost 3 million men led by U.S. general Dwight Eisenhower, begin landing on the beaches of Normandy in France.

1944 Paris Is Liberated
Allied forces, led by the French Second Armored Division, liberate Paris from the Nazis on August 25.

1944 Battle of the Bulge
German forces make a surprise attack against U.S. forces in Belgium—it is the last major German counteroffensive of World War II.

1945 Auschwitz Is Liberated
Soviet forces liberate the largest German concentration/death camp, Auschwitz, where Germany had killed 2,500,000 people, the great majority of whom were Jews.

1945 Yalta Conference
President Franklin Roosevelt, Prime Minister Winston Churchill, and Marshal Joseph Stalin meet at Yalta in the southern Soviet Union. The agenda concerns the Soviet Union declaring war against Japan and the postwar world.

1945 Fire-Bombing of Dresden
The Allied air forces bomb the city of Dresden in repeated waves. The resulting fire storm consumes 11 square miles of the German city.

1945 San Francisco Conference
On April 25 the Allied Big Four (United States, Great Britain, China, and the Soviet Union) representatives meet in San Francisco to create the United Nations.

1945 Germany Surrenders Unconditionally
On May 8 German forces officially surrender.

1945 Atomic Bomb Is Dropped on Hiroshima
On August 6 the U.S. Air Force drops an atomic bomb on the Japanese city of Hiroshima, followed by one at Nagasaki.

1945 Japan Surrenders
On September 2 the Japanese formally surrender unconditionally aboard the battleship USS *Missouri* in Tokyo Harbor.

1946 Perón Becomes Dictator of Argentina
Colonel Juan Perón is popularly elected president of Argentina.

1946 Chinese Civil War Resumes
Upon the surrender of Japan, which concludes World War II, war once again breaks out between the Communists and the Nationalists in China.

1946 Republican Government Is Organized in Italy
The Italian people vote in a referendum to abolish the monarchy and establish a republic.

1946 Republic of the Philippines Is Inaugurated
On the July 4 the independent Republic of the Philippines is officially declared.

1946 Greeks Vote for Return of Monarchy
In a special referendum, 70 percent of Greeks vote in favor of returning King George II to power.

1946 Verdicts at Nuremberg War Crime Trials
Nine of Nazi Germany's top leaders are hanged at the end of their trials for crimes against humanity and other charges.

1947 Truman Doctrine
President Harry Truman enunciates a policy under which the United States would oppose communist advances anywhere in Europe.

1947 Revolt against France in Indochina
A nationalist rebellion breaks out in Madagascar.

White settlers are assaulted, plantations burned, and French garrisons attacked. It takes the French more than a year to put down the revolt.

1947 India/Pakistan Gain Independence
On August 15 the two new states achieve independence, creating millions of refugees.

1947 Unrest in Palestine
On November 29 the UN General Assembly meets to vote to partition Palestine into a Jewish state and an Arab state.

1948 Communists Take over Czechoslovakia
In a bloodless coup, the Communists seize control of Czechoslovakia.

1948 Civil War in Costa Rica
After incumbent president Teodora Picado attempts to annul the election won by Otilio Ulate, a civil war breaks out.

1948 Organization of American States (OAS)
The Pan American Conference, held in Bogotá, Colombia, establishes the OAS as the United Nations' regional grouping for countries in North and South America.

1948 United Nations Votes to Create Two States
On May 14 the British Mandate ends, and the Jews of Palestine declare themselves independent. Neighboring Arab states respond by declaring war, which Israel wins, thereby extending its territory.

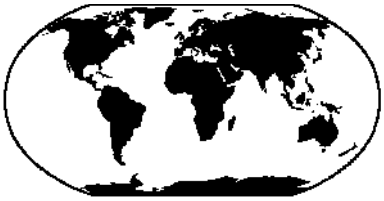
1948 South Africa Enacts Apartheid Laws
The government outlaws marriages between whites and nonwhites. It also passses the Group Areas Bill that divides the country into entirely separate ethnic zones.

1948 Major Nationalist Defeat in Manchuria
On October 30, Nationalist troops are defeated in Manchuria after the Communists capture the city of Mukden in their first major victory in the Chinese Civil War.

1949 Soviet Union Detonates A-Bomb
America's monopoly on atomic weapons ends when President Truman announces on September 23 that the Soviet Union has successfully detonated an atomic bomb.

1949 Communist Victory in China
The Nationalist army and government fall in China. The People's Republic of China is established.

Major Themes



1900 to 1950

FOOD PRODUCTION

In the early 20th century, agricultural outputs soared, even though the number of people engaged in farming declined precipitously in industrialized nations. Famines became less common but still took the lives of millions. Processed and convenience foods gained in popularity, while urban elites became more adventurous in their eating habits, adopting cuisines from an array of nations. In poorer countries, most agriculture was still based on traditional methods. Food variety and supply remained scant, and meat was a luxury for most, reserved for holidays and feasts.

Producing Food. North America enjoyed several "golden" seasons of farming between 1910 and 1914. On the Great Plains of both Canada and the United States, bountiful wheat harvests were exported to many parts of the world and briefly attracted more farmers. With agriculture disrupted in Europe by World War I, North American farmers received government incentives to increase production and enjoyed record prices. At war's end, the good times ended for many small farmers. In 1900, 41 percent of the U.S. population was engaged in agriculture; by 1945, just 16 percent made their living on the land.

Farming was soon in decisive decline across the industrialized world. Yet farm productivity grew dramatically, thanks to new machinery, chemicals, and education. The 19th-century promise of farm machinery was fulfilled as more versatile internal combustion engines, manufactured by Henry Ford among others, replaced bulky steam-powered farm implements. As the number of farms and farmers decreased, both the size of farms and the number of tractors, combines, and other specialized machinery soared. In 1900, American farmers owned 21.6 million work animals, mainly horses and mules. In Canada there were 22 human farmhands for each tractor or combine. By 1950, the numbers of both animal and human workers were comparatively tiny.

In industrial nations, agricultural productivity was also fostered by crop specialization related to potential markets, as well as climate and soils. Plant geneticists developed improved seed stocks and varieties. Research into grains including wheat, corn, and rice helped poorer countries and would lead to a "green revolution" later in the century. African-American agricultural chemist and botanist George Washington Carver (1864–1943) introduced soil-enriching crops like sweet potatoes, peanuts, and soybeans in southern U.S. states, and engineered useful products made from these crops, as

well as new foods. New or improved chemical fertilizers and pesticides increased yields and diminished crop damage. The downside of these scientific interventions included increased costs, overreliance on potentially dangerous chemicals, and monoculture—growing only one variety of corn, for example, year after year. These problems would become more pronounced after 1950. Meanwhile, fewer farmers grew and raised more food.

Harsh natural conditions, aggravated by politics and war, brought about two major famines in the Soviet Union, as well as one in China in the 1920s and 30s. About 9 million people died in 1921–22 following massive crop failures caused by a complex combination of civil war and political and social revolution, atop the extraordinary devastation wrought by World War I, and exacerbated by drought. In Soviet Ukraine, an estimated 7 million people died between 1932 and 1934 as a result of a drought, made into a disaster by Joseph Stalin's massive program to impose collective farming on the once-independent Ukraine and sell its farm products to finance industrialization. In China's Henan (Honan) province in 1940, some 2 million people died from a combination of drought and Japanese invasion.

In North America, an agricultural disaster coincided with the Great Depression. Beginning in 1930, decades of poor land management in the continent's midsection created the dust bowl. Years of severe drought worsened the situation. For six years, hot winds in the agricultural heartland periodically deposited once-fertile soil as far away as Boston. Tenant farmers and sharecroppers were the worst affected. Many of these "Okies" (so called because some were from hard-hit Oklahoma) trekked to California's fertile Central Valley, where they were unwelcome or exploited. Depression-era programs also provided aid to the agricultural sector. Hydropower projects brought electricity and irrigation to the Tennessee Valley and the Northwest's Columbia River region. A federal Rural Electrification program extended the electric grid to widely scattered farms that had been bypassed by urban America's electrification earlier in the century. President Franklin D. Roosevelt's Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1933 set a precedent for stabilizing farm prices by paying some farmers not to grow as much as they could.

Consuming Food. In 1906, the U.S. Congress passed and President Theodore Roosevelt signed a sweeping law to protect consumers from shady food and drug purveyors. Many years in the making, the Pure Food and Drug Act was given its final push by Upton Sinclair's muckraking exposé, *The Jungle*, a novel set in the meatpacking plants of Chicago, where animals, workers, and the food itself were all abused. It was a key victory for the new consumer movement and also revealed the extent to which Americans, and urbanites in many other developed countries, now depended on foods grown on large farms and processed in factories rather than food grown locally and prepared in home kitchens. New appliances, especially home refrigerators and freezers, that began to replace regular ice delivery made food preparation easier and more varied in every season. Supermarkets and chain groceries, emerging first in California, were soon able to offer more kinds of food at generally lower prices. Gerber Foods, founded in 1928, was an early processor of baby foods and formulas.

Food like Spam, reconstituted eggs, Jell-O, Cotolene, and Crisco were more uniform, longer lasting, easier to use, and more colorfully packaged versions of typical American foods or food ingredients. World Fairs, such as St. Louis, Missouri's, 1904 Louisiana Purchase Exposition, where ice-cream cones and cotton candy were introduced, promoted new food products to international audiences. Rationing programs imposed during both world wars tested the ingenuity of home cooks and also spurred the adoption of manufactured oils and egg and meat substitutes. During World War II, K-rations—complete canned battlefield meals issued to troops—were another example of convenience and indestructibility. They were also the butt of many jokes.

At the same time, the globalizing tendencies of the early 20th century also produced new openness and exchange among culinary cultures. Imperialism and immigration were central forces driving the adoption and adaptation of specialized foods and methods of preparation. Immigrants to the United States and Canada from Europe helped introduce such foods as hamburgers (from Germany) and pizza (from Italy) that would soon be Americanized beyond recognition in their homelands. Some Texans and other southwesterners enlivened their diet with peppers and beans from Mexico, creating what came to be called Tex-Mex cuisine. Chinese railroad workers and other laborers also

had started restaurants in the American West in the mid-1800s. By the 1900s, this cuisine, dominated by Cantonese specialties tailored to Western tastes, was becoming familiar yet was still "exotic" in many parts of the United States.

In British India, urban classes adopted some typically British habits including tea time and the hearty English breakfast. It was a two-way exchange: British who had resided in India—and many who had not—adopted curries, chutneys, and mulligatawny soup. Likewise, Indonesian foods, including rice dishes and satays, soon became popular in Holland, which had colonized the huge Asian island chain. Wealthy and urban elites in French Africa, the Middle East, and Southeast Asia emulated French cuisine, styles, and table manners.

SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENTS

In the early 20th century, engineers and scientists became national heroes. The earlier Industrial Revolution had focused on manufacturing infrastructure; now, consumers were the main beneficiaries of innovations in transport, power delivery, communications, and health. Advances in science and technology tended to widen the developmental gap between the industrialized world of Europe, North America, and Japan and those regions that remained less "modern." Large corporations and laboratories began to replace independent inventors and scientists in the creation of new products and systems.

Transport. Flight was an ancient human preoccupation, but success had remained elusive. In 1901, Brazilian-born inventor Alberto Santos-Dumont piloted a gas-powered balloon around Paris's Eiffel Tower. Samuel P. Langley, head of the Smithsonian Institution, attempted a number of well-financed flights in his "aerodrome." In December 1903, days after Langley's latest crash, unpublicized Ohio brothers and bicycle fabricators Orville and Wilbur Wright managed a 12-second flight over an icy North Carolina beach. The Wrights obtained a patent for their invention in 1908. Meanwhile, Europeans, especially the French, were also making advances in powered flight.

Early airplanes—fragile, low-flying, and hard to maneuver—were novelties at first, although their potential in warfare was instantly obvious. By 1909 the Wright brothers were training Italian and U.S. aviators. Rudimentary aircraft were used in World War I for surveillance and aerial attacks. Commercial uses of aircraft followed. Germany's first commercial aviation venture in 1909 used airships, or Zeppelins, rather than airplanes. Many European nations, their railroads badly damaged in the war, established airlines after 1918. Not until the 1920s did businessmen and aviators, including Charles Lindbergh, who was, in 1927, the first pilot to fly solo across the Atlantic, begin to create viable U.S. air fleets for crop-dusting, mail, passenger, and freight-hauling services.

Several inventors, including Germany's Carl Benz and France's Peugeot firm, successfully produced automobiles in the late 19th century. These costly vehicles were mainly indulgences for the wealthy. In 1903, American Henry Ford, who, like the Wright Brothers, was a tinkerer and bicycle mechanic, founded his Ford Motor Company. Pioneering such mass production techniques as the moving assembly line, and reducing expensive custom details, Ford was able to bring the price of an automobile within the budgets of middle-class consumers. Famously, one could buy any color of his wildly successful Model T, as long as it was black. Ford paid his workers well but supervised them rigorously; he was an early adopter of efficiency techniques, similar to those propounded in Frederick Winslow Taylor's 1911 *Principles of Scientific Management*. Within a few years, automobiles and trucks had reshaped urban and rural landscapes, creating a boom for road building, petroleum, and rubber tires and threatening railroads and streetcars with bankruptcy.

The Panama Canal, a new example of a much older transportation technology, significantly enhanced trade across the globe. This enormous project turned a narrow isthmus between North and South America into a waterway that cut some 8,000 miles off the dangerous sea voyage from New York to San Francisco. President Theodore (Teddy) Roosevelt engineered a coup in 1903 that turned what had been Colombia's northernmost province, Panama, into a U.S. client nation. Despite a storm of protest, construction went forward in a 10-mile zone deeded to the United States until 2000, when it came under Panamanian control. Completed in 1914 at a cost of $350 million and 5,609 worker lives, the canal was made possible by sophisticated project management,

improved earth-moving equipment, and new methods for controlling Panama's endemic tropical diseases, especially yellow fever.

Power. Humans were aware of electricity long before they tried to harness it. This naturally occurring force was scientifically studied in the 1750s by Benjamin Franklin, inventor of the protective lightning rod. Although the telegraph, introduced in the 1840s, used electricity to transmit signals, electrification remained essentially a novelty until the late 19th century. In Europe, Finland in 1877 pioneered electrification for Helsinki street lighting and put its first power plant into operation in 1884. In 1881, water power generated by Niagara Falls was used to provide local street lighting. In 1882, famed inventor Thomas A. Edison opened his first electric power station in New York City. In the first quarter of the 20th century, urban cities in Africa and Asia also slowly acquired electric power systems.

For some time, electricity remained miraculous rather than commonplace. Cost and safety concerns, and arguments between advocates of direct current (like Edison) and those favoring alternating current (like Nikola Tesla and George Westinghouse) meant that gas or oil still fueled most indoor and outdoor lighting after World War I. Yet by 1900, electricity was a $200 million industry in the United States alone. Two U.S. electric utilities—Westinghouse and Edison (soon to become General Electric)—dominated the market.

Although Edison had long cultivated an image of quirky independence, he was also a cagey businessman. Working with financial giants like J.P. Morgan, he helped pioneer an integrated energy supply and distribution system, providing a model for other new technologies. By the 1920s, a third of homes in more prosperous American cities were wired for electricity as customers eagerly purchased a plethora of new electric appliances. It required a federally financed electrification project during the Great Depression for rural dwellers to share in this advance. Disrupted by World War I, Europeans saw slower but steady growth in electrification. Beginning with the introduction of its first Five-Year Plan, the Soviet Union also promoted rapid growth of electrification.

Electrification also fostered the gradual growth of air conditioning, which began in 1902 as a technology designed to ensure consistent results for manufacturers of temperature- and humidity-sensitive products. By the late teens, the new motion picture industry (another Edison venture) was using air conditioning to make its "picture palaces" more appealing in summertime. In the 1930s, President Franklin D. Roosevelt, who disliked air conditioning, encouraged its installation in hot Washington, D.C., hoping to make federal workers more productive in the summers of the depression.

Communications. In 1900, the telegraph, with its worldwide cable connections, was still king, but it would soon lose its communications dominance. Scottish-born Canadian Alexander Graham Bell had won patent rights for his telephone in 1876 (prevailing over U.S. inventor Elisha Gray), but it took a long time for this new device, which many deemed a "useless toy," to catch on. Adopted first by businesses in major towns, the telephone gradually won favor. By 1905, Bell Telephone (by then known as American Telephone & Telegraph, and later simply AT&T) had strung five times as much wire as Western Union, the telegraph giant. It was 1915 before Bell customers could place transcontinental calls; transatlantic calling was launched in 1927. By 1920, a third of urban homes were equipped with this new device.

Many early European and Latin American phone installations used equipment made by Bell. Swede L. M. Ericsson began selling his own models in 1881. As telephones caught on, European phone systems were more likely to operate as government agencies. In Britain, private companies provided service starting in 1878, but by 1912 the national post office took charge. France developed a hybrid public-private system.

Italian Guglielmo Marconi introduced a wireless communication system, later called radio, in 1896, winning a patent for his invention in 1900 and a Nobel Prize in 1909. Although the installation of a Marconi radio communication device on the *Titanic* failed to save the doomed British ocean liner in 1912, his innovation soon caught on. By the 1920s, radio stations, beginning with Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania's, KDKA, were broadcasting music and other programming to the lucky few with radio receivers. KDKA broadcast results of the 1920 U.S. presidential election across the

eastern United States. By the 1930s, radio ownership had grown dramatically. Radio carried newly elected chancellor Adolf Hitler's speeches to German citizens; Americans tuned in for President Roosevelt's regular fireside chats.

Edison's "Kinetoscope," and his improved "Vitascope," introduced in 1896, were forebears of what became the 20th century's motion picture industry, as were image projection systems created by France's Lumière brothers. First shown in amusement parks, often featuring naughty "peepshows," these "movies" were an almost immediate novelty hit, but it took new modes of presentation—the nickelodeon and the movie house—to make films an enduring entertainment choice. "Talkies"—moving pictures with coordinated sound—were introduced in 1927. Frenchman Charles Pathé, a moving image pioneer who relocated to London in 1902, became the foremost producer of newsreels shown in movie theaters. These let audiences see actual newsmakers and recent events in the days before television.

The growing communications industry was a key beneficiary of versatile new materials that would eventually be known generically as "plastics." Most of these, including celluloid, rayon, bakelite, and nylon, were formulated to be cheaper, safer, more durable, or easier to use than traditional plant- and animal-based materials such as silk, ivory, and tortoiseshell. By 1900, most movies were projected on celluloid film, an ingenious but highly flammable medium that was eventually replaced with safer synthetic materials. Bakelite, developed in the United States in 1907 by Belgian chemist Leo Baekeland, is considered the first true plastic. It was used in Edison's phonograph records, Bell's telephone receivers, and cameras made by George Eastman's Kodak company.

Biology, Health, and Medicine. Nineteenth-century breakthroughs in understanding disease processes energized medical innovation in the 20th century. Ironically, Western imperialism brought new attention to the dangers of tropical diseases including malaria, yellow fever, and dengue fever. The Panama Canal project was but one example. New medications and mosquito eradication helped white colonials (and many indigenous people of afflicted countries) to improve child survival rates and overall adult health.

In 1901–02, Austrian physicians led by Karl Landsteiner discovered the four major human blood groups: A, B, AB, and O. This paved the way for lifesaving blood transfusions that significantly improved the survival rates in operations. Deficiency diseases including pellagra, beri-beri, and scurvy, occurring mainly among poor populations around the world, became more treatable when the properties of certain amino acids, later named "vitamins," were identified in 1915.

The first half of the 20th century introduced "miracle drugs" and "magic bullets" that indeed saved many lives and increased the human life span, although not without their own medical and social side effects. Syphilis, a disabling sexually transmitted disease, was controlled by arsenic-based compounds derived in 1909 by Prussian Paul Ehrlich and Japan's Sahachiro Hata. In 1921, Canadian scientists discovered and synthesized insulin, turning diabetes from a death sentence to a mostly manageable condition. A British team headed by Alexander Fleming in 1928 showed that a common mold could kill deadly bacteria, but this antibiotic, penicillin, did not become widely available until the 1940s. In the interim, sulfa drugs, first synthesized in 1908 by an Austrian chemist, became vital weapons against bacterial infections, especially in World War II.

Physical Sciences. Building on Wilhelm Roentgen's 1896 discovery of X-rays, Polish-born French scientist Marie Curie was the first woman to win Nobel Prizes for both physics (1903) and chemistry (1911) and also contributed to new knowledge in the health sciences. Her X-ray investigations, in partnership with physicists Henri Becquerel and Pierre Curie, her husband, led to the discovery of new elements, including radium and polonium, named by Curie for her native country, Poland. They also revealed properties of radiation, both healing and killing, that led to new cancer therapies, as well as atomic energy and the atom bomb. Both she and her chemist daughter Irène, who also won a Nobel with her husband, Frédéric Joliat-Curie (1935), died of ailments caused by radiation poisoning.

Physics was further revolutionized in 1905, when German Albert Einstein propounded his special theory of relativity, following up 10 years later with a general theory of relativity. Einstein's work fundamentally questioned the long-accepted physics of gravitation and other cosmic forces that were

developed in the 18th century by Sir Isaac Newton. Einstein's insights, and new discoveries by many other physicists, led to radically new knowledge of the power stored inside individual atoms. Einstein renounced his German citizenship when Hitler became chancellor in 1933, and he then emigrated to the United States. He was a key proponent of the United States's secret Manhattan Project, which in 1945 produced the first atomic bombs. Other important theoretical physicists who participated included Italian Enrico Fermi, Dane Niels Bohr, and American J. Robert Oppenheimer. The largest research and development project in world history, the Manhattan Project cost more than $2 billion in 1940s dollars, employed 43,000 people, and became a model for doing science and technology in the second half of the 20th century and beyond.

SOCIAL AND CLASS RELATIONS

Important changes in social and class relationships, brought about by the Industrial Revolution that began in western Europe and North America during the 19th century, spread to other parts of the world during the first half of the 20th century. The changes were accelerated by global upheavals caused by World Wars I and II and revolutionary and nationalist movements, especially the Marxist revolutions in Russia and China. Many momentous changes were violent and cost millions of lives.

The Industrial Revolution, begun in England, had spread to western Europe and Japan by 1900. It caused domestic migrations as many people left farms and rural areas to work in factories in cities that sprang up in the industrialized nations. Millions also migrated across oceans, mainly from Europe to North America and Australasia, to seek better lives. Wide gaps separated the rich industrial nations and the agrarian ones, and within nations, they separated the wealthy industrial magnates, the middle-class professionals and white collar workers, and the lower class of factory workers and small farmers. Although the newly rich and powerful industrialists and entrepreneurs held great power in the United States, they shared power and influence with the hereditary aristocrats in many European countries.

By the early 20th century, significant improvements had taken place in the living standard of the urban working class in western Europe and the United States, especially among skilled workers. On the other hand, the lives of factory workers and miners in newly industrializing countries such as Russia, China, and India remained desperately poor. In Western countries, better nutrition and living conditions characterized the lives of many workers, whose children attended schools mandated by laws that forbade child labor and enforced compulsory education. Whereas many women had worked under harsh conditions in factories during the early stages of the Industrial Revolution, protective laws had improved their working environment in the advanced countries by 1900, and higher wages for male workers allowed their wives to stay at home to raise their children. The power of organized labor, legal in most Western nations, increased during the first half of the 20th century. The spread of the Industrial Revolution to eastern Europe and parts of Asia from 1900 to 1950 also contributed to the changing social and class patterns in those regions.

New Politics. In some countries, for example Great Britain and Australia, workers became strong politically by forming political parties that competed in local and national elections. Electoral success (the first Labour government was formed in Australia in 1904 and in Great Britain in 1924) by labor or socialist parties allowed workers to accelerate the pace of change through the passage of legislation such as the progressive income tax that aimed at income leveling. Such government actions had the effect of blurring class differences and lessening the advantages that the upper classes had enjoyed. In the Middle East and Africa, educated urban classes led the nationalist movements and struggled for greater political and economic power from the Western imperial rulers.

The most extreme reordering of social classes occurred in Russia after the Bolshevik Revolution. The Communist government of the Soviet Union brutally reorganized the social order, eliminated the nobility and much of the middle class, and later put the peasants who formed the majority of the population into collective farms. However, although the government of the Soviet Union officially favored the proletarian class, ordinary citizens had little say in the ordering of their lives because the Communist Party monopolized all power. Although less extreme, World

War I and the revolutions that followed in many countries dramatically changed class relations worldwide. In Europe, monarchies were overthrown in Germany and Austria-Hungary, which led to the downfall of the once powerful aristocracy in those countries. Outside of Europe, North America, Japan, and Australasia, China underwent continuing social and political revolutions that began with the overthrow of the Qing (Ch'ing) dynasty in 1911 and culminated in the establishment of a Communist government in 1949.

Race, Class, and Politics. Race was important in determining class in several parts of the world. For example, in Latin America, people of European origin enjoyed high status, followed by those of mixed-race descent, with indigenous people and the descendants of African slaves at the bottom. It was also an important factor in economic and class divisions in the United States. Similarly, class was determined by race in parts of Africa where Europeans had settled. Political and social revolutions that swept over several nations of Latin America threatened or overthrew the traditionally powerful classes and organizations. In Argentina, radicals advocating social reforms became politically active after 1912. In 1946 Juan Perón was catapulted to power on a populist ideology that combined left-wing, pro–working class rhetoric with right-wing, protofascist bureaucratic-authoritarian policies, winning electoral power on a platform ostensibly geared toward benefitting the *descamisados*, or shirtless ones. In Mexico, the vast social convulsion later dubbed the Mexican Revolution (1910–20) eroded the power of the Catholic Church, foreign corporations, and large landowners, and after 1917 offered a more inclusive and democratic polity to indigenous Mexicans. In Brazil, strongmen rulers also promulgated economic and social reforms to satisfy the demand of workers.

Social Engineering. The worldwide Great Depression that began in 1929 also accelerated social and political changes. In the United States it led to important social engineering in legislation called the New Deal. It led to growth of socialist parties in Europe, and contributed to the rise of Nazism in Germany. In all cases it led to a realignment of social classes, and in Germany and Nazi-conquered lands, it led to forced population displacements and the extermination of millions of Jews, gypsies, Slavs, and people with disabilities in the Holocaust.

Outside Europe, the political revolution under Kemal Atatürk that overthrew the discredited Ottoman Empire also led to a social revolution that secularized Turkish society, orienting it toward the West and granting legal equality to women. In these respects Turkey presented an alternative model of society to the traditional Islamic world. In Iran the new Pahlavi dynasty attempted similar reforms with far less success. In China the revolution that overthrew the dynasty in 1911 also ushered in a wide-ranging social revolution that encompassed the quest of women for equality and that of young people from the control of their parents. Chinese women won legal equality in new codes promulgated in the 1930s, and those from the middle class made rapid advances. For example, although there were no women's colleges in China in 1900, by 1937 a quarter of college students were women. As in the Soviet Union, the Chinese Communist Party carried out a violent and thorough social and economic revolution after it gained power in 1949. It eliminated landlords and rich peasants, first distributing their land to the poor peasants and later forcing them to join collective farms. In India the caste system determined the social status of Hindus. British rule had forced forward-looking Hindu intellectuals to reexamine their traditional social system beginning in the late 19th century; many leaders, as a result, advocated reforms. After World War I, Mohandas K. Gandhi emerged as India's leader in its struggle for political independence and social reform. Gandhi's nonviolent protest aimed at advancing not just India's nationalistic goals but also the causes of female emancipation and equality for the untouchables that constituted about 20 percent of Hindus. Partly as a result of his labors the constitution of newly independent India gave women equality and also abolished the discrimination suffered by untouchables. Gandhi would later be an inspiration for the Civil Rights movement in the United States and in the quest for equality by Africans in South Africa.

Women and Class. The 20th century also saw remarkable advances in the position of women worldwide. Whereas in 1900 only women in Australia and New Zealand had the right to vote and enjoy many of the same rights as men, by mid-century women had won equality in many nations on all continents. For example, English suffragists had been unsuccessful in lobbying for female

franchise, but with most men drafted to fight in World War I, women joined the workforce in large numbers, making important contributions to the war effort and advancing their economic independence. As a result, women in Great Britain, the United States, and many European nations won the right to vote soon after the war ended.

In Asia, by the early 1920s Indian women had also won the right to vote on the same terms as men. Turkish and Egyptian women led others in the Middle East and Africa to struggle for both political and social rights. Japanese women did not win voting or other equal rights with men until after World War II. It was then mandated by the U.S. occupation authorities and guaranteed in a new constitution. However Japanese women had been able to receive a higher education and enter the professions, especially in teaching and medicine, since the end of the 19th century. Among the Westernized urban middle class in many non-Western countries women made astonishing gains. For example, Sarojini Naidu was elected president of the Indian National Congress, India's foremost nationalist organization in the 1920s, and became India's first female provincial governor soon after.

The enormous devastation and dislocation caused by World War II was truly global. The forced migrations of hundreds of millions of refugees, the tremendous destruction and demand for manpower, and the outcome of the war changed the world. Among the changes effected were all levels of social and class relationships. Women went to work in larger numbers than during World War I, including performing combat and noncombat military duties, in skilled professions, and in industrial production. Former colonies demanded and won independence and in the process empowered previously voiceless peoples. In the United States the G.I. Bill gave opportunities to millions of young war veterans to attend college and enjoy better lives. High rates of taxation (up to 95 percent in Great Britain) to finance the war and war-caused inflation realigned social classes.

TRADE AND CULTURAL EXCHANGES

In the early 20th century European nations with vast empires in Africa and Asia dominated and controlled trade around the world. The United States also emerged as a major supplier of both agricultural commodities and manufactured goods. In Asia Japan emerged as an industrial and colonial power.

The open door policy in China enabled Western nations and investors to dominate the Chinese economy and vastly reduced the political independence of the nation. A plethora of new consumer goods, many from the United States, coupled with aggressive marketing, helped to create consumer societies in wealthy nations and among the wealthy in poor nations.

Improved transportation routes and modes of travel facilitated global trade. The Panama Canal, linking the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, was begun in 1904 and opened in 1914. The Trans-Siberian Railway from St. Petersburg (Leningrad) on the Baltic coast to Vladivostok on the Russian Pacific coast was completed by 1917. The development of air travel opened up new and faster modes of transportation and enabled the wealthy to travel for business and pleasure over vast distances. The first flight from London to Delhi, India, occurred in 1926.

In 1927 Charles "Lucky" Lindbergh flew nonstop across the Atlantic from the United States to France. Henry Ford's assembly line and the introduction of interchangeable parts made the manufacture of relatively inexpensive automobiles such as the Model T affordable to the middle class in the United States. Easier and more affordable transportation systems fostered a growing tourist industry and made the world a much smaller place.

More accessible transportation systems also fostered increased movement of peoples in search of better jobs and lifestyles, especially from Europe to the Western Hemisphere. Between 1905 and 1914 over 10 million people, mostly from eastern and southern Europe, emigrated to the United States. Asians were mostly excluded by law from entry into both the United States and Australia.

The 1929 Great Depression ended world prosperity and lessened international trade. Many nations, such as the United States, attempted to solve their economic problems by introducing protectionist tariffs that worsened and lengthened the depression. Others abandoned the gold

standard to improve their international trading positions. Many nations were also caught in a web of debts incurred during World War I.

Nations and regions in eastern Europe, Africa, South and Central America, and Asia that produced primarily raw materials and agricultural goods were economically devastated when demand and prices for their goods dropped. As the depression deepened, many people became profoundly disillusioned with their governments, and some turned to totalitarian dictators and international aggression to solve the problem. Many nations, including the United States, only recovered full production and employment with the advent of World War II.

U.S. culture spread after World War I, especially through radio, popular music, and motion pictures, which became a major source of entertainment for people around the world. During the 1920s in New York, Paris, Cairo, and Singapore, men and women flocked to nightclubs to dance and drink cocktails. Urban women from Japan and elsewhere found new freedom, cut and permed their hair, and wore short dresses, giving up more modest traditional fashions and lifestyles.

Profound divisions between secular and traditional religious groups also emerged. For example, after the 1917 revolution in Mexico a secular constitution was implemented in this predominantly Catholic nation. Similarly, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk in Turkey and Reza Shah in Iran both attempted, with various degrees of success, to limit the power and influence of religious authorities in their mainly Muslim nations. Secularists in Asia also questioned ancient traditions and religion. A new cultural movement in China begun after World War I was inspired by Western-educated Chinese scholars. Many also rejected the moral teachings of Confucius. Sigmund Freud and others developed modern psychiatry. Freud used psychoanalysis to probe the unconscious; he also openly discussed sexuality, a previously taboo subject in much of the world. Earlier the German Friedrich Nietzsche, who died in 1900, and later Bertrand Russell in England questioned age-old beliefs regarding spirituality and the existence of God.

Religious leaders challenged not only the work of Freud but also Charles Darwin's theory of evolution, arguing that it countered the teachings of creation in the Bible. In the famous Scopes "monkey trial" in the United States, a teacher was found guilty of teaching evolution in 1925. In India the nationalist leader Mohandas K. Gandhi championed traditional Indian culture and Hinduism. However, Gandhi also preached and practiced tolerance for Indian Muslim communities, whereas other nationalist leaders sought support by rejecting tolerance for dissenters or minorities. In the West, Christian church leaders sought to establish more communication and cooperation among the various Christian sects, leading to the establishment of the World Council of Churches. The differences and hostilities between secularism and religion would be one of the major sources of tension in the 20th century.

Literature, Art, and Music. In literature the novels of Ernest Hemingway reflected a new wave of authors, many of whom became highly disillusioned about the human condition during the interwar years. Other writers sought to maintain traditions while accepting Western ways of life and technology. Léopold Senghor of Senegal, Aimé Césaire, and others wrote about *négritude* and the values of African traditions. Rabindranath Tagore wrote poetry in his native Bengali (a language of India), for which he received a Nobel Prize in 1913, while he also sought to return Indians to traditional ways through moral education.

Modern art in its many variations drew on several African and Asian modes of artistic expression. Impressionist artists, including Vincent van Gogh and Paul Gauguin, were heavily influenced by Japanese art and Polynesian life, respectively. Pablo Picasso, along with Georges Braque, was credited with founding cubism in 1907–08. Both were influenced by African art forms such as carved wooden masks. Many artists mixed traditional, indigenous motifs in their compositions. In Mexico, muralists Diego Rivera, David Alfaro Siqueiros, and José Clemente Orozco all used folk influences and Amerindian symbolism.

Music was similarly influenced by a wide variety of cultures. The South American tango became popular around the world. Western motifs influenced musicians and composers from other continents. For example, the Egyptian composer Sayyed Darweesh used a variety of traditional Arab and Western

forms in his operettas and classical pieces. His music remains popular throughout the Arab world. He also wrote about women's rights and class differences.

Jazz, a uniquely American musical art form, was a fusion of African and Western traditions largely created and popularized by African Americans. Many artists and writers worldwide, among them African-American musicians, often sought the social and artistic freedom of postwar western Europe, especially Paris, which became the cosmopolitan center of the arts, as Vienna had been before 1914. This movement ended with the Great Depression, when struggling artists could no longer afford the luxury of travel to distant locales.

Organized sports, especially football (or soccer, as it was known in the United States), baseball, and tennis, became popular in most nations around the world. The World Cup in soccer was begun in the 1930s, as were international tennis tournaments. The mass media of newspapers, movies, and radio made cultural and artistic endeavors more international and accessible and led to the opening up of new cultural forms. In contrast, rural poor countries in much of Africa, South America, and Asia remained highly traditional. Many of the cultural trends pioneered in the first part of the 20th century would continue and accelerate after World War II and into the 21st century.

WARFARE

Fueled by imperial rivalries, powerful new weapons, enlarged manufacturing capacity, and broader military conscription, the wars of the first half of the 20th century included the two largest armed conflicts in world history. The Great War of 1914–18, later renamed World War I, followed by World War II (1939–45), reshaped the global order, but neither proved to be the "war to end all wars."

The years 1900 to 1914 were the high point of European and, to a lesser extent, American and Japanese colonial adventurism. Partitioning a war-weakened China into spheres of economic and political influence, the great powers also competed for control of many other resource- and labor-rich regions of Asia, Africa, and Oceania. At the same time, European powers used their industrial might to accelerate an arms race and developed intricate agreements and alliances to protect their interests at home and in their colonial holdings.

In the summer of 1914, a Serbian nationalist's assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand, heir to the Austro-Hungarian throne, set these alliances in motion and led directly to the Great War. The war pitted the Allied Powers—France, Russia, Britain, Japan, and other nations, eventually including the United States—against the Central Powers of Germany, Austria-Hungary, and the fading Ottoman Empire.

New Strategies. The Great War was a field laboratory for a range of new weapons and new strategies for deploying troops. For the first time, aircraft played a significant role. They were used by both sides for aerial reconnaissance and to drop explosives on enemy forces. Germany's successful use of torpedo-equipped U-boats, mainly to harass enemy shipping, was the first time that submarine technology, developed late in the 19th century, was taken seriously as an important tool of war. Breach-loading, quick-firing field guns made infantrymen more deadly; howitzers capable of firing five or more rounds of shells a minute were deemed responsible for 70 percent of the war's 9 million troop deaths. Radio, newly developed, revolutionized the ability of troops and commanders to communicate in real time. Near the end of the war, the British first used internal combustion–powered armored tanks to breach German positions. Tanks were better able to protect drivers and rolled easily over barbed wire and other obstacles—they became standard equipment in subsequent conflicts.

As both sides relied on massed infantry assaults and protected their men behind trenches dug into battlefields, stalemate became a frustrating and dangerous enemy, especially on the war's western front. The trenches indeed protected soldiers, but they also prevented them from effectively engaging the enemy in battle. To leave the trench was to face likely attack by a sniper in the opposing trench. The trenches filled with water and filth, causing illness and injury. Chemical and biological weapons, such as deadly and debilitating chlorine gas (its use has since been outlawed under international law), were a particular threat to troops trapped in trenches. The introduction of tanks late in the war would help to overcome this standoff.

As the war dragged on, inflicting huge casualties in such battles as Gallipoli in 1915 and Verdun and Somme in 1916, Central Power conquests in Russia, Serbia, and Romania, combined with internal unrest, led to Russia's withdrawal and its separate peace with Germany. As the Russian Revolution intensified, Romanov czar Nicholas II abdicated in March 1917. A month later, the United States, jolted by submarine attacks and outraged by a secret German plan to help Mexico regain territory lost to the United States, declared war on the Central Powers. Although it would be 1918 before significant numbers of U.S. troops began fighting with the Allies in Europe, the effect of fresh manpower helped bring about Kaiser Wilhelm II's abdication on November 9, followed by the armistice on November 11, 1918, that ended the war.

The Great War, ended by the controversial Treaty of Versailles with Germany and by other treaties with allies, solved few problems and almost certainly created new ones. Despite the creation of a League of Nations (which the United States declined to join) and a series of disarmament proposals and conferences, both rearmament and colonialism continued. Although Ireland would win its long-sought independence from Britain in 1921, other colonial struggles remained unsettled. In fact, Britain and France found new opportunities to dominate the Middle East in the remains of the former Ottoman Empire.

Russia, now under a Communist regime, fought off a postarmistice invasion by its alarmed former Allies and set about securing what would become a two-continent Soviet Union in Europe and Asia, while leader Joseph Stalin tightened his totalitarian rule. This almost guaranteed unrest in eastern Europe and new confrontations with Japan. Germany's new Weimar Republic struggled to recover from the lost war, and from the Versailles Treaty demands for billions in war reparations (although never collected in full). Austrian-born Adolf Hitler would brilliantly use post–Great War political and social conflict and German bitterness and resentment to obtain power as leader of the new National Socialist, or Nazi, Party.

Civil war in China in the 1920s and 1930s emboldened Japan to seize Manchuria in 1931 and launch a full-scale invasion of China in 1937. Japanese brutality toward their victims, for example, in the Rape of Nanjing (Nanking), equalled the horrors of Nazi atrocities. Meanwhile, Hitler began rebuilding German military power, in direct defiance of treaty provisions, meeting only token resistance from the former Allies. With his Fascist ally, Benito Mussolini of Italy, Hitler tested his new weapons by intervening in the Spanish civil war on the side of Fascist insurgents led by Francisco Franco. As a new war threatened in Europe, France responded by building its Maginot Line, a system of fortifications. Some 3,000 Americans defied official U.S. neutrality to fight against Franco in Spain. Otherwise, the predominant sentiment in France and Britain was appeasement of the aggressors.

Poland Attacked. World War II in Europe began on September 1, 1939, when German panzer divisions of massed tanks and mobile artillery invaded Poland days after a nonaggression pact between Hitler and Stalin gave Hitler a free hand in eastern Europe. By June 1940, Hitler's forces had occupied France, where they installed the Vichy government, which was subservient to Germany, and controlled most of Europe, while Britain fought virtually alone. That September, Germany, Italy, and Japan created a formal alliance known as the Axis. In June 1941, German forces invaded the Soviet Union, violating the 1939 pact.

From the outset, the fighting forces relied heavily on tanks, especially the reliable U.S. Sherman Tank, and air power. Battleships were central to earlier conflicts; in World War II aircraft carriers became the most significant fighting innovation because they enabled the simultaneous projection of both sea and air power. When Japanese planes bombed Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941, bringing the United States into the war, the huge loss of life and warships at the Hawaiian air base was partially offset by the fortunate deployment elsewhere of America's aircraft carriers. Submarine warfare, especially in the Atlantic Ocean, expanded in importance for both the Allies and the Axis, inflicting huge damage on commercial shipping and enemy navies. Military aviators, including those from Britain's Royal Air Force, Germany's Luftwaffe, and the U.S. Army Air Force, depended on heavily armored bombers capable of flying long distances with heavy loads of bombs and on nimbler fighter planes to repel enemy attackers. Radar technology, first made functional in the 1930s by

British and American scientists, helped the Allies detect submarines and obtain advance warning of air attacks, somewhat defusing the effectiveness of both these tools of war.

Total Global War. World War II was a global war and a total war with fronts in Europe, Asia, Africa, and the Pacific. As the Allies struggled in the early war years, the Soviet Union bore the brunt of Axis attacks in eastern Europe; Britain held out in the west, while the United States deployed most of its power against the Japanese in the Pacific. In 1942, the Allies began to have successes, especially at Midway Island in the Pacific, in North Africa, and in the USSR, where the Soviet Union, despite huge military and civilian casualties, turned back Hitler's siege of Stalingrad in January 1943. The Allies' "Operation Overlord" D-day invasion of Normandy beaches in June 1944 finally opened a second European front. It took almost a year of hard fighting before converging Soviet troops and British and American forces were able to force Hitler's suicide and Germany's surrender in May 1945.

This total war claimed an unprecedented number of civilian casualties and displaced persons. Millions were killed or wounded by military action. Millions more were victims of deliberate murder, overwork, or starvation. Stalin sent millions of Soviet citizens into forced labor camps. Hitler turned much of occupied eastern Europe into a Nazi forced labor camp and deliberately exterminated "undesirables," including 6 million Jews, in what became known as the Holocaust. Japan imposed brutal measures on occupied Asian territories, especially Korea and China. In the United States, 120,000 West Coast Japanese, most of them U.S. citizens, were forced to leave their homes and businesses for internment in rural detention camps for the duration of the war.

On both sides, the war mobilized millions of volunteers and conscripts and brought more women than ever before into the industrial economy. The United States instituted its very first peacetime draft in 1940. African Americans, as they had in every American war since the Revolution, fought in racially segregated units commanded by white officers. This changed in 1948 when U.S. president Harry Truman controversially ordered the U.S. armed forces to desegregate. Some 30,000 Japanese Americans served, but they were sent to Europe, not the Pacific theater. As had also been true in the Great War, political officials for both the Axis and the Allies created massive public relations campaigns designed to demonize their enemy, preserve home front morale, and encourage obedience to various rationing and work initiatives.

During the final two years of World War II, both sides would introduce controversial new kinds of weapons. Germany's blitz of London with manned bombers was succeeded in 1944–45 by even more terrifying unmanned medium-range rockets, the V1 and V2. Allied fire bombings of Dresden, Germany, and Tokyo incinerated large parts of both targets, killing thousands of civilians. But the most controversial weapon by far was the atomic bomb, or A-bomb, used twice on Japan by the United States in August 1945. An experimental weapon created during the war by America's top secret Manhattan Project, this bomb could be delivered by a small plane and destroy entire cities, as it did Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Conventional bombing had killed even more people; what made the A-bomb so terrible was the radiation it emitted, sickening survivors and causing their deaths or harming unborn children weeks or even years later. After the two A-bombs were dropped, Japan surrendered in September 1945, bringing World War II to its end.

Warfare continued, however, despite the creation of the United Nations, a new global peacekeeping body headquartered in New York City, and well-publicized Nuremberg War Crimes and Tokyo International Court Trials of surviving Axis leaders. In 1949, forces led by Mao Zedong, which had been nurtured during Japan's invasion of China while the Nationalist forces were ground down, finally won the Chinese Civil War, defeating China's U.S.-supported Nationalist government and installing a communist regime. Anticolonial wars threatened the remains of British, Dutch, and French colonial interests. Britain granted independence to India in 1947, but most African and Asian nations would only gain independence in the years following 1950.

Addams, Jane

(1860–1935) *U.S. social reformer and peace activist*

Born into a prosperous Illinois family, Jane Addams forged important new roles for women in education and social work. As founder of Chicago's Hull-House, she helped revolutionize social services for the poor and immigrants. Her work for peace as the United States marched into World War I antagonized some Americans but made her the first U.S. woman to win a Nobel Peace Prize.

Addams, a sickly child, was just two when her mother died. Her father encouraged Jane's desire for a higher education. She became part of the first generation of U.S. women to have significant access to college and was one of many well-educated women who would make their era one that historians labeled "Progressive."

After great success at Rockford Seminary Addams found herself adrift, searching for some useful purpose for her education. Her father's sudden death in 1881 compounded her depression. She considered medical school but dropped out within weeks. Two trips to Europe and deepening religious convictions helped put Addams on a path toward achievement and acclaim. In 1887 she visited England's Toynbee Hall, where reformers were seeking to improve the lives of workers exploited by the Industrial Revolution. Back home a group of Smith College women had just founded the College Settlement Association to assist the millions pouring into U.S. factories and cities.

In 1889 Addams and college friend Ellen Starr opened their own settlement house in a former mansion at 335 Halsted Street. These small-town Protestant ladies soon found themselves purveying social services to families who were mostly Italian, Catholic, and poor. Initially emphasizing cultural uplift—art, music, and good manners—Hull-House under Addams's pragmatic supervision refocused on such pressing neighborhood needs as garbage collection and playgrounds.

By 1900, of more than 100 settlement houses in U.S. cities, Hull-House was the most famous, thanks to Addams's skills in writing, lecturing, public relations, and fundraising. Possibly the best-known U.S. woman, she was acclaimed a motherly saint before she was even 40. Unlike most white progressives, Addams worked with African-American reformers. Her fame peaked in 1910 when she published *Twenty Years at Hull-House*, her autobiography.

An 1896 visit with Russian author Leo Tolstoy, a theorist of simplicity and nonresistance, followed in 1898 by the Spanish-American War, helped turn Addams's attention to problems of aggression and war. Writing extensively on war, peace, and pacifism, she became active in U.S. anti-imperialism efforts. With war raging in Europe, Addams sailed to Holland for a women's peace conference in 1915, just weeks before German U-boats sank the *Lusitania*, and she later met with both sides in the vicious conflict.

When the United States entered World War I in 1917, Addams found herself vilified by some as an unpatriotic defeatist and ridiculed by others as a naive

female unable to understand the necessity of warfare. When the Russian Revolution produced a communist regime, "red" and "Bolshevik" were added to the failings listed by Addams's critics.

Addams spent much of the 1920s outside the United States. A long effort by her friends finally paid off when Addams shared the 1931 Nobel Peace Prize with Columbia University's president. Her life's work imbued with new relevance by the Great Depression, Addams died of cancer just days after her pioneering achievements were celebrated by admirers, including First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt.

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Marsha E. Ackermann

Afrikaners, South Africa

The first half of the 20th century represented a consolidation of white-dominated rule in South Africa. Yet the century began with a conflict between the British colony and the Afrikaner, or Boer, republics. Afrikaners, who claimed their lineage from the original Dutch settlers of the Cape colony, had developed an increasingly distinct national identity in conflict with the British and the African peoples of South Africa. Despite British victory in the brutal South African War, the increasingly segregated and racialized system in a united South African state pinnacled with the birth of apartheid in 1948.

What the British called the Second Anglo-Boer War the Afrikaners called the Second War of Freedom. Historians have called it the South African War (1899–1902) to reflect that the war was not merely an imperial war between the British and the Boers, but a civil war that involved the entire population of South Africa. The British claimed that the war was about the rights of foreigners—Uitlanders—in the Boer republic called the Transvaal; Paul Kruger, the president of the Boer republic, understood the conflict to be about something more—British desire to control the Cape *and* the mineral wealth of Transvaal. After the early success of the Afrikaner war effort, the British drew on the resources of the empire to meet a significant challenge to their imperial dominance. The Boers, led by generals including Jan Christiaan Smuts and Louis Botha, turned increasingly to guerrilla tactics. In turn the British commander, Horatio, Lord Kitchener, responded by burning Boer farms and imprisoning enemy civilians, including Africans, at concentration camps, where thousands died of disease. Africans generally did not fight in the war, but they did provide logistical support and supplies. In Britain, opposition to the war on both financial and humanitarian grounds grew. Finally, the last holdouts surrendered in 1902. The Treaty of Vereeniging treated the Boers relatively mildly and even granted them political and cultural autonomy. The specter of African rebellion against growing repression in the white-dominated state quickly healed the wounds of the South African War. The Native Affairs Commission (1903–05), appointed by High Commissioner Sir Alfred Milner, suggested a policy of territorial segregation between whites and blacks, making Africans the true victims of the war.

In 1910, the British parliament created the self-governing Union of South Africa. It became a Commonwealth nation under the Statute of Westminster in 1931. The Cape government enfranchised adult blacks, but only whites could stand for election in the new Union parliament. The Afrikaner nationalist Louis Botha, on the ticket of the South Africa Party, was elected as the first prime minister of the Union of South Africa in May 1910. Blacks were denied political or economic power within the official structure of the state and society.

Some individuals within the Afrikaner political elite, like J. B. M. Hertzog, remained intensely hostile to the British. During both world wars, South Africans served the empire on the battlefields of Europe, though African troops were relegated to noncombat roles. Military alliance with Britain during both wars revived old debates about white South Africa's relationship with its "mother country." Afrikaner nationalists revolted in 1914 after Botha allied South Africa with Britain and even agreed to invade German South-West Africa (now Namibia). During World War II, a coalition between Jan Smuts (Botha's predecessor) and Hertzog, called the United Party, broke apart over the same issue. Groups like the African Brotherhood and the Purified National Party, a political party that developed after Hertzog allied with Smuts, built a mythology of Afrikaner nationalism centered on the Great Trek. The most radical Afrikaner nationalists went as far as to openly sympathize with the Nazi Party during World War II.

The beginnings of apartheid can be found in the increasing segregation of and discrimination against

black South Africans. The Natives' Land Act (1913) and the Natives' Trust and Land Act (1936) designated a small percentage of South Africa's total land area to (segregated) black reserves. The 1923 Natives (Urban Areas) Act limited blacks' access to white urban areas. While black South Africans were indispensable to whites as laborers, their overwhelming number in relation to the white population was perceived as a threat to the white-dominated state.

In 1912, a group of Western-educated Africans formed the South African Native National Congress (later known as the African National Congress, ANC). While African leaders like Pixley Seme and John Dube petitioned brilliantly against the color bar of the white-dominated society, their pleas were generally ignored by both the British and white South African governments. Some Africans sought to challenge their social and economic oppression through labor unions and even revolutionary groups like the Communist Party of South Africa. The period after 1945 witnessed revived rhetoric of human rights and self-determination in the birth of the United Nations (ironically, Jan Smuts was recruited to help draft the preamble of the United Nations Charter). In 1944, Nelson Mandela, Oliver Tambo, and Walter Sisulu founded a Youth League in the African National Congress. While they shared the ANC's goal of a democratic, racially egalitarian society, they advocated more militant tactics.

In the 1948 campaign the National Party, led by D. F. Malan, centered on their message of racial purity and white domination. In particular, their agenda was based on a systematic exclusion of and separation from Africans. With victory the National Party instituted what would become the bane of humanitarian society for the next four decades—apartheid.

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Charles V. Reed

Aga Khan

Aga Khan, the title ascribed to the imam of the Nizari Ismaili community, was first bestowed on Aga Hasan Shah by Fateh Ali, the Shah of Persia, in 1818. The Ismaili branch of Islam is the second-largest Shi'i community after the Twelvers. The Ismailis and Twelvers both accept the same initial imams from the descendants of the prophet Muhammad. However, a dispute arose on the succession of the sixth imam, Jafar as-Sadiq. Although the Ismailis accepted the legitimacy of Jafar Sadiq's eldest son, Ismael, as the next rightful imam, the Twelvers accepted his younger son, Musa al-Kazim.

The first Aga Khan was appointed as the governor of the province of Kirman. He also aided the British during the first Anglo-Afghan War (1839–42) and in the conquest of Sind in India (1842–43). Ali Shah, who was also known as Aga Khan II, died in 1885.

Upon the death of Aga Khan II, his son, Sultan Muhammad (1877–1957), assumed the title of Aga Khan III. He played an active role in supporting the continuance of British colonial rule over the Indian subcontinent. Aga Khan III was also the founder of the All-India Muslim League, the lead political party that later demanded a separate homeland for Muslims be carved out of India. He was also the president of the Muslim League from 1909 to 1914. In the preindependence years of India, Aga Khan III made a number of high-profile visits abroad, including the imperial conference in London in 1930–31, the Geneva Disarmament Conference in 1932, and the League of Nations in 1932 and in 1934–37. In 1937, he was appointed the president of the General Assembly of the League of Nations for his pioneering leadership role.

In 1937, Aga Khan III was succeeded by his grandson, Prince Karim, who assumed the title of Aga Khan IV. He was very committed to the promotion of Islamic architecture and instituted a series of awards for architectural excellence and artistic innovation in architecture. Aga Khan IV also donated very generously to various developmental projects in a number of countries with a sizable Ismaili population.

Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan is the grandson of Aga Khan IV. He has an impressive educational record with degrees from Harvard University at the Centre of Middle Eastern Studies in 1957. Sadruddin Aga Khan worked strenuously for the ideals and programs of UNESCO, particularly for the promotion of cultural heritage sites worldwide as well as for the UN High Commission for Refugees. In 1965, he was appointed the UN High Commissioner for Refugees and continued in this prestigious position until 1977. He is the founder of the Bellerive Foundation, which is an

international corporate group that funds programs for the alpine environment. In 1978, the prince was made a special adviser and chargé de mission to the secretary-general of the United Nations to promote the cause of universal human rights.

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Mohammed Badrul Alam

Aguinaldo y Famy, Emilio

(1869–1964) *president of the Philippines*

Emilio Aguinaldo was a revolutionary independence leader, general, statesman, and the first president of the Philippines according to many Filipinos. He played a major role in the Philippine revolution against Spain and in the Philippine-American War.

Aguinaldo's rise to notability happened early in his life. He was born into a wealthy Chinese-mestizo family that owned extensive lands and that provided benefits not readily available to many Filipinos. The young Aguinaldo overcame a near-death sickness in his youth and briefly attended Letran College in Manila, but left in order to help his family care for their extensive estate. In 1895, when only 17 years of age, he was elected to the position of *capitan municipal* (municipal captain), or town head, of Cavite El Viejo.

Around the same time, Aguinaldo began his revolutionary career and entered the secret Katipunan revolutionary society, an abbreviated Tagalog term for "The Highest and Most Respectable Society of the Sons of the People." The Katipunan advocated complete independence from Spain and thus aroused suspicions and opposition from the Spanish authorities. No longer able to evade notice by the ruling Spaniards, Aguinaldo and his fellow revolutionaries fought them, overcame early setbacks, and achieved considerable victories, most notably at the Battle of Binakayan on November 10, 1896, when they defeated Spanish regular troops. Although he won early successes and gained the leadership of his revolutionary group, Aguinaldo was forced by renewed military pressure from the Spanish to sign the Pact of Biacnabato and to accept banishment to Hong Kong in return for financial and political concessions, social reforms, and promises of autonomy of government for the Philippines.

In 1898 Aguinaldo returned to the Philippines from exile to continue his revolutionary work and to assist the efforts of the United States to defeat the Spanish during the Spanish-American War. He believed that his participation and the victory over Spain would be rewarded with a declaration of independence for the Philippines; Aguinaldo instead found that the American forces refused to allow his military to occupy Manila. He refused to allow his troops to be replaced by American forces and withdrew to Malolos, where he and his followers declared independence on June 12, 1898. On January 23, 1899, Aguinaldo was inaugurated as the first president of the Philippines, although U.S. authorities did not recognize his government.

The Philippine-American War began on February 4, 1899, after a Filipino crossed over the San Juan Bridge and was shot by an American sentry. Aguinaldo led the resistance to American occupation and rejected the notions of gradual independence advocated by the occupiers and U.S. president William McKinley. Although Aguinaldo's guerrilla warfare tactics posed many difficulties for the U.S. military, they implemented a "carrot and stick" approach that mitigated popular support for the insurgents. The capture of Aguinaldo in Palanan, Isabela, on March 23, 1901, with the help of Filipino trackers broke the revolt, which foundered within the following year. In exchange for his life, Aguinaldo pledged loyalty to the United States and thus acknowledged its sovereignty over the Philippines.

Although no longer a revolutionary, Aguinaldo thereafter remained committed to independence and veterans' rights while staying retired from public life for many years. In 1935, when the Commonwealth of the Philippines was established, he ran for the presidency but lost to Manuel L. Quezon. During World War II the Japanese occupiers forced him to support them and to make anti-American speeches and statements. He was later cleared of wrongdoing when Americans recaptured the Philippines and learned that the Japanese had threatened to kill his family if Aguinaldo did not comply. After the war he actively promoted nationalistic and democratic causes within his country. He died on February 6, 1964, in Quezon City.

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Scott Catino

Alessandri, Arturo

(1868–1950) *president of Chile*

Arturo Fortunato Alessandri Palma was president of Chile from 1920 to 1924, again in 1925, and then from 1932 to 1938. During that time he became known as the Lion of Tarapacá. Known initially for his strident support of the poor of Chile, he was later heavily criticized by many of his former supporters when he became far more conservative.

Arturo Alessandri was born on December 20, 1868, at Linares, south of the Chilean capital of Santiago, the son of Pedro Alessandri and Susana Palma. His father's family originally came to Chile from Italy. He was educated at the Sacred Heart School in Santiago, and then he worked at the National Library of Chile. He used his position there to study for a law degree and in 1893 was admitted to the bar.

Politically, Alessandri was connected with the Progressive Club, making him a liberal, and, in fact, he later joined the Liberal Party, becoming secretary of its executive committee in 1890. He was elected to the Chamber of Deputies in 1897 and had six terms in Congress and two terms in the Senate after successfully challenging a prominent local politician for the seat for Tarapacá. During this time he built a major political base by supporting the nitrate workers in northern Chile. He became minister of industry and public works in 1908, minister of finance in 1913, and was appointed minister of the interior in 1918.

In 1920 Alessandri was elected president of Chile, ending a right-wing domination of Chilean politics that had started in the 1830s. Alessandri faced many problems in office, and to raise more government revenue he introduced income tax for the first time in Chilean history. However, Chile was entering a period of economic hardships, and the new tax only partially made up for the shortfall in the economy. This came from the fall in the price of nitrate, which saw the Chilean peso fall from one for 27 cents (U.S.) to one for 9 cents. His reform moves were supported by the Liberal Alliance and the Democratic Party, but unemployment rose, and the pay for civil servants and the army fell into arrears. Furthermore, Alessandri's attempts to spend more on public education, health, and welfare proved unpopular with some sectors of the country. During his time as president from 1920 to 1924, Alessandri had to change his government 16 times until he was finally able to secure a majority in Congress.

However, Congress moved against him, and with the Chilean peso plummeting in value and his inability to pay the army, Alessandri offered to resign. In the end a military junta staged a coup d'état on September 15, 1924. Alessandri fled to the U.S. embassy and then into exile in Europe. General Luis Altamirano Talavera headed a military junta to run the country, but when it failed to fulfill the social reform program it had promised, junior officers overthrew it and Carlos Ibáñez del Campo headed the new junta. He allowed Alessandri to return to Chile on March 20, 1925, the former president having been promised that the constitution would be rewritten to give the executive more powers. In 1925, when Alessandri returned from exile, a crowd of 100,000 came to greet him, and several people were trampled to death in the confusion.

However, on October 1, 1925, Alessandri was again forced to resign, and Luis Barros Borgono succeeded him. In the elections that followed, Emiliano Figueroa Larraín became president, but he resigned in May 1927 to allow Ibáñez del Campo to return to power. Ibáñez borrowed U.S. $300 million from the United States and tried to resuscitate the economy. Initially it worked, but Ibáñez was forced from power, and Anarguía Política became president. Elections were held in 1932, and Alessandri was once again elected president.

Alessandri's new administration was totally different from that of the early 1920s. He was a strict constitutionalist, and he had also become more conservative and depended on the support of the right wing. His economically conservative policies led to his refusing to give money to the poor, especially those hurt by the fall in the price of nitrate and copper. With the depression hurting in Chile, Alessandri tried to reorganize the nitrate industry, doubling the government's share of profits, raising it to 25 percent. Promoting building and civil engineering projects, Alessandri still wanted to improve the provision of education. The only way of raising the extra money was by using his finance minister, Gustavo Ross Santa María, to tighten up the collecting of taxes.

In early 1937 the Nacista movement began to gain support, and on September 5, 1938, it tried to stage a coup d'état to get Ibáñez del Campo back into power. Alessandri had already alienated most of his former

supporters, who then formed the Popular Front. He used the army to arrest Ibáñez del Campo. Alessandri's term as president ended in 1938, and Pedro Aguire Cerda succeeded him. Alessandri went to Europe, endorsing Juan Antonio Ríos Morales in the 1942 elections, which he won. Returning to Chile, in 1944 Alessandri was elected to the Senate, becoming the speaker in the following year. In the 1946 elections he endorsed Gabriel González Videla, who won. By this time Alessandri had once again become more liberal in his views.

Alessandri towered over Chilean politics, but his speech was often rough and crude. When the U.S. journalist and writer John Gunther visited him, Alessandri's office was decorated with autographed photographs of politicians from all over the world, including Hindenburg, Adolf Hitler, and Edward, prince of Wales (later the duke of Windsor). He died on August 24, 1950, in Santiago. Jorge Alessandri Rodríguez, who was president of Chile from 1958 until 1964, was Arturo Alessandri's older son. His younger son, Fernando Alessandri Rodríguez, was also active in politics.

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Justin Corfield

Algeria

Algeria remained part of the French Empire throughout the first half of the 20th century, but nationalist movements for independence became increasingly more vocal and determined. Several hundred thousand Algerians fought or worked for the French military during World War I. After the war they expected reforms and changes in French policies of assimilation and favoritism toward the colons, but the colons blocked government reforms announced in 1919.

French government policies dating from the 19th century onward had gradually increased the ownership of the best land by the colons and had resulted in the impoverishment of Algerian peasants. By 1950 most Algerians owned small plots of less than 10 acres. To survive, peasants became sharecroppers or seasonal workers or fled to the cities where they were generally either day laborers or unemployed. The growing economic and social disparity between the colons and the majority Muslim Algerian population contributed to civil unrest and nationalist discontent.

In the early 1920s, Algerian workers in Paris, led by Messali al-Hajj, established the Star of North Africa, a social action, leftist movement, which attracted considerable popular support. In the interwar years, two major approaches toward the relationship with France emerged among Algerians. The first group wanted assimilation and participation as full-fledged French citizens. The second advocated Algerian independence as a separate nation. Ferhat Abbas, a pharmacist by profession, represented the first when he said, "If I had discovered an Algerian nation, I would be a nationalist . . . I have not found it." Hadj Ben Ahmed Messali championed the second approach, asserting that "Islam is our religion, Algeria our country, Arabic our language." The French often jailed Messali for his uncompromising nationalist stances.

To minimize Algerian opposition, the French adopted a divide and rule tactic by favoring the Muslim Berber population that lived in the mountainous Kabyle region and encouraging it as a separate entity from the Muslim Arab population. These attempts failed as Berbers played key roles in the nationalist movement and were particularly attracted to Messali's approach.

The Algerian Muslim Congress drew up a list of grievances in 1936 but fell far short of advocating complete independence for Algeria. Many Muslim leaders still hoped that a form of assimilation could be devised whereby Muslims could become French citizens without abrogating Islamic law or tradition. In response to the problem, the Blum-Violette proposals in 1937 provided for the gradual extension of suffrage whereby some 20,000 Algerians would become citizens with more to follow over time. However, the colons adamantly opposed any reforms that widened Algerian participation and lessened their own political and economic power. The weakness and instability of French regimes in Paris prevented the implementation of reform programs that might have ameliorated the differences.

When the Vichy French regime came to power during World War II, it instituted Nazi racist policies that imperiled both Muslim Algerians and Algerian Jews, who had been granted French citizenship in the late 19th century. These decrees were abolished when the Allied-supported French committee of national liberation took power in 1943.

Encouraged by Allied support, Abbas and his supporters issued the Manifesto of Algerian People in 1943. The manifesto paid respect to French culture but

A market in Biskra, Algeria, in the early 1900s: Algeria remained part of the French Empire throughout the first half of the 20th century, but nationalist movements for independence became increasingly more vocal and determined.

noted that assimilation had failed and that reforms were needed. Some French were willing to consider reforms, but others felt that the manifesto would lead to independence and flatly rejected it. Abbas then formed the Friends of the Manifesto and of Liberty and called for an autonomous republic in Algeria while counseling patience. His movement attracted mostly urban middle-class Algerians. The working class, far greater in numbers, supported Messali's calls for complete independence. The leader of the Free French, Charles de Gaulle, tried to conciliate the differences by proposing that more Algerians could become French citizens without giving up their Qur'anic rights, but this compromise failed to satisfy many Muslims and infuriated the colons. In 1945 the French put Abbas under house arrest, and Messali was exiled.

In the spring of 1945 parades in Setif (southwest of Constantine) celebrating the end of World War II in Europe quickly turned into nationalist demonstrations. Violence spread to cities and other areas. In the rioting and French reprisals that quickly followed, hundreds of colons and thousands of Algerians (the figures vary widely ranging from 1,500 to 80,000) were killed.

The Algerian Statute of 1947 in which assimilation was stopped and two separate communities were recognized pleased no one. Under the new law, the French prime minister appointed a governor-general who was assisted by a council of six with the right to apply

French law. The Algerian Assembly was to have two houses, one European and one for "natives." Europeans controlled both houses. Colons were against even this compromise, and Messali responded by demanding complete independence. By this time, the majority of Algerians had concluded that the French were never going to grant full equality and that independence was the only solution. By 1950 many Algerian nationalists had either been arrested by the French, were in exile, or had escaped into the mountains of the Kabyle. The conflict remained unresolved until full-scale war broke out in 1954.

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Janice J. Terry

alliance system

Alliances are a common military or political action among states. Often resorted to for defensive purposes, they frequently result in the very war they hoped to avoid. When Sparta formed the Peloponnesian League and Athens led the Delian League in the aftermath of the Persian War, war followed, and it was long and costly. Likewise, the alliance system that emerged in the years before World War I proved to be a major cause of one of the greatest conflagrations in human history.

The roots of the modern alliance system lie in the situation that arose following the victory of Prussia in its war with France in 1870–71. Since the 1860s the Prussian chancellor Otto von Bismarck had waged wars with Denmark and Austria, which led to territorial acquisitions. With the Franco-Prussian War came the unification of Germany, which then took two provinces, Alsace and Lorraine, from France. One of the major consequences of these events was a change in the balance of power as Germany replaced France as Europe's greatest nation.

German diplomats assessed these new conditions. The first point to be noted was that France constituted a threat on Germany's western border, eager as it was to retrieve the lost territories. Thus, in the 1880s, Bismarck sought to isolate France and prevent it from obtaining another ally that could pose a danger to Germany in the east and thus produce the possibility of a two-front war against Germany in the future. With this in mind, Bismarck devised the Three Emperors' League in 1873, which tied together the conservative empires of Germany, Russia, and Austria-Hungary. Even after signing the Dual Alliance with Austria-Hungary in 1879, he attempted to contain Russia in the Reinsurance Treaty of 1887.

Following Bismarck's removal from office in 1890, Germany allowed the Reinsurance Treaty to lapse, as it appeared that Russia and Austria-Hungary were incompatible partners. Russian ambitions in the Balkans, fanned by Pan-Slavism, came into conflict with Austria-Hungary's need to control these areas for the sake of its own national integrity. Thus, Russia was motivated to sign a treaty with France in 1894 to gain its assistance in the east. This created the possibility of a two-front war for Germany. It should also be noted that both France and Germany found themselves linked to eastern powers whose quarrel did not directly involve their national interests. In these circumstances, it was natural for Britain to be taken into consideration, despite the fact that Britain had a history of maintaining its distance from the continent and eschewing treaties. From the German point of view, there were two positive scenarios. The first would be for Britain to maintain neutrality; the second and best option would be for Britain to become a German partner. At the same time Russia and France hoped that Britain would become an ally and add British naval strength to their arsenal of weapons. The contest for British support was to become one of the most important issues around the turn of the century.

Germany made critical mistakes in dealing with Britain. In the first place, they seem to have believed that Germany needed to do nothing to woo Britain, for eventually Britain would be forced to side with Germany because of the former's differences with France and Russia. There was a tradition of war with both, and Britain had important rivalries with France in Africa and Russia over India and Afghanistan. This turned out to be a serious miscalculation on Germany's part since Britain, having been embarrassed by the unexpected difficulty of the Boer War, was anxious to achieve security. What truly alarmed Britain was the German decision to adopt a program to create a high seas fleet. Britain had always depended on its naval supremacy to be its most important defense and to secure its communications with the empire. The idea that Germany would challenge its predominance spurred Britain to embark

on its own naval building program, resulting in a naval race. More significantly, it prompted Britain, to the surprise of Germany, to reconsider its isolation and enter into conversations with France in 1904 and Russia in 1907. Both concluded in the resolution of their colonial differences and the inauguration of military contacts.

What had occurred was not an alliance between the three; rather, Britain had established friendly relations with the other two. Thus, this relationship became known as the the Triple Entente. This outcome, of course, now forced Germany to plan not only for a two-front war but for a war in which Britain might intervene on the side of its opponents. Moreover, it now became clear that Italy, the third member of the Triple Alliance, could not be counted on to support Germany and Austria-Hungary. The result of all of this was the development of the Schlieffen Plan, by which Germany hoped to score a decisive victory over Russia and France before Britain could intervene. This plan committed Germany to a timetable that was very hard to alter once a decision was made. Thus, it led to the violation of Belgian neutrality, which assured that Britain would come to Belgium's assistance.

The crisis in the Balkans caused by the assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand in 1914 led to a confrontation between Russia and Austria-Hungary over Serbia. Faithful to its treaty commitments, France supported Russia, while Germany backed Austria-Hungary. When German armies entered Belgium, Britain entered the war. The alliance system ensured that a chain reaction would take place as countries arrayed themselves against each other. In many ways it provoked the war it was intended to prevent.

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Marc Schwarz

All-India Muslim League

The All-India Muslim League (AIML) was established on December 30, 1906, at the time of British colonial rule to protect the interests of Muslims. Later it became the main vehicle through which the demand for a separate homeland for the Muslims was put forth. The Indian National Congress (INC) was perceived by some Muslims as an essentially Hindu organization where Muslim interests would not be safeguarded. Formed in the year 1885, the INC did not have any agenda of separate religious identity. Some of its annual sessions were presided over by eminent Muslims like Badruddin Tyabji (1844–1906) and Rahimtulla M. Sayani (1847–1902). Certain trends emerged in the late 19th century that convinced a sizable group of Muslims to chart out a separate course. The rise of communalism in the Muslim community began with a revivalist tendency, with Muslims looking to the history of Arabs as well as the Delhi sultanate and the Moghul rule of India with pride and glory. Although the conditions of the Muslims were not the same all over the British Empire, there was a general backwardness in commerce and education. The British policy of "divide and rule" encouraged certain sections of the Muslim population to remain away from mainstream politics.

The INC, although secular in outlook, was not able to contain the spread of communalism among Hindus and Muslims alike. The rise of Hindu militancy, the cow protection movement, the use of religious symbols, and so on alienated the Muslims. Syed Ahmed Khan's (1817–98) ideology and political activities provided a backdrop for the separatist tendency among the Muslims. He exhorted that the interests of Hindus and Muslims were divergent. Khan advocated loyalty to the British Empire. The viceroy Lord Curzon (1899–1905) partitioned the province of Bengal in October 1905, creating a Muslim majority province in the eastern wing. The INC's opposition and the consequent *swadeshi* (indigenous) movement convinced some Muslim elites that the congress was against the interests of the Muslim community. A pro-partition campaign was begun by the nawab of Dhaka, Khwaja Salimullah Khan (1871–1915), who had been promised a huge amount of interest-free loans by Curzon. He would be influential in the new state. The nawab began to form associations, safeguarding the interests of the Bengali Muslims. He was also thinking in terms of an all-India body. In his Shahbag residence he hosted 2,000 Muslims between December 27 and 30, 1906.

Sultan Muhammad Shah, the Aga Khan III (1877–1957), who had led a delegation in October 1906 to Viceroy Lord Minto (1845–1914) for a separate electorate for the Muslims, was also with Salimullah Khan. Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk (1837–1907) of the Aligarh movement also was present in Dhaka. On December 30 the AIML was formed. The chairperson of the Dhaka conclave, Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk (1841–1917), declared that the league would remain loyal to the British and

would work for the interests of the Muslims. The constitution of the league, the *Green Book*, was drafted by Maulana Muhammad Ali Jouhar (1878–1931). The headquarters of the league was set up in Aligarh (Lucknow from 1910), and Aga Khan was elected the first president. Thus, a separate all-India platform was created to voice the grievances of the Muslims and contain the growing influence of the Congress Party. The AIML had a membership of 400, and a branch was set up in London two years afterward by Syed Ameer Ali (1849–1928).

The league was dominated by landed aristocracy and civil servants of the United Provinces. In its initial years it passed pious resolutions. The leadership had remained loyal to the British Empire, and the Government of India Act of 1909 granted separate electorates to the Muslims. A sizable number of Muslim intellectuals advocated a course of agitation in light of the annulment of the partition of Bengal in 1911. Two years afterward the league demanded self-government in its constitution. There was also change in leadership of the league after the resignation of President Aga Khan in 1913. Mohammad Ali Jinnah (1876–1948), the eminent lawyer from Bombay (now Mumbai), joined the league.

DRIVING OUT THE BRITISH

Hailed as the ambassador of "Hindu-Muslim unity," Jinnah was an active member of the INC. He still believed in cooperation between the two communities to drive out the British. He became the president of the AIML in 1916 when it met in Lucknow. He was also president between 1920 and 1930 and again from 1937 to 1947. Jinnah was instrumental in the Lucknow Pact of 1916 between the congress and the league, which assigned 30 percent of provincial council seats to Muslims. But there was a gradual parting of the ways between the INC and the AIML. The appearance of Mohandas K. Gandhi (1869–1948) on the Indian scene further increased the distance, as Jinnah did not like Gandhi's noncooperation movement.

The short-lived hope of rapprochement between the two parties occurred in the wake of the coming of the Simon Commission. The congress accepted the league's demand for one-third representation in the central legislature. But the Hindu Mahasabha, established in 1915, rejected the demand at the All Parties Conference of 1928. The conference also asked Motilal Nehru (1861–1931) to prepare a constitution for a free India. The Nehru Report spelled out a dominion status for India. The report was opposed by the radical wing of the INC, which was led by Motilal's son Jawaharlal Nehru (1889–1964). The league also rejected the Nehru Report as it did not concede to all the league's demands. Jinnah called it a parting of the ways, and the relations between the league and the congress began to sour. The league demanded separate electorates and reservation of seats for the Muslims. From the 1920s on the league itself was not a mass-based party. In 1928 in the presidency of Bombay it had only 71 members. In Bengal and the Punjab, the two Muslim majority provinces, the unionists and the Praja Krushsk Party, respectively, were powerful. League membership also did not increase substantially. In 1922 it had a membership of 1,093, and after five years it increased only to 1,330. Even in the historic 1930 session, when the demand for a separate Muslim state was made by President Muhammad Iqbal (1877–1938), it lacked a quorum, with only 75 members present.

After coming back from London, Jinnah again took the mantle of leadership of the league. The British had agreed to give major power to elected provincial legislatures per the 1935 Government of India Act. The INC was victorious in general constituencies but did not perform well in Muslim constituencies. Many Muslims had subscribed to the INC's ideal of secularism. It seemed that the two-nation theory, exhorting that the Hindus and Muslims form two different nations, did not appeal to all the Muslims. The Muslims were considered a nation with a common language, history, and religion according to the two-nation theory.

In 1933 a group of Cambridge students led by Choudhary Rahmat Ali (1897–1951) had coined the term *Pakistan* (land of the pure), taking letters from Muslim majority areas: Punjab *P*, Afghania (North-West Frontier Province) *A*, Kashmir *K*, Indus-Sind *IS*, and Baluchistan *TAN*. The league did not achieve its dream of a separate homeland for the Muslims until 1947. It had been an elite organization without a mass base, and Jinnah took measures to popularize it. The membership fees were reduced, committees were formed at district and provincial levels, socioeconomic content was put in the party manifesto, and a vigorous anti-congress campaign was launched. The scenario changed completely for the league when in the famous Lahore session the Pakistan Resolution was adopted on March 23, 1940. Jinnah reiterated the two-nation theory highlighting the social, political, economic, and cultural differences of the two communities. The resolution envisaged an independent Muslim state consisting of Sindh, the Punjab, the North-West Frontier Province, and Bengal. The efforts of Jinnah after the debacle in the 1937 election

paid dividends as 100,000 joined the league in the same year.

There was no turning back for the league after the Pakistan Resolution. The league followed a policy of cooperation with the British government and did not support the Quit India movement of August 1942. The league was determined to have a separate Muslim state, whereas the congress was opposed to the idea of partition. Reconciliation was not possible, and talks between Gandhi and Jinnah for a united India in September 1944 failed. After the end of World War II, Great Britain did not have the economic or political resources to hold the British Empire in India. It decided to leave India finally and ordered elections to central and provincial legislatures. The league won all 30 seats reserved for Muslims with 86 percent of the votes in the elections of December 1945 for the center. The congress captured all the general seats with 91 percent of the votes. In the provincial elections of February 1946, the league won 440 seats reserved for Muslims out of a total of 495 with 75 percent of the votes.

Flush with success, the Muslim members gathered in April for the Delhi convention and demanded a sovereign state and two constitution-making bodies. Jinnah addressed the gathering, saying that Pakistan should be established without delay. It would consist of the Muslim majority areas of Bengal and Assam in the east and the Punjab, the North-West Frontier Province, Sind, and Baluchistan in the west. The British government had dispatched a cabinet mission in March to transfer power. The league accepted the plan of the cabinet mission, but the league working committee in July withdrew its earlier acceptance and called for a Direct Action Day on August 16.

The league joined the interim government in October but decided not to attend the Constituent Assembly. In January 1947 the Muslim League launched a "direct action" against the non–Muslim League government of Khizr Hayat Tiwana (1900–75) of the Punjab. Partition was inevitable, and the new viceroy, Lord Louis Mountbatten (1900–79), began to talk with leaders from the league as well as the congress to work out a compromise formula. On June 3, 1947, it was announced that India and Pakistan would be granted independence. The Indian Independence Act was passed by the British parliament in July, and the deadline was set for midnight on August 14–15. The demand of the league for a separate state was realized when the Islamic Republic of Pakistan was born on August 14.

On August 15 Jinnah was sworn in as the first governor-general of Pakistan, and Liaqat Ali Khan (1895–1951) became the prime minister. The new nation had 60 million Muslims in East Bengal, West Punjab, Sind, the North-West Frontier Province, and Baluchistan. After independence the league did not remain a major political force for long, and dissent resulted in many splinter groups. The Pakistan Muslim League had no connection with the original league. In India the Indian Union Muslim League was set up in March 1948 with a stronghold in the southern province of Kerala. The two-nation theory received a severe jolt when East Pakistan seceded after a liberation struggle against the oppressive regime of the west. A new state, Bangladesh, emerged in December 1971. In the early 21st century more Muslims resided in India (175 million) than in Pakistan (159 million).

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Patit Paban Mishra

Ambedkar, Bhim Rao

(1891–1956) *Indian lawyer and reformer*

Dr. Bhim Rao Ambedkar was the most important leader of the oppressed untouchable minority in the history of India. He acquired the honorific name Babasaheb. Fighting for his people, he angered Mohandas K. Gandhi, the revered leader of the Indian nationalist movement, as well as many Hindu traditionalists. When India became an independent country, he served in its cabinet and drafted its constitution. Near the end of his life, he became a Buddhist and encouraged other untouchables to do likewise; he had lost hope of justice for his people within Hinduism.

In Hinduism most people belonged to four hierarchical castes, but a large minority were excluded from the caste system and were regarded as beneath it. They did jobs that other Hindus rejected as ritually

unclean and were not allowed to pray in temples or to draw water from communal wells. Nearly all of them were desperately poor. In English these people often are called untouchables, or pariahs. Gandhi, wishing to improve their status, called them harijans, or children of God. To underscore their miserable condition, untouchables preferred to be called *dalits*, a name that means oppressed.

B. R. Ambedkar was born to an untouchable family as its 14th child. At the time of his birth his father was a soldier. Untouchables were divided into numerous hereditary subgroups, or *jatis*. Ambedkar belonged to the Mahar *jati*. Despite the disadvantages of poverty, family responsibilities, and untouchable status, he acquired an advanced education. In 1912 he earned a B.A. degree from Elphinstone College at Bombay University. The ruler of a princely state then financed his education in the United States and Britain. In 1916 Columbia University awarded him a Ph.D. in economics. He continued his studies at the London School of Economics. In 1921 it awarded him a second doctorate. He studied law at Gray's Inn and in 1923 was called to the bar in Britain. He also studied briefly at a German university.

In India he practiced law, taught, edited newspapers, and entered politics. Although he was elected to the Bombay legislature, his real political career was as the leader of the formerly passive untouchable community. Ambedkar's nonviolent protests mobilized tens of thousands of *dalits* for the right to draw water from wells and public tanks and to pray in temples. Although Gandhi saw himself as a friend of the untouchables, he got along poorly with Ambedkar. They quarreled at the Round Table Conferences on India's future held in London.

When Britain decided to grant India extensive political autonomy, its government grappled with the problem of the diversity within the Indian population. In 1932 Britain offered separate electorates to the untouchables, so that this oppressed minority would control the selection of its representatives. The Indian National Congress strongly opposed any separate electorates. Gandhi began a fast to put pressure on Ambedkar to reject the special electorates for his people. Reluctantly, he did so. The Indian National Congress offered Ambedkar concessions in what was known as the Poona Pact. The number of seats reserved for untouchable candidates was increased, but the entire electorate, not just untouchables, would vote on the candidates for these seats.

In 1936 Ambedkar organized the Independent Labour Party. In contrast with Gandhi and the Indian National Congress, Ambedkar and his party supported the British government in India during World War II. In 1942 he became a member of the viceroy's executive council. In the same year he organized a new political party, the Scheduled Castes' Federation.

When India became independent, Ambedkar joined the new government that the Indian National Congress dominated. From 1947 to 1951, he was a member of the cabinet. More important, he chaired the committee that drafted the national constitution and was its principal author.

In the final years of his life, Ambedkar turned to Buddhism, a religion with Indian roots that rejected the Hindu caste system and the concept of untouchability. He formally converted to Buddhism in October 1956. Hundreds of thousands of untouchables joined him in leaving Hinduism for Buddhism. A few weeks after his conversion ceremony, Ambedkar died.

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David M. Fahey

Amin, Qasim

(1863–1908) *Egyptian author and reformer*

Qasim Amin was a noted Egyptian intellectual and advocate of reform in the later 19th and early 20th centuries. His father was a Turkish Ottoman official and landowner married to an Egyptian woman. Amin was educated in Cairo and at the School of Law and Administration. He was a follower of the earlier reformer Muhammad Abduh, who sought to resolve the conflict of Islamic practices and tradition with the adoption of Western scientific thought and development. As a highly respected lawyer, Amin was sent on a government educational mission to France, where he spent several years in the 1880s. Amin wrote a number of works on social issues, and in *Les Egyptiens* he focused on the national rights of Egyptians. He was best known for his works on the status of women.

He addressed the issues of polygamy, marriage laws, education for women, seclusion, and veiling in *The Liberation of Women*, published in 1899. Amin argued that sharia (Islamic law) and Islamic custom

did not mandate either the seclusion of women in the home or veiling. Both were commonly practiced among upper and middle classes of the era. Poor peasant families could not afford the luxury of secluding or veiling women who commonly worked alongside men in the fields. Amin emphasized that sharia granted legal rights to women and that the corruption or decline of morals by outside forces had been responsible for the decline of Islamic societies. He stressed the importance of women in building modern nations and in national struggles and advocated improved education for women. According to Amin, education for women should not be limited to matters of household management but should include subjects that would enable them to participate in life outside the home. Although by contemporary standards Amin's advocacy of gradual reform was not revolutionary, his book on the status of women aroused massive public debate about the role of women and Islam. Amin was severely criticized by conservative religious leaders and the palace.

Amin repudiated his critics in a second more radical—for the age—book, *The New Woman*, in 1900. In this second book he dropped a discussion of Islamic law and tradition to justify reforms and instead applied Western thought to augment his arguments. Amin stated that with education and reforms in status, women would ultimately have almost the same rights and status as men.

Amin supported the Egyptian nationalist movement, in which both men and women were full participants, in his memoirs, *Kalimat*. He also stressed the need for scientific knowledge in order for nations to advance. An early Egyptian nationalist, Amin was friendly with Sa'd Zaghlul and Tal'at Harb, both of whom became leaders of the Egyptian nationalist movement.

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Janice J. Terry

Amritsar massacre

The Amritsar massacre (April 13, 1919) helped many moderate Indian nationalists become fiercely anti-British. The Rowlatt Acts, enacted by the British government, had outraged politically minded Indians. Extending wartime emergency legislation, the Rowlatt Acts gave the British viceroy in India the authority to silence the press, make arrests without a warrant, and imprison without trial. The Indian members of the viceroy's legislative assembly opposed this legislation, and several of them resigned (including Mohammad Ali Jinnah, later the founder of Pakistan).

To protest the Rowlatt Acts, Mohandas K. Gandhi called for a national *hartal*, a day of prayer and fasting, that on April 6 closed most shops and businesses in the northwestern province of the Punjab. The British administration in the Punjab, headed by Sir Michael O'Dwyer, was notoriously stern, and the province had long seethed with unrest. In Lahore there were large anti-British demonstrations and a railroad strike. On April 10, on O'Dwyer's order, British officials in Amritsar arrested Dr. Saif-ud-Din Kitchlew, a Muslim lawyer, and Dr. Satyapal, a Hindu who had served as a medical officer in the British army. They were leaders of the Amritsar nationalist movement. In the angry reaction against these arrests, violence broke out resulting in destruction of property and looting in Amritsar. Five British civilians and 10 Indians were killed. A school superintendent, Marcella Sherwood, was trapped by a mob, badly beaten, and left for dead. This mistreatment of a British woman outraged officials.

The villain in the story of the Amritsar massacre was Reginald E. H. "Rex" Dyer. Dyer was a colonel who held the temporary rank of brigadier general while commanding an infantry brigade in the Punjab. Born in India, he was competent in several Indian languages, including Hindi and Punjabi. Before the Amritsar massacre, he had not had a reputation of being more racist than other British officers. In fact, early in 1919 he had resigned from the officers' club that served his brigade because he objected to the exclusion of Indians who held commissions as officers. He appears to have been lacking in self-confidence while at the same time being stubborn and rash. He did not always obey orders. Unfortunately, he was stationed near Amritsar.

Apparently, Dyer acted on his own initiative in moving his brigade to Amritsar on April 11. On the next day he reissued an earlier government order that banned any meetings or gatherings. He did not continue the previous policy of slowly extending British military and police control over one part of the city after another. He preferred to parade large forces through Amritsar as a demonstration of strength and then withdraw them.

Despite the proclamations against meetings, thousands of Indians flocked to the Jallianwala Bagh on April 13, most of them in support of the imprisoned Kitchlew and Satyapal. Some arrived after the police had closed a nearby fair held in honor of the Sikh new year. By late afternoon a huge throng was present, a rather quiet crowd and not an angry mob. Estimates vary, but there certainly were more than 10,000 people. The Bagh was a trap for them. Enclosed by the walls of surrounding buildings, it had only a few narrow openings for entrance or exit, some of them locked.

Dyer made no attempt to prevent the meeting at the Jallianwala Bagh or to disperse it peacefully. He decided to make an example of those who had violated the British prohibition of large gatherings. For this purpose he assembled a small force of 90 men that included no British soldiers. Instead he chose Baluchis, Gurkhas, and Pathans, "native" soldiers but ones who lacked sympathy for local Indians. He brought with him two armored cars equipped with machine guns. He later said that he did not use them because the entrances to the Bagh were too narrow. Even without the machine guns, the carnage was great. Without any warning Dyer's soldiers fired on the crowd for 10 to 15 minutes. There was only one exit available for the thousands. In desperation many of those in the Bagh jumped into a deep well. After his troops had fired 1,650 rounds, Dyer ordered an end to the slaughter because he feared that his men would run out of ammunition and not be able to protect their withdrawal.

Nobody knows how many people were killed. An official estimate made by the British authorities says 379. An Indian investigation says 530. The wounded numbered over 1,000.

After the facts of the massacre became known, Dyer was dismissed. He returned to Britain, where a special commission of investigation censured him in 1920. Despite the official censure, some in Britain saw Dyer as a hero who took decisive action to prevent a rebellion that might have shaken British rule throughout the subcontinent. For many members of the upper and middle classes and military officers, Dyer was a victim of the government's need to appease Indian nationalists. Dyer died of natural causes in 1927. An embittered Indian assassinated O'Dwyer in 1940.

See also Indian National Congress.

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David M. Fahey

analytic philosophy

Since its beginnings in ancient Greece, one of the motivations driving Western philosophy has been the conviction that concepts such as "knowledge," "mind," "justice," and "beauty" are obscure and that it is the business of philosophers to achieve a clearer understanding of their meanings. Analytic philosophy seeks this elevated understanding through a clarification of "ordinary," that is, nonphilosophical, language that is believed by most analytic philosophers to be vague and obscure, at least in regard to concepts of interest to philosophers.

In the early decades of the 20th century, the founders of the analytic tradition, Bertrand Russell and Ludwig Wittgenstein, sought to use newly developed techniques in symbolic logic to produce ideally simple "atomic statements," the meanings of whose component terms were absolutely clear. These component terms would, they believed, directly match, or, to use Wittgenstein's term, "picture," "atomic facts," thereby yielding absolutely certain truths about "reality." Russell called this technique "logical atomism." During the 1920s and 1930s, this methodology, especially as embodied in Wittgenstein's book, *Tractatus Logico-Philosophicus*, inspired the short-lived analytic movement known as logical positivism.

In this view science represents the standard of what is to count as knowledge, and, positivists claimed, science itself ultimately rests on statements of the sort sought by Russell and Wittgenstein, namely, simple statements the truth or falsehood of which can be verified, in principle, by direct sensory experience. Utterances that cannot be analyzed and verified in this way, for example, those containing religious or ethical terms, were dismissed by logical positivists as meaningless, or at the very least as outside the boundaries of possible knowledge.

Though Russell never lost faith in some form of "logical analysis" as the proper approach to the solution of philosophical problems, over time most philosophers in the analytic tradition, including the logical positivists, came to doubt the feasibility of arriving at absolutely clear and simple statements whose truth could be conclusively verified by basic sensory experiences.

Wittgenstein also began to question his own "picture theory" of language. Later in his life he authored a radical critique not only of his and Russell's earlier work, but of virtually all of previous philosophy and in the process inspired a second movement within the analytic tradition, one that came to be known as ordinary language philosophy. Through the presentation of extensive "reminders" about how concepts actually function in "ordinary" language, the later Wittgenstein sought to wean philosophers away from the perception that our ordinary concepts are obscure and in need of philosophical analysis and clarification. With regard to our familiar concepts, Wittgenstein claimed that "nothing is hidden." A concept's meaning, he said, is fully visible in the ways in which it is used in ordinary language. If we remind ourselves of how words such as *knowledge, mind,* and the rest are used in the push and pull of life, he argued, we can see all there is to see about what they mean. The outcome of this realization should then be that philosophers' traditional problems are not solved, but dissolved, that is, shown not to have been genuine problems in the first place.

In spite of the widespread influence in the mid-20th century of this critique of the need for philosophical analysis, philosophers' faith in the legitimacy and profound urgency of their ancient puzzles reasserted itself, and it has for the most part prevailed, at least for the foreseeable future. The vast majority of analytic philosophers are today fully engaged in attempts to "shed light" on concepts of traditional philosophical interest, though without resorting to the kind of rigorous, but discredited, logical analysis envisioned by Russell and Wittgenstein in the early decades of the 20th century.

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Michael H. Reed

anarchist movements in Europe and America

Anarchism is a political belief that rejects organized government and asserts that each individual person should govern him- or herself. Anarchists believe that all forms of rulership and government over a people are detrimental to society because they interfere with individual action and responsibility. The term is distinguished from the word *anarchy*, which means the actual absence of any form of organized government. The origin of anarchism can be traced to the Age of Enlightenment in the 18th century, when movements supporting intellectualism and reason became influential. Some of the effects of the ideas of this age were radical changes in government ideals and values. The ideas of Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712–78), a Swiss-born philosopher, influenced the inciters of the French Revolution. Some of these groups applied the term *anarchist* to themselves as a positive label referring to people who were opposed to old and undesirable forms of government.

Anarchist ideas can be found in the writings of William Godwin (1756–1836), the father of *Frankenstein* author Mary Shelley. Godwin attributed the evils of mankind to societal corruption and theorized that it was better to reduce organized government. Godwin felt that humans' possession of a rational mind would be spoiled should external controls interfere.

The person who is most often credited as the father of modern anarchism is Pierre-Joseph Proudhon (1809–65). He was the first to coin the words *anarchism* and *anarchist* to refer to his belief system. In 1840 he published his first significant work, *What is Property?* He was also opposed to both capitalism and communism, though his beliefs and writings put him under the socialist umbrella.

Proudhon, when he settled in Paris, found people who had already accepted his ideas. However, the movement soon evolved into several types of anarchism mainly due to views on economics. Most of the concepts of anarchist groups are based on the treatment of the industrial worker, as this was a primary concern at the time these groups were founded, and workers were the ones who most commonly formed anarchist groups.

The major types of anarchism that have evolved since then are:

Mutualism—Although this started as a set of economic ideas from French and English labor groups, it later became associated with Proudhon. It bases its ideas on Proudhon's assertion that a product's true price should be determined by the amount of labor spent to produce it without considering materials. Therefore, mutual reward is achieved when people are paid for their labor no matter what economic conditions will apply. However, private ownership of production facilities is maintained.

Collectivist Anarchism—This movement is mostly attributed to Russian anarchist Mikhail Bakunin (1814–76). For collectivist anarchists private ownership of the means of production is opposed, and ownership is collectivized. Workers should be paid according to the time spent on production work.

Anarchist Communism—Also called communist anarchism, this movement suggests that a worker is not necessarily entitled to the products that he or she worked to produce and that mere satisfaction of needs is the payment. Instead of a general government, self-governing communes can be organized that are ruled by actual democracy, based on constituent voting. Joseph Déjacque (1821–64) is considered the first figure of this subgroup, while the most influential is Peter Kropotkin (1842–1921). Like in communism, private ownership is opposed.

Anarcho-Syndicalism—This movement promotes the power of trade unions to override capitalism and seeks to abolish the wage system and private ownership. It borrows heavily from collectivist and communist modes of anarchism. Workers' groups are to have a heavy degree of solidarity and are able to self-govern without external controls. The most prominent anarcho-syndicalist was Rudolf Rocker (1873–1958).

Individualist Anarchism—This is the most common form of anarchism in the United States. Individualist anarchism is influenced mainly by the writings of Henry David Thoreau (1817–62), although his writings are mainly philosophical and do not recommend any kind of action. Other U.S. anarchists, such as Josiah Warren, Lysander Spooner, and Benjamin Tucker had more explanation on their courses of action. However, another kind of individualist anarchism, egoism, was presented by German philosopher Max Stirner (1806–56) in the mid-1800s.

Other anarchist forms were anarcho-capitalism, which enjoys a strong following in the United States, and anarchism without adjectives, a uniquely named form championed by the most prominent female anarchist in history, Voltairine de Cleyre (1866–1912). Russian writer Leo Tolstoy (1828–1910) promoted a religion-based form of anarchism, Christian anarchism, advocating that since God is the ultimate government there should be no human governments organized.

Anarchist ideals had gained a significant following by the 19th century but had lost mass appeal by the turn of the 20th century. In the Russian Revolution and Civil War of 1917, anarchists participated alongside communists but were turned against by the communist government. This led to the 1921 Kronstadt Rebellion, and anarchists were either jailed or made to leave the country.

An act of terrorism by anarchists caused this Wall Street explosion in New York City in 1920.

In the 1930s, anarchists were opposed to the Fascist government of Italy under Benito Mussolini. Anarchists were active also in France and Spain. In 1937, the Confederación Nacional del Trabajo was a generally anarchist labor union that participated in events leading to the Spanish civil war.

See also Goldman, Emma.

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Chino Fernandez

Anglo-Japanese treaty

The Anglo-Japanese treaty was signed between Lord Lansdowne (1845–1927), the British foreign secretary, and Hayashi Tadasu (1850–1913), the minister of Japan, on January 30, 1902, in London to create an alliance scheduled to last five years. Its terms gave Japan an equal partnership with a great power of the Western

world. The purpose of this first military agreement was stabilization and peace in northeast Asia. On Japan's side it was to prevent Russian expansionism in northeast Asia, and on Great Britain's side it protected British interests and its commerce in China.

Japan felt vulnerable due to Russian influence in Manchuria and interest in Korea. The Anglo-Japanese treaty allowed Japan to become a more powerful player in world diplomacy and in negotiations with Russia. It allowed Japan to go to war against Russia in February 1904 and to ask for financial support from Great Britain. The Russo-Japanese War (1904–05) astounded the world because of the success of Japan. It ended the menace of Russia and helped Great Britain to play a greater role in Europe.

The revision of the Anglo-Japanese treaty was signed on August 12, 1905, between Lansdowne and Hayashi in Lansdowne's residence. The new terms included an extension of the area covered by the alliance to include India, British recognition of Japan's right to control Korea, and Japan's recognition of Great Britain's right to safeguard her possessions in India. It also provided that in the event of any unprovoked attack neither party would come to the assistance of its ally. The alliance would remain in force for the following 10 years. The new terms showed Japan had increased its status in international society after winning the war over Russia.

The third Anglo-Japanese alliance agreement was negotiated in 1911 after Japan's annexation of Korea. Important changes concerned the deletion of the articles related to Korea and India and the extension of the alliance for 10 more years. The second revision accommodated Japan's annexation of Korea but also, at Britain's request, excluded the United States from the region. The alliance enabled Japan to participate in World War I as a British ally.

With World War I beginning in the summer of 1914 and with political changes in China, Anglo-Japanese relations entered a new era. The new situation in the Far East restulted in a closer relationship between the United States and China. With the outbreak of the Russian Revolution and Civil War in 1917, U.S. participation in the war, and later the publication of President Woodrow Wilson's Fourteen Points on how to end the war, the groundwork was set for new national relations.

These new circumstances brought changes in Anglo-Japanese relations after World War I. Great Britain no longer feared the Russian expansion in China and had developed a close relationship with the United States. The United States had also started to view Japan as a competitor in East Asia. The problems of China were also affecting international politics. As a result, the United States decided to call a conference whose aim was to prevent expansion in China. At the Washington Conference (1921–22) Anglo-American cooperation in Asia allowed the United States to force Japan to accede to an end of the Anglo-Japanese alliance. The official termination of the alliance took place on August 17, 1923.

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Nathalie Cavasin

anti-Communist encirclement campaigns in China (1930–1934)

In 1923 Sun Yat-sen (d. 1925), leader of the Kuomintang (KMT), or Chinese Nationalist Party, then out of power, made an agreement with Adolf Joffe, Soviet representative in China. It became the basis of an entente between the KMT and the Russian Communist government whereby Russia sent advisers to help Sun and the KMT and allowed Chinese students to go to Russia to study. It also allowed members of the newly formed Chinese Communist Party (CCP) to join the KMT. This entente ushered in what became known as the first united front.

In 1926 the KMT launched a campaign called the Northern Expedition, commanded by Sun's lieutenant Chiang Kai-shek, to oust the warlords and unite China. Its spectacular success led to a power struggle between the Soviet-supported CCP and the anti-CCP faction of the KMT, led by Chiang. Chiang won the showdown, expelling the Soviet advisers, purging the CCP, and then defeating most of the remaining warlords. Between 1928 and 1937 the KMT ruled from China's new capital, Nanjing (Nanking), under an unstable coalition led by Chiang.

Remnant CCP members fled to the mountains in Jiangsu (Kiangsu) province, where they established the Chinese Soviet Republic with its capital at Ruijin (Juichin). Chiang's new government was too preoccupied with dissident KMT leaders to worry about the CCP between 1928 and 1930, which allowed the CCP to expand to parts of Hunan, Hubei (Hupei), Anhui (Anhwei), and Fujian (Fukien) provinces and increase its army to 120,000 men plus paramilitary units. Between 1930 and 1934 the Nationalist government launched five encirclement and extermination campaigns against the Communists (First Campaign, from fall 1930 to April 1931; Second Campaign, from February to May 1931; Third Campaign, from July to September 1931; Fourth Campaign, from January to April 1933; and Fifth Campaign, from October 1933 to October 1934). The first four campaigns failed because they were commanded by generals of varying ability and loyalty, because the government simultaneously had to deal with more serious revolts by dissident KMT generals, and because of Japan's attack on Manchuria and Shanghai (1931–32).

Meanwhile, Chiang consolidated his leadership and improved the central government's army with the help of German military advisers. He personally led the 700,000-strong army in the Fifth Campaign and adopted new strategies that were "70 percent political, 30 percent military." Militarily, he emphasized good training and improved morale for his officers and soldiers. As they advanced, his men constructed forts and blockhouses that blockaded the Communist-ruled areas. The political aspect of his strategies stressed economic reform, rural reconstruction, and neighborhood organization for security. These measures eliminated many of the abuses that had allowed the Communists to win the loyalty of the people of the contested region. The combination of military success and economic blockade effectively strangled the Communist-controlled land, reducing it to six counties by September 1934. On October 2 the central Chinese Soviet government headed by Mao Zedong (Mao Tse-tung) and its main army under Zhu De (Chu Teh) decided to abandon Ruijin. They broke through the western sector of the blockade, where a general not loyal to Chiang had not completed building the blockhouses. Thus began the Long March.

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Jiu-Hwa Lo Upshur

appeasement era

In October 1925 British, French, Belgian, and Italian representatives met in Locarno, Switzerland, to settle postwar territory claims in eastern Europe and normalize diplomatic relations with Weimar Germany. Germany also sought to establish guarantees protecting its western borders as established by the Treaty of Versailles that ended World War I.

Under the Locarno Pact, Germany, France, and Belgium agreed not to attack each other, while Great Britain and Italy signed as guarantors to the agreement. As such, all parties pledged assistance if Germany, France, or Belgium took any aggressive action against any of them. Additionally, Germany agreed with France, Belgium, Poland, and Czechoslovakia to handle any disputes diplomatically through the League of Nations, while France guaranteed mutual aid to Poland and Czechoslovakia in the event of a German attack.

Under the terms of the Treaty of Versailles, Germany was forced to disarm, lost all territorial gains, and had to pay reparations as part of the acceptance of guilt in starting the war. Germans resented the treaty, considering it far too harsh and demeaning. Many blamed the treaty for compromising Germany's economy, so much so that by 1923 the Weimar Republic could not make the required reparation payments. The situation worsened when the Great Depression hit in the 1930s, heightening the already-bleak socioeconomic pressures of the country. As a result, Germans faced a complete disintegration of their society, as a majority of citizens became disillusioned about the future of the country. Upon his ascension to the chancellorship in January 1933, Adolf Hitler sought changes to the treaty that would allow for German *lebensraum* (living space). With that in mind, Hitler formally repudiated the Treaty of Versailles in March 1935, using it as both scapegoat and propaganda for the ills of the nation. He set about restructuring the economy and, more importantly, rearming the military in violation of the treaty. Industrial production and civic improvements were expanded, the results of which were both positive and negative: The unemployment rate fell with continued arms production and construction projects,

while inflation increased due to currency manipulation and deficit spending. The German military (Wehrmacht) reintroduced conscription, which helped to lower the unemployment rate further, and reorganized to include a new navy, the Kriegsmarine, and an air force, the Luftwaffe—both of which were severe violations of Versailles.

Hitler made the argument that rearmament was a necessity for Germany's continued security. At the time, European leaders felt such allowances simply corrected certain wrongs that bitter victors had set in the aftermath of a brutal world war; thus, Germany faced no repercussions other than formal protests. When France and the Soviet Union signed a treaty of alliance in 1936, Hitler's aims became even more significant. In response to the Franco-Soviet treaty, Hitler pressed for the stationing of German troops in the Rhineland. In accordance with the Treaty of Versailles, the entire Rhineland area was demilitarized to serve as a buffer between Germany and France, Belgium, and Luxembourg. By 1930 Allied forces had completely withdrawn under the terms of the treaty, which equally prohibited German forces from entering the area. Further, the Allies could reoccupy the territory if it was unilaterally determined that Germany had violated the treaty in any way.

France was not prepared militarily to dispute any claim over the territory without British aid. Great Britain could not provide such support. As a result, both countries had no choice but to allow Germany to retake the region. Thus, a policy of appeasement toward Germany was officially born under British prime minister Stanley Baldwin (1935–37), though it had already begun under his predecessor, Ramsey McDonald (1929–35). Guided by the growing pacifist movement, both Ramsey and Baldwin realized that national consensus did not favor military action. In spite of pressure from outspoken critics like Winston Churchill, who recognized the dangers of German rearmament, both were determined to keep the country out of war.

Hitler's ambitions grew greater. Unwilling to assist the Republican government, Baldwin initiated a pact of nonintervention with 27 countries, including Germany and Italy. Despite being signatories, Hitler and Italy's Benito Mussolini, in violation of the agreement, sent weapons and troops to support General Francisco Franco and his nationalist forces. By December both countries were fully involved in the Spanish conflict, having agreed two months earlier to an alliance, known as the Axis, to solidify their positions in Europe.

Using the war as a test for its armed forces and methods, particularly the Luftwaffe and blitzkrieg tactics, Germany demonstrated how far its remilitarization efforts had advanced. On April 26, 1937, the town of Guernica came to symbolize and foreshadow the German advancements. German and Italian forces in a joint operation began a bombing campaign against the town. The attack happened so swiftly that it appeared as one continuous assault, with no other intent than the complete decimation of the civilian population. However, several thousand refugees had come to the town in the wake of the war; by all estimates the number of dead stood near 1,700, consisting mainly of women, children, and elderly, with over two-thirds of the town in ruins.

ANSCHLUSS

As the Axis powers continued to lend support in Spain, Hitler forced his native Austria to unify politically (*Anschluss*) with Germany in March 1938. Despite the Treaty of Versailles's prohibition of union between Germany and Austria, again the Allies' response to the *Anschluss* went no further than formal diplomatic protests. A month earlier, on February 12, Austrian chancellor Kurt Schuschnigg had met with the führer in Berchtesgaden, Bavaria. Hitler had demanded the ban on the Austrian Nazi Party be lifted and that they be allowed to participate in the government, or Austria would face military retaliation from Germany. With little choice, Schuschnigg complied with the demands by appointing two Nazis to his cabinet, Arthur Seyss-Inquart and Edmund Glaise-Horstenau. He also announced a referendum to decide independence or union with Germany—a stall tactic aimed at preserving Austrian autonomy.

However, the gradual usurpation of authority by Schuschnigg's newly appointed ministers and pressure from Germany—in the form of an ultimatum from Hitler that threatened a full invasion—forced Schuschnigg to hand power over to Seyss-Inquart and the Austrian Nazi Party. When Hitler further threatened invasion, Miklas reluctantly acquiesced. On March 12 the German Wehrmacht 8th Army entered Vienna to enforce the Anschluss, facing no resistance from the Austrians. Many Austrians gave their support to the Anschluss with relief that they had avoided a potentially brutal conflict with Germany. Others fled the country in fear of the Nazi seizure of power.

Austria was only the beginning. When Neville Chamberlain became prime minister of Great Britain in May 1937 he adhered to the policy of appeasement that

his two predecessors had cultivated. He believed that the continued consent of changes to the Treaty of Versailles could prevent another war with Germany. To that end, Chamberlain, France's Édouard Daladier, and Italy's Benito Mussolini met with Hitler in Munich, Germany, in September 1938 to settle a dispute over the German-speaking Sudetenland, which both Czechoslovakia and Germany claimed. Hitler claimed that the Czech government was mistreating Sudeten Germans in Czechoslovakia, despite no evidence of such treatment and adamant denials from government officials; the same argument was made for German minorities living in Hungary and Poland. Exploiting ethnic tensions as a pretext to gain a foothold in eastern Europe, Germany demanded the incorporation of the region into Nazi Germany.

The Allies urged the Czech government to comply. In what is known as the Munich Pact, the parties agreed on September 29, 1938, without Czech representation, to the transfer of the Sudetenland to German control. Terms of the agreement included the allowance of German settlements in the region, with Germany exacting no further claims of Czech lands. Triumphant that the situation had been resolved and war resoundingly avoided, Chamberlain and Daladier returned to England and France, declaring that the peace had been preserved. Feeling abandoned by its allies, particularly France, Czechoslovakia had no choice but to capitulate to Hitler.

As German troops moved into the newly acquired territory, the Czech population fled to central Czechoslovakia. Six months later Germany violated the Munich agreement by invading Czechoslovakia itself. Despite an alliance with France and the Soviet Union, neither came to Czechoslovakia's aid. Hitler's main motivation for the invasion involved the seizure of Czech industrial facilities. However, Hitler's intentions to invade Poland following the breakdown of negotiations over territorial concessions deemed it necessary that he eliminate Czechoslovakia first. Accordingly, on March 15, 1939, German forces entered the Czech capital of Prague, proclaiming the regions of Bohemia and Moravia as German protectorates.

Chamberlain and the Allied nations now faced a major international impasse. They had granted concessions to Hitler, with no repercussions when Germany violated the agreements. If Hitler were to continue that course of action, the Allies would find themselves in a difficult position in regard to other international commitments. In particular, both Great Britain and France pledged aid to Poland were Germany to invade it. The scenario became a reality when Germany invaded Poland on September 1, 1939. In a final attempt to avert war Great Britain and France lodged formal warnings and diplomatic protests against the invasion, to no avail. As a result, notwithstanding the Soviet-German agreement, both countries were forced to declare war on Germany.

See also World War II.

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Steve Sagarra

Arab-Israeli War (1948)

After World War II Great Britain was no longer able economically, politically, or militarily to control Palestine. The Labour government was elected to power in 1945, and the new foreign minister, Ernest Bevin, attempted to placate mounting Arab opposition to a Jewish state by enforcing limitations on Jewish immigration into Palestine. Even during World War II some Revisionist Zionist groups had begun attacking British officials and forces in attempts to force the British to vacate Palestine. The Irgun, led by Menachem Begin, and LEHI (Stern Gang) both attempted to kill Sir Harold MacMichael, the British high commissioner in Palestine, and in 1944 LEHI killed Lord Moyne, the British minister of state for the Middle East. In 1946 the Irgun bombed the King David Hotel, the British headquarters in Jerusalem, killing over 90 people. The British branded the Irgun a terrorist organization and arrested many of its members. The Irgun retaliated by kidnapping British soldiers; British arms depots were also raided.

Although the United States was reluctant to ease its own immigration quotas, it pressured Britain to allow increased Jewish immigration into Palestine. In the aftermath of the Holocaust, the forced return or imprisonment on Cyprus of illegal Jewish immigrants fleeing Europe was an untenable moral and political position. From the Zionist perspective there was no such thing as an "illegal" Jewish immigrant into Pales-

tine, and numerous means of circumventing or evading British border controls were devised to allow the landing of new Jewish immigrants. Some Zionists, including Chaim Weizmann, recognized the potential problem posed by the displacement of Palestinians, but he argued that the Jewish need was greater. David Ben-Gurion and others in Palestine continued to claim all of Palestine for the Jewish state.

Following the war, the United States issued several public statements favoring the creation of a Jewish state. In the face of its domestic weakness and reliance on U.S. economic assistance, the British government in 1947 announced that it was turning over the entire problem of Palestine to the newly formed United Nations. The UN then created the UN Special Committee on Palestine (UNSCOP), composed of 11 member states, to investigate the situation and to make recommendations as to what should be done regarding the mounting conflict between Zionist demands for a Jewish state and Palestinian demands for an independent Arab state in Palestine.

In 1947 UNSCOP traveled to Palestine, where it was well received by the Zionists and boycotted by the Arab Higher Command of Palestine under the mufti Hajj Amin al-Husseini, an implacable opponent of a Jewish state. From the Palestinian point of view, any Jewish state would result in a loss of territory that was considered part of the Palestinian national homeland. However, by boycotting the negotiations, the Palestinians lost an opportunity to present their side to the general Western public and politicians. UNSCOP submitted a minority and majority report; the minority recommended a binational state, and the majority recommended partition. The proposed partition plan allotted approximately 50 percent of the land for the Jewish state and 50 percent for an Arab state, with Jerusalem and a large area around the city to be under international control. The projected Jewish state included most of the north and coastal areas with the better agricultural land and sea access as well as the Negev desert in the south. Jaffa, totally surrounded by the proposed Jewish state, was to be an Arab port. Although the plan did not include all the territory the Zionists had claimed, Ben-Gurion and the majority Labor Party reluctantly accepted the UN partition scheme and launched an all-out effort to make an independent Jewish state a reality and to obtain recognition from the international community.

At the time there were 1.26 million Palestinian Arabs, or two-thirds of the total population, and 608,000 Jews, or one-third of the population, in Palestine, and Arabs still owned over 80 percent of the total land within Palestine. Consequently, the Palestinians and other Arab states rejected the plan. At the pan-Arab conference in Bludan, Syria, in 1937, the Arabs had already unanimously rejected any partition of Palestine, so the rejection in 1947 came as no surprise to either side.

The United States lobbied several nations that were poised to abstain or vote against partition: Members of the UN narrowly voted in favor of the partition plan in November 1947. Violence immediately broke out in Palestine and elsewhere in the Arab world, and in waves of anti-Semitism Jewish quarters and businesses in Cairo, Baghdad, and elsewhere were attacked. The mufti called for a three-day strike in Palestine, during which violence between the two communities escalated.

The British withdrew from Palestine in May 1948, and war immediately broke out. By the time of the British withdrawal the Haganah effectively controlled the area allotted to the Jewish state by the partition plan. On May 14, 1948, Ben-Gurion proclaimed the establishment of the independent state of Israel amid widespread rejoicing among Jewish communities. Ben-Gurion became the first Israeli prime minister in a coalition government dominated by the Labor Party, and the Haganah became the Israeli Defense Force (IDF). The new state was immediately recognized by both the United States and the Soviet Union; however, the celebrations were tempered by the certainty of impending war with the surrounding Arab states and the Palestinians.

Israeli forces were well organized and trained with a unified chain of command and a plan for securing all the territory allotted to the new state. With the IDF, the Palmach, or shock troops, the police, and the Irgun and Stern Gang Israeli forces numbered about 60,000 in addition to 40,000 reservists. The Irgun and Stern Gang were not incorporated in the IDF but on some occasions coordinated efforts with it.

Arabs forces also numbered about 40,000 and included the Arab Liberation Army, volunteer forces led by Fawzi al-Kawakji, and the Jordanian Arab Legion, commanded by a British officer, Glubb Pasha. The legion was the best trained of the Arab forces. Abd al-Kader al-Husseini commanded Palestinians in Jerusalem; Iraqi and Syrian soldiers also fought in the war. The Arab League supported the Palestinian cause but refused to provide money to the mufti or to recognize the establishment of a Palestinian state in exile. The Palestinian population remained demoralized from their earlier defeat by the British in the Arab

Revolt of 1936–39 and had no real unified political or military leadership. Arab armies also suffered from inferior armaments and corrupt leadership, and they had not coordinated their efforts or devised an effective plan for military victory.

PALESTINIAN REFUGEES

By the time the war broke out massive numbers of Palestinians had already become refugees in neighboring Arab countries. Some upper- and middle-class Palestinians had left for jobs and businesses in other Arab countries during the mandate period, and the peasantry, by far the majority of the Palestinian population, was frightened by the mounting violence and impending war. The causes for the mass exodus remain highly controversial, with both sides blaming the other for the refugee problem. Some Palestinians undoubtedly left what was soon to become a war zone in the belief that they would return home after the war was over and the Arabs had been victorious. Attacks by Israeli forces, especially the Irgun, also terrorized the peasants and incited many to flee.

In the spring of 1948 the Irgun and LEHI attacked Deir Yasin, a peaceful village near Jerusalem, killing over 200 Palestinian civilians. The massacre at Deir Yasin spread terror among Palestinian peasants, who feared the same fate might befall their villages. Palestinians left Haifa and the northern area of Tiberias; those from northern Palestine fled into Syria and Lebanon, those in the central area went to the West Bank and across the Jordan River into Jordan, and those in the south crowded into the Gaza Strip along the Mediterranean Sea. By the end of April over 150,000 Palestinians had left, and by May the numbers reached 300,000.

The 1948 war is known as the war of independence in Israel and called al-Nakba, or disaster, by the Palestinians. Military engagements in the war fell into three parts. In the first part, lasting from May to June, Egyptian forces crossed into the Negev in the south on May 15, and the Iraqis subsequently marched through Jordan into Palestine and Israel and at one juncture were within 10 miles of the Mediterranean. According to an earlier secret agreement between the Zionists and King Abdullah of Jordan, Jordanian troops would not move into areas allotted to the Jewish state, in return for which Abdullah was to secure the West Bank. The agreement held during the war, but since there had been no agreement regarding Jerusalem, Jordanian and Israeli forces fought over the city, and the Jews were forced to surrender the Jewish quarter in the old part of the walled city. The Syrians were halted in the north, and there was no Lebanese resistance.

The UN sent Count Folke Bernadotte of Sweden, a leading figure in the International Red Cross, to mediate; Bernadotte secured a truce in mid-June that lasted for four weeks, during which time the Israelis secured arms from Czechoslovakia and elsewhere. Great Britain suspended the supply of arms to Iraq, Transjordan, and Egypt. The truce ended in July, followed by 10 days of fierce fighting during which time the Israeli victory became apparent. Israeli forces took all of northern Palestine and restored communication between Jerusalem and Tel Aviv.

A second truce was negotiated in July, when al-Kawakji's forces had been decisively defeated and Israel held all Galilee; however, the eastern part of Jerusalem, including the Old City, remained under Jordanian control. In the negotiations Bernadotte had angered both sides, and there was fear among Israelis that his final report due in September would be favorable to the Arabs. His report supported the partition plan but with the right of Palestinian repatriation; he also recommended that the Negev go to the Arabs, that Galilee be Jewish, the creation of a UN boundary patrol, and that Haifa be a free port. Jerusalem was to remain under UN auspices. The Stern Gang assassinated Bernadotte in September, and the report was never implemented. The U.S. diplomat Ralph Bunche was appointed the new mediator.

In October the Israelis attacked the Egyptian forces in the Negev. A small group of Egyptian soldiers including a young officer, Gamal Abdul Nasser, held out for several months at Falluja but, lacking reinforcements or relief from Egypt, were ultimately forced to surrender. Nasser blamed the corrupt regime of King Faruk for the loss and would lead a successful revolution against the monarchy in 1952. In December Israel moved further into the Negev and northern Sinai but reluctantly withdrew from the Gaza Strip, which was administered by the Egyptian military.

The 1948 war resulted in the partition of Jerusalem, with west Jerusalem held by Israel and east Jerusalem by Jordan. Through military victories Israel had increased its territory by about one-third more than the original partition plan had called for. As far as Israel was concerned, the gains were nonnegotiable, and the land was immediately incorporated into the new state. The mufti attempted to establish a Palestinian state based in Gaza, but he was thwarted by King Abdullah. In December Abdullah announced the unification of the West Bank and east Jerusalem with Jordan; Abdullah's

claim as sovereign of Palestine was supported by hand-picked notables, and the Palestinians remained without a state of their own.

Peace negotiations were held at Rhodes in early 1949. Because the Arabs refused to recognize Israel, Bunche had to shuttle back and forth between the Arab and Israeli delegations, and the negotiations became known as the Proximity Talks. An armistice was reached with Egypt in February 1949, Lebanon in March, Jordan in April with clauses for the withdrawal of Iraqi forces from Jordanian territory, and Syria in July. No formal armistice was ever reached with Iraq.

SETTING THE STAGE

The losses in the 1948 war left the Arabs humiliated and unforgiving and set the stage for future political upheavals through much of the region. Attempts by the UN to secure a full peace failed; although full-scale fighting ceased, technically the Arabs and Israel remained at war.

Nor was the Palestinian refugee issue resolved. Fearing the creation of a possible fifth column within its new borders and a possible Arab majority in the new Jewish state, Israel refused to permit the return of most of the refugees and blamed the Arab governments for having created the problem in the first place. The Arabs blamed Israel. The Palestinians were determined to return to their homes in the future and refused resettlement elsewhere. Arab states were also ill equipped to deal with the influx of refugees; some Arab regimes also used the refugees as pawns in their own struggles with Israel. Only Syria volunteered to discuss granting citizenship to the refugees. Ben-Gurion refused to negotiate unless his preconceived terms were met, and the offer was dropped.

By 1949 there were about 800,000 Palestinian refugees, and the United Nations established an agency that became UNRWA (UN Relief and Works Administration) to provide minimal assistance of about 16 cents per day for them. As the conflict continued and as successive generations were born in the camps, the number of refugees grew. The issues of repatriation, reparations, or compensation for land and businesses lost remained unresolved into the 21st century.

The new Israeli government set about incorporating its territorial gains and assimilated over half a million new Jewish immigrants, many of whom came from Arab states, especially Iraq and Yemen. No peace settlement was reached between the Arabs and Israel, and the conflict continued to fester until full-scale war broke out again in 1956.

See also Hashemite monarchy in Jordan; Zionism.

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Janice J. Terry

Arab nationalism

Arab nationalism emerged in the 19th century as the ruling Ottoman Empire continued its long decline. Arabs, who constituted the single largest ethnic group in the empire, were particularly resistant to the program adopted by the ruling Committee of Union and Progress stressing Turkish history, language, and ethnicity after 1908. Arabs were particularly opposed to the teaching of the Turkish language as the first language in schools. Both Arab and Turkish nationalists such as the Young Turks grappled with the questions of what to do about the Ottoman Empire and whether separation along nationalist lines or decentralization was preferable. Prior to World War I, when many still hoped that the Ottoman Empire might be reformed, a number of Arab intellectuals and activists formed clubs and published essays dealing with the problems of the empire and offering possible solutions to its problems.

In 1905 Negib Azoury (d. 1916), a French-educated Syrian Christian, published *Le Reveil de la Nation Arabe*. Azoury separated religion from government and openly demanded Arab independence from the Ottomans. He envisioned one Arab nation with the full equality of Muslims and Christians; however, Azoury did not include Egypt or North Africa in the projected Arab state. Amin al-Rihani and others emphasized Arabism over either Christianity or Islam.

A number of small nationalist clubs and political organizations were also established. Al-Qahtaniyya, formed in 1909, was made up of Arab officers in the Ottoman army who discussed the issues of ethnic and national identity. Many of the same officers joined Al-Ahd (the Pact), led by the Egyptian major Aziz Ali al-Misri. Misri was anti-Turkish and aimed for full Arab independence. In 1911 Al-Fatat (the Youth) had several

hundred Christian and Muslim members who called for the decentralization of the empire under some sort of dual monarchy along the lines of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. An Arab congress met in Paris in 1913 and recommended the decentralization of the Ottoman government and that Arabic be the official language in Arab provinces. All of these groups aimed for the creation of a secular, democratic state.

When the Ottomans joined the Central Powers in World War II and declared jihad, or holy war, in the fight against the Allies, most Arab Muslims rejected the call, arguing that both sides of the European conflict were predominantly Christian and that it made no sense to fight on religious grounds. Sherif Husayn of the Hashemite family used the war as an opportunity to gain what he believed to be British support for an independent Arab state after the war in the Sherif Husayn–Mcmahon correspondence. Sherif Husayn's son Faysal met with Arab nationalists in Syria to secure their backing for his father's efforts. Misri and other Arab nationalists supported the Hashemites and in the Damascus Protocol of July 1915 agreed to Anglo-Arab cooperation in the war. Consequently, the Arabs raised the standard of revolt in June 1916 and fought with the British against the Ottomans and Germany for the duration of the war. Misri and another Arab Ottoman officer of Iraqi origin, Jafar Pasha Al-Askari, were among the most notable soldiers to join the fight against the Ottomans. In 1916 Ottoman Turkish soldiers commanded by Ahmed Jemal Pasha publicly hanged several known Arab nationalists in downtown Beirut.

However, during the war the British made two other conflicting agreements, the Sykes-Picot Agreement and the Balfour Declaration, regarding the future of the Arab world. After the war the Arabs did not receive national independence. The Arab provinces of the old Ottoman Empire, including present-day Iraq, Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, Palestine, and Israel—none of which existed as independent states at the time—were divided up between the British and the French. Egypt, the Sudan, and North Africa also remained under French, British, or Italian control. When the Arabs failed to achieve self-determination, one Arab nationalist reputedly remarked, "Independence is never given, it is always taken."

In Syria representatives had gathered at the General Syrian Congress in 1919, and in the spring of 1920 they declared Syria's independence governed as a constitutional monarchy under Emir Faysal. To enforce their mandate over Lebanon and Syria, French forces attacked the fledgling Syrian army, defeating it at Maysalun Pass, near Damascus. Faysal was forced into exile but was subsequently made king of Iraq by the British.

During the interwar years Arab nationalist parties from Morocco to Iraq adopted a wide variety of tactics including economic boycotts, strikes, demonstrations, and negotiations in the struggles against imperial control. When all of these failed some turned to more violent methods, joining armed paramilitary groups. There were also periodic and often spontaneous revolts and insurrections against the European occupiers from Egypt, to Iraq, to Syria. The Syrian revolt in 1925 was a major grassroots uprising against the French occupation. The revolt failed, and the French retained control of the Syrian mandate. Although the British granted facades of independence to Iraq, Transjordan (later Jordan), and Egypt, most of the other Arab territory remained under direct or indirect Western control until after World War II.

Sati al Husri, a Syrian, was one of the foremost theoreticians of pan-Arabism. An Ottoman official prior to World War I, Husri supported Sherif Husayn and his son Faysal in the Arab revolt against the Ottoman Turks. In the 1940s Husri was responsible for the Iraqi educational curriculum that emphasized Arab history and culture. A prolific writer, Husri argued that the Arabs were a single people, including Egyptians and Maghrabis (North Africans), and that their common identity was based on a common language and history. His books included *In Defence of Arabism*. Husri and other Arab writers recognized the importance of Islam for Christian as well as for Muslim Arabs in their history and culture but foresaw the creation of one unified secular democratic Arab state. After World War II Husri became director general of cultural affairs of the League of Arab States, where he continued to champion pan-Arabism.

With the encouragement of the British, the first Arab conference was held in Alexandria, Cairo, in 1944; it resulted in the formation of the League of Arab States, ratified in 1945. The league was headquartered in Cairo, and Egypt often dominated the organization. Member states were usually represented by their foreign ministers at meetings. Abd al-Rahman Azzam, an Egyptian who had fought in the nationalist Libyan war from 1911 to 1912, became the first secretary-general of the league and remained in that position until 1952. Azzam was a tireless champion of the league and of a pan-Arabism that would be all inclusive. As Arab states became independent in the postwar era, all joined the league.

The league supported the Palestinian cause and, as part of the struggle against Israel after the Arab

losses in the 1948 war, implemented an Arab boycott of Israeli goods. The boycott was administered from Damascus, but individual Arab governments enforced it in a haphazard fashion; it had minimal impact. In 1950 league members signed a Joint Defence and Economic Cooperation Treaty as a cooperative effort to protect members against Israel. Pan-Arabism reached its apogee during the Nasserist era in the 1950s and 1960s, when there were numerous efforts to unify the separate Arab states.

See also French mandate in Syria and Lebanon; Hashemite dynasty in Iraq.

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Armenians in the Ottoman Empire

After the Ottoman sultan Mehmet II captured Constantinople on May 26, 1453, a new policy regarding minorities was initiated. The Ottomans organized each non-Muslim religious minority, mainly Christians and Jews, into a separate national administration, called a *millet* (pl. *milletler*). The head of each *millet* was its highest religious authority residing in the Ottoman Empire. For Christians there were at first three *milletler:* one for the group of Byzantine (Greek) Orthodox, one for the Armenian Orthodox, and one for the Assyrian Church of the East. By the time of the fall of the Ottoman Empire there were no fewer than eight Christian *milletler.* The ideology behind this principle of organization was a liminal concept of "clean" versus "defiled." Expressed in sociological terms, the "clean" Muslim Ottoman Turks did not wish to come into contact with "unclean" Christians. Furthermore, by substituting the Christian idea of "church" with the Islamic idea of an ethnic and religious nation in which the Armenian clergy were also civil and judicial administrators of the Armenian people, the Ottomans sought to destroy the spiritual power of the churches by forcing the bishops and other clergy to be embroiled in secular administration.

In the Ottoman system, the civil head of each Christian minority *millet* was a patriarch. The duty of the patriarch was to administer the internal civil as well as ecclesiastical affairs of his *millet*. The patriarch's chief responsibility was the collection of taxes on behalf of the Ottoman government, and the patriarch was the sole representative of his nation to the sultan. The patriarch also was responsible for education, hospitals, family law, and permission to travel within the Ottoman Empire.

The *millet* system offered some advantages for the minority groups themselves. It was illegal to convert Armenians to Islam, although this took place with significant frequency when it behooved the Ottoman government. Armenians were also nominally protected from intermarriage, and thus the homogeneity of each *millet* was largely preserved. For other minorities who were Muslim, principally the Kurds, their fate was worse: As Muslims they were not accorded a distinct national identity.

NATIONAL SELF-CONCEPT

For Armenians the church was the foundation of their national self-concept. Most Armenians were ignorant theologically. While many, especially in the rural areas of eastern Anatolia, were not formally religious, they were strongly pious. The major festivals of the church were celebrated even in the poorest homes. Even the simplest folk understood that the church was fundamental to their national survival, and Armenians supported their church as much as they could.

In the last three decades of the 19th century, like many other minorities in the Ottoman Empire, Armenians were faced with a precarious existence. Armenians in eastern Anatolia, who were forbidden to keep firearms, were at the mercy of marauding Kurds and Turks. Although some Armenians loyal to the Ottoman government rose to positions of power in the state, overall they were second-class citizens, faced with corruption both within and outside of their own community, unfairly taxed, and who, despite their industriousness and hard work, began immigrating to the United States, Canada, South America, and Australia in large numbers.

The Russo-Turkish War of 1877–78 marked the beginning of a new and bloody chapter for Armenians in the Ottoman Empire. The wars with Russia brought Armenians in Turkey into close quarters with their brethren in Russia, who enjoyed a much higher standard of living and greater autonomy. As a result the national revival of Armenians advanced much faster in Russian Caucasia than in Turkey. The Great Concert of

European powers produced the Treaty of Berlin (July 1878), which blocked Russia's attempt to force the sultan to improve the lives of Armenians. The situation of Armenians in Anatolia became worse in the 1880s, as Kurds and other Muslim minorities attacked Armenians without interference from the Turkish governors.

The result was that Armenians formed political organizations to force the Ottomans to deal with these and other problems. By the 1890s Armenian paramilitary organizations emerged with the intention of organizing a defense of Armenians and Armenian interests. The most important of these was the Armenian Revolutionary Federation, which sought greater autonomy for Armenians while ruling out political independence, and the Social Democratic Hnchag ("Clarion") Party, which sought complete independence for Armenia.

In 1894 the matter came to a head when Hnchag leaders sought to stir the international community to action through a planned act of rebellion. The response of the Ottoman government was very much disproportionate to the threat posed by the act: The Kurds and the Turkish military exterminated many villages that did not participate in the rebellion. In the course of 1894–96 in a planned and systematic fashion, Sultan Abdul Hamid I sought to solve the Armenian question through reduction of the number of Armenians through massacres. European powers did not intervene largely out of fear of Russia, and American president Grover Cleveland refused to intervene. The massacres essentially ended the Armenian revolutionary drive for independence and even led to a rejection of revolution from some of its most prominent Armenian supporters.

However, after 1904 renewed Armenian guerrilla activity in eastern Anatolia resulted in further punitive massacres similar to those in 1894–96. Further attacks followed in Adana and in Syria in 1908 with the participation of the Young Turks, who had seized power that same year. The tense situation between Armenian political organizations and the government of the Young Turks continued. The problem was compounded by the intervention of Western powers in Turkish governance and their open hostility to the Turkish regime. The start of World War I, which pitted Turkey against many of its former enemies, particularly Russia, resulted in a cataclysm of death for Armenian civilians. The policy of brutally suppressing Armenian cries for safety from murder and pillage under the Ottomans continued. The government of the Ottoman Empire, led by the Young Turks, began a policy of massacre that was concentrated in 1915 but continued in the new Turkish Republic until 1922. Claiming that the Armenians and other Christians were collaborating with the Russian army, the Turks set out to systematically eliminate, or at least to reduce to an insignificant number, the Armenians and other Christians from eastern Anatolia.

Along with this violence came the transfer of the wealth of these groups into Kurdish and Turkish hands. Although most of this activity was conducted at the hands of Kurds and prisoners released for the massacres, the Turkish army provided support, and the Turkish government was responsible for sanctioning and in some cases actively planning the removal of Armenians from eastern Anatolia. As many as 1.5 million Armenians, along with hundreds of thousands of Suryani and Assyrian Christians, were killed or died as a result of forced marches southward through the desert or in concentration camps.

The Turkish government in the early 21st century vehemently denied that the government of the Young Turks (who also were the founders of the modern Turkish Republic) engaged in a planned and systematic elimination of all Armenians from Anatolia. Instead, the Turkish Republic claimed that most of the casualties were Armenians who fought with the invading Russian army against the Ottomans, and that the number of these battle casualties for Armenians was 600,000. Currently, a reassessment of the Turkish participation in the slaughter of the Armenians is occurring among intellectuals and historians in Turkey, and even the government is promoting restoration and cultural expressions of the Armenians and other minorities as it lobbies to join the European Union.

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Robert R. Phenix, Jr.

art and architecture (1900–1950)

With new styles and the availability of new construction material, there was a dramatic change in architecture during the first half of the 20th century. Although prefabrication had first been used in London's Crystal Palace in 1851, it did not become popular until the early 20th century, which saw the rise in functionalism.

However, some architects reacted sharply against this, the most well-known being perhaps British architect Edwin Lutyens, who returned to a simplified Georgian classicism with the Viceroy's House in Delhi, India, and other projects. In Britain Norman Shaw was one of the main domestic architects.

The first half of the 20th century saw a massive increase in travel around the world and the publication of heavily illustrated photographic works, art books, and millions of postcards. This led to much use of iconography, with particular cities being identified by specific buildings or structures. Examples of these include the Empire State Building (1931) in New York, the Harbour Bridge (1932) in Sydney, and the Golden Gate Bridge (1937) in San Francisco. Postcards also became important for artists whose designs, drawings, and photographs were reproduced and sold around the world, exposing creative people to influences of which previous generations had not known.

In terms of art styles, Fauvism from France of the 1890s continued to influence painters, and cubism began to revolutionize the manner in which art and sculpture was produced, the latter producing artists Pablo Picasso, Fernand Léger, and Georges Braque. Expressionism emerged in the 1910s, and Dadaism peaked from 1916 until 1920, introducing an antiwar polemic through the work of Marcel Duchamp, Francis Picabia, and others. From the 1920s surrealism became a cultural movement, reflecting itself in visual artwork. In Germany the Bauhaus movement flourished under Walter Gropius during the 1920s and also led to work by Vasily Kandinsky and Josef Albers; the Swiss architect Le Corbusier became famous during the 1940s for his introduction of modernism and functionalism; and Buckminster Fuller was celebrated for his geodesic domes. Other notables include Max Ernst, Joan Miró, and Salvador Dalí.

The two world wars and several other conflicts also had a dramatic influence on both art and architecture. War artists wanted to record specific events or sought to capture the spirit of an event. At the same time photography emerged as an art form with Robert Capra's depiction of the dying republican soldier during the Spanish civil war becoming famous—despite some doubts over whether it had been staged. The film and still photographs showing Adolf Hitler looking at the Eiffel Tower and the soldier flying the Soviet red flag over the Reich Chancellery in Berlin are also famous for what they symbolized. The pile of captured German flags dumped at the foot of Lenin's mausoleum on June 24, 1945, signified the final destruction of the German war machine in the same way that the haunting photographs and later paintings of the ruins of Hiroshima marked the first use of an atom bomb in war. In terms of architecture, the massive destruction of many European and Chinese cities during bombing raids and land bombardment also saw many pieces of artwork destroyed, although a remarkable number survived, having been moved to safekeeping in time of war. The Basque city of Guernica in northern Spain, bombed in 1937 in what is now seen as a prelude to the World War II bombing raids, led to Picasso producing his famous painting *Guernica* later in 1937. In Britain painters such as C. R. W. Nevinson (1889–1946) recreated the horror of World War I, as did Paul Nash (1889–1946), while artists in communist countries depicted heroic scenes from battles that became part of their respective countries' folklore.

The main way in which the world wars affected architecture was in terms of the war memorials and war cemeteries that were built. Then there were also the tombs to the unknown soldiers, at the Arc de Triomphe in Paris, Westminster Abbey in London, the Victor Emmanuel Monument in Rome, and in many other capital cities. Although war memorials had been built in previous centuries, the number and the diversity of them after the world wars is important. The building of the Cenotaph in London, the Shrine of Remembrance in Melbourne, the India Gate in New Delhi, the Liberty Memorial in Kansas City, and the National War Memorial in Canada are only the most obvious examples, with small memorials throughout Europe and indeed throughout the world. In Japan Yasakuni Shrine not only remembers Japan's war dead but also provokes foreign consternation over the reverence given to Japanese war criminals also remembered there.

It is also impossible not to mention military architecture, with pillboxes and fortifications constructed of such indestructible material that they will outlast ordinary buildings—both in places that were invaded and also as a preventive measure in places that feared attack. The Maginot Line, along the French-German border, was perhaps the most famous defensive structure of the period, with the Pentagon in Washington D.C., opened in 1943, still the largest-capacity office building in the world.

With changes in political arrangements around the world, a number of totally new capitals were constructed, the most well known being Canberra, Australia. In Turkey the move from Constantinople (Istanbul) to Ankara in 1923 represented a major change in Turkish thinking and attitudes to the world. While Canberra

was built in what had been agricultural land, Ankara was constructed in what had been the city of Angora. In March 1918 Moscow became the capital of the Soviet Union, having been the capital of Russia until 1703. The period of great turmoil during the 1920s and 1930s also saw a number of countries establish new temporary capitals. Burgos in northern Spain became the nationalist capital during the Spanish civil war, with the inland city of Chungking (modern-day Chongqing) serving as the capital of Nationalist China during the Sino-Japanese War. In France the spa resort of Vichy became the capital of occupied France for three years. The growth of the urban environment saw a number of suburbs growing up. The British architect and civil planner Sir Ebenezer Howard designed Letchworth Garden City and in the 1920s moved on to found Welwyn Garden City.

Political forces of the far right and extreme left also supported designs that supported their views of the country in question. In Nazi Germany Adolf Hitler's architect, Albert Speer, designed impressive and grandiose structures that gave rise to the term *Albert Speer architecture*, describing a building or edifice that makes the onlooker seem small. In the Soviet Union grand architecture and "heroic" paintings were popular. The former impressed observers about the wealth of the country, with the latter highlighting important historical scenes. The building of Lenin's mausoleum in Red Square, Moscow, initially in wood and then in stone, incorporated some of the design of the grave of Cyrus the Great of Persia.

The changes in technology during the first half of the 20th century saw the construction of many railway stations around the world, but not on the scale of the edifices built during the late 19th century. The Moscow Metro was opened in 1935 and was part of the attempt to show the Soviet Union as a modern and efficient country. The British architect Charles Holden worked extensively on the London Underground. In addition, airports and factories were built, some with impressive art deco buildings, others being functional and having small sheds and huts to cater to the air passengers, or in the case of many factories, unimpressive work areas behind the façade.

The rise of art deco during the 1920s and 1930s featured not only in architecture but in art, furniture design, and interior decorating. In terms of architecture, the spire of the Chrysler Building in New York (1928–1930), the city hall of Buffalo, New York, and many other civic buildings follow this style. As well as in the United States, it was also popular in Italy, with the port city of Asmara being the best surviving example of an art deco city; the most famous art deco building in Latin America is the Edificio Kavanagh (Kavanagh Building) in Buenos Aires, completed in 1936. The most well-known art deco architects included Albert Anis, who worked at Miami Beach; Ernest Cormier from Quebec, who designed the Supreme Court of Canada; Sir Bannister Fletcher, author of the famous work on architecture; Bruce Goff, whose Boston Avenue Methodist Church in Tulsa is regarded as one of the best examples of art deco in the United States; Raymond Hood, who designed the Tribune Tower in Chicago; Joseph Sunlight; William van Alen, who worked on the Chrysler Building in New York; Wirt C. Rowland from Detroit; and Ralph Walker of Rhode Island. The writer Ayn Rand set her book *The Fountainhead* (1943), about an idealistic young architect, in the office of the New York architect Ely Jacques Kahn, with some seeing it as being modeled on Frank Lloyd Wright.

In sculpture art deco saw Lee Lawrie, Rene Paul Chambellan, C. Paul Jennewein, Joseph Kiselewski, and Paul Manship; and expressionism, which had first flourished in Germany in the 1900s and early 1920s, led to artwork by Latvian-born American Mark Rothko, Jackson Pollock, and others.

The prosperity of the 1910s and 1920s led to the building of many hotels around the world and the enlarging of many others. The Waldorf-Astoria in New York, an art deco building, was designed in 1931. In Africa Treetops in Kenya and in Asia the Raffles Hotel in Singapore, the E&O Hotel in Penang, and the Strand in Rangoon were all either built during this period or had major refurbishment work. There were also many holiday resorts emerging from the late 19th century concept of life in the Tropics with a place to retreat to in the hot summer: Simla in India, Hua Hin in Thailand, the Cameron Highlands in Malaya, Dalat in Vietnam, and Maymyo (Pyin U Lwin) in Burma (Myanmar). This coincided with many civic buildings being constructed: town halls, schools, hospitals, and libraries. The Bund at Shanghai teemed with magnificent stone buildings showing stability and the feeling of commercial well-being. In time of war some of these structures were actually best able to weather bombing raids, with the Fullerton Building in Singapore being used as a shelter during Japanese bombing raids in early 1942.

The new construction techniques led to the building of skyscrapers. The first of these was the Flatiron Building in New York City, which was completed in 1902 and is 285 feet tall. However, in 1913 this was overtaken by the Woolworth Building (792 feet), which

in turn was overtaken in 1930 by 40 Wall Street and in 1931 by the Empire State Building, which was the first building in the world to have more than 100 floors.

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Justin Corfield

Atatürk, Mustafa Kemal

(1881–1938) *Turkish leader and reformer*

Mustafa Kemal Atatürk was one of the greatest reformers of the 20th century, and his legacy is present-day Turkey. He built a modern state from the ruins of the Ottoman Empire through massive and progressive domestic reforms. Viewed with godlike status by Turks, he is considered the savior of a country that under his guidance resisted occupation and colonization and embraced democracy and modernization.

He was born in 1881 in Salonika (present-day Thessalonica, Greece). His father, Ali Reza, was a low-ranking Ottoman government employee who died when Mustafa was young. His mother, Zubeyde, raised him and his sister, Makbule. Zubeyde was a religious woman and hoped that her son would attend the local religious schools. However, with the help of his uncle he instead attended military school. The military schools, reflecting the Ottoman system, allowed students to rise not according to class status but by ability. Mustafa excelled in his studies. He took the name Kemal, which means perfection. He completed his studies at the War College in Harbiye, Istanbul, in 1905.

In Istanbul and elsewhere throughout his postings, Mustafa Kemal was deeply disturbed by the corruption in the Ottoman bureaucracy. He joined several underground organizations that had contacts with exiled Turks in Geneva and Paris. To keep him away from Istanbul, his superior officers, suspicious of Mustafa Kemal, posted him in faraway places such as Damascus and Tripoli, but he was able to remain active in the secret societies, although events unfolding in the Balkans pushed other figures to the forefront.

Mustafa Kemal Atatürk was one of the greatest reformers of the 20th century, and his legacy is present-day Turkey.

The underground organizations united and formed the Committee of Union and Progress (CUP) and in 1908 started the Young Turk revolution. The subsequent leaders of this movement, Enver Pasha, Talat Pasha, and Cemal Pasha, ruled as a triumvirate and were also suspicious of Mustafa Kemal and preferred to keep him away from the seat of government. Mustafa Kemal was critical of the CUP's lack of ideology and program. The CUP's only objective in the revolution was to reinstate the 1876 constitution, which had been abolished by the sultan. Mustafa Kemal was also wary of the expansionist and pan-Turkic postrevolution ideology the CUP embraced. Germany cleverly took advantage of the situation and entered into an alliance with the CUP. Mustafa Kemal, although he did not agree with the alliance, gladly learned modern military technology

from German military officers who had been sent to train the Ottoman armies.

ALLIED DEFEAT AT GALLIPOLI

The CUP-led Ottoman Empire fared badly in both the Balkan Wars and World War I. The only major victory was at Gallipoli, where Mustafa Kemal soundly defeated the British invasion. In 1915 the British army and navy valiantly fought to open the Dardanelles in a plan created by Winston Churchill. It was essential for the Allies to take Istanbul in order to reopen the Bosphorus Strait. The Allied defeat in Gallipoli compromised that situation and possibly lengthened the war.

Mustafa Kemal was heralded as a hero among the Turks during a war that saw few victories and many defeats for the Ottomans. At the conclusion of the war, the remaining Ottoman territories were divided amongst the Allied powers. France was given control of southern Turkey (near the Syrian border), Italy was given the Mediterranean region, and Greece was given Thrace and the Aegean coast of Turkey. Istanbul was to be an internationally controlled city (mainly French and British). The Kurds and Armenians were also granted territory under the Treaty of Sèvres. The Turks would have only a small, mountainous territory in central Turkey.

Mustafa Kemal was outraged, as were most Turks. Of all the occupying armies, he viewed the Greek army as the most dangerous threat. Greek nationalism was at an all-time high, and many wanted to reclaim all of ancestral Greece (which extended well into Asia Minor). This fear was confirmed by the Greek invasion of Smyrna (present day Izmir) in 1919.

In May 1919 Mustafa Kemal secretly traveled to Samsun (on the Black Sea coast) and journeyed to Amasya, where he issued the first resistance proclamation. He then formed a national assembly, where he was elected chairman. Next he organized a resistance army to overthrow foreign occupation and conquest. Under his leadership the Turkish resistance easily drove out the British, French, and Italian troops, who were weary of fighting and did not want another war. The real conflict was with the Greek troops and culminated in horrible atrocities committed by both sides. In September 1922 the Turkish army drove the Greek army into the sea at Izmir as the international community silently observed.

In 1923 the Treaty of Lausanne was signed and replaced the Treaty of Sèvres. This treaty set the borders of modern-day Turkey. On October 29, 1923, the Republic of Turkey was proclaimed, with Mustafa Kemal as president and Ismet Inönü as prime minister. Even though the government appeared democratic, Mustafa Kemal had almost absolute power. However, he differed from several rising dictators of the time in several respects. He had no plans or ideology pertaining to expansionism. His primary focus was the modernization and domestic reform of his country. He wanted to make Turkey self-sufficient and independent.

He believed that the only way to save his country was to modernize it, and by force if necessary. He moved the capital from Istanbul to Ankara, a centrally located city. He then abolished both the sultanate and the caliphate, and his fight against religion became one of his most contested reforms. He believed that Islam's role in government would prevent the country from modernizing. He was not antireligion but against religious interference in governmental affairs. He closed the religious schools and courts and put religion under state control. He wanted to lessen the religious and ethnic divisions that had been encouraged under the Ottoman system. He wanted the people of Turkey to identify themselves as Turks first. He established political parties and a national assembly based on the parliamentary system. He also implemented the Swiss legal code that allowed freedom of religion and civil divorce and banned polygamy.

Atatürk banned the fez for men and the veil for women and encouraged Western-style dress. He replaced the Muslim calendar with the European calendar and changed the working week to Monday through Friday, leaving Saturday and Sunday as the weekend. He hired expert linguists to transform the Turkish alphabet from Arabic to Latin script based on phonetic sounds and introduced the metric system. As surnames did not exist until this time, Mustafa Kemal insisted that each person and family select a surname. He chose Atatürk, which means "father of the Turks."

Some of his most profound reforms, however, were in regard to women. Atatürk argued that no society could be successful while half of the population was hidden away. He encouraged women to wear European clothing and to leave the harems. Turkey was one of the first countries to give women the right to vote and hold office in 1930. He also adopted several daughters. One of them, Sabiha Gokcen, became the first woman combat pilot in Turkey.

These reforms did not come easily and in many cases garnered little support. Many religious and ethnic groups such as the Sufi dervishes and Kurds staged rebellions and

were ruthlessly put down. Other minority groups suffered or were exiled as a result of the new government.

A heavy drinker, Atatürk died of cirrhosis of the liver in November 1938. As he had no children he left no heirs and instead bequeathed to his country the democracy that he created, which would survive him to the present day. Although Atatürk forbade many basic concepts of democracy such as free press, trade unions, and freedom of speech, he paved the way for the future addition and implementation of these ideals.

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Katie Belliel

Aung San

(1915–1947) *Burmese nationalist and freedom fighter*

Aung San was born on February 13, 1915, at Natmauk in central Burma (Myanmar). Aung was the president of the student union at Rangoon University in 1938. He joined the left-leaning Dobam Asiayon ("We Burmese" Association) and was its general secretary between 1938 and 1948. Aung was also a founding member of Bama-htwet-yat Ghine (Freedom Bloc). At the time of World War II he was very active in the resistance movement against the British. He went to Amoy, China, and met with the Japanese to seek help forming an army to fight the British. An anti-British unit was formed by the "Thirty Comrades," who received military training on Hainan Island in Japanese-occupied China. Aung became the commander of the Burma Independence Army (BIA), which was formed on December 26, 1941. Ne Win, the future authoritarian ruler of Burma (1962–88), was one of the comrades.

The army was stationed in Bangkok and entered Burma in January 1942 along with the invading Japanese army. The BIA, which had formed a provisional government, became unpopular because of an influx of criminals into the organization. It was replaced by the Burma Defense Army (BDA), with Aung as commander. The BDA, trained by the Japanese, was a conventional army. The name BDA was changed to Burma National Army (BNA). In the Japanese-sponsored government Aung was minister of war.

Aung became disillusioned with the Japanese and discussed with the other resistance leaders their next course of action. The Anti-Fascist Organization came into being in April 1944. Later renamed the Anti-Fascist People's Freedom League (AFPFL), it was formed with Aung as its president. He openly turned against the Japanese in March 1945 and switched his loyalty to the British, renaming the forces the Patriotic Burmese Forces.

The British then founded a new government, and he became its deputy chairman in the executive council, holding important portfolios of defense and foreign affairs. In January 1947 he went to London and negotiated with the British Labour government about granting independence to Burma. The Aung San–Attlee Agreement of January 27, 1947, guaranteed independence within a year. There would be an elected constituent assembly, and until it finalized its work, the country would be governed under the provisions of the Government of India Act of 1935. The British government also would sponsor Burma's admission to the United Nations. On February 12 Aung signed the Panglong Agreement, which supported the cause of a united country with the leaders of other Burmese nationalist groups. Under his guidance the AFPFL won a landslide victory in April elections to the constituent assembly, securing 196 out of a total of 202 seats.

Aung was concerned about his country's future and called a series of meetings in Rangoon (now renamed Yangon) in June 1947. He urged people in a public meeting to remain disciplined in a speech on July 13. He was assassinated six days later, along with six other councilors, during a meeting of the constituent assembly. Aung San's political rival, U Saw, a former premier, was found guilty of the crime and executed in 1948. On January 4, 1948, Burma became independent from British rule. Aung had become a martyr and a national hero and continued to inspire his people with his dedication and sacrifice. He was criticized by some for his collaboration with the Japanese; others say it was a tactical move to gain independence for his country. He turned against the Japanese at the opportune moment. His wife became a diplomat and later served as ambassador to India.

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Patit Paban Mishra

Australia and New Zealand

During the 1880s there were many attempts to establish a "federation" by which the six British colonies of Australia—New South Wales, Queensland, South Australia, Tasmania, Victoria, and Western Australia—would be able to come together under a single government. In 1890 it was finally agreed to call a convention in the following year and draft a federal constitution. Because of the depression of the 1890s, the constitution was not drawn up until 1898, and agreement from all the states was reached with Western Australia holding a referendum to agree to joining the Commonwealth of Australia in 1900. New Zealand decided not to join with Australia. As a result, on July 14, 1900, the first governor-general of Australia, being the representative of the British sovereign, was appointed, and on January 1, 1901, the Commonwealth of Australia was proclaimed in Centennial Park in Sydney, New South Wales.

Part of the reason why the federation had taken so long to negotiate was the intense rivalry between the states, which had to agree to hand over powers for defense, foreign relations, and foreign trade and which also had to agree to dismantle tariffs and restrictions on the sale of goods within the commonwealth. There were disagreements over where the new capital was to be, and initially it was in Melbourne. The first opening of the federal parliament took place there on May 9, 1901, with Edmund Barton as the first prime minister. Fittingly, some of the Australian contingents to China, sent in the wake of the Boxer Rebellion, had returned to Sydney a few days before the first parliament was opened. They were rushed down by train to take part in the ceremony. At the time, Australian soldiers, as well as New Zealanders, were also involved in supporting the British in the Boer War. The early soldiers had left as part of state units—after federation Australian Commonwealth units were dispatched.

After federation it was obvious that Melbourne could not remain Australia's capital, and in 1902 a Capital Sites Enquiry Board started inspecting prospective sites, which had to be within 100 miles of Sydney. Eventually a site was agreed on, and in 1913 Lady Denman, wife of the governor-general, announced "I name the capital of Australia Canberra, with the accent on the *Can*"—*Canberra* being the Aboriginal name for the area. The region around it then became the Australian Capital Territory (ACT), designed with a conscious attempt not to make the mistakes that had taken place in the building of Washington, D.C. The ACT was 100 times larger than the District of Columbia, and all land in it was declared under leasehold to prevent property speculators' taking it over. The U.S. architect Walter Burley Griffin drew up plans for the city after he won first place in a worldwide competition for the appointment. It was not until 1927 that a temporary parliament building was established there.

Over the same period, in New Zealand, which was also a self-governing "dominion," Richard "King Dick" Seddon was prime minister of a liberal administration from 1893 until 1906. One of the major issues he faced was the need to encourage the expansion of agriculture by the establishment of more small farms. Both New Zealand and Australia during this period relied heavily on primary industries: farming and mining. Although the Australian economy was diversifying slightly, New Zealand's main products were sheep/lamb/mutton, wool, and butter, most of which was exported to Britain. By 1913 New Zealand had become the largest exporter of dairy products in the world.

While the Liberals were in power in New Zealand, the trade union movement was growing in strength in both New Zealand and Australia. In 1889 a state Labour government was formed in Queensland, in northern Australia, and in 1891 the Australian Labour Party was formed. Seven years later, in 1898, the Trades and Labour Confederation decided to establish a New Zealand Labour Party, although it was not until 1935 that they were able to form a government. In Australia, in contrast, from 1904 to 1907 Chris Watson formed a minority administration and presided over the first national Labour Party government anywhere in the world, and in 1910 Labour achieved an absolute majority in the Australian parliament.

Australia and New Zealand were affected in the early 1910s by a small economic depression. This was followed by the outbreak of World War I, and both countries were keen to support Britain, the "mother country" of many Australians and New Zealanders. Australian and New Zealand soldiers were immediately sent to Egypt, where, as the Australian and New Zealand Army Corps, they became known as Anzac. In 1915 they were deployed to Gallipoli in a failed attempt to capture the Turkish capital, Constantinople. In Australia and New Zealand this became an impor-

tant symbolic occasion for both countries, and many still visit Gallipoli each year on April 25.

After Gallipoli both Australian and New Zealand soldiers fought in France, with the Australian general Sir John Monash leading his men to victory in November 1918. During the war two attempts to introduce conscription in Australia failed; New Zealand maintained conscription throughout the conflict.

At the Versailles Peace Conference after the end of the war, Australia and New Zealand were represented by their respective prime ministers, William Morris "Billy" Hughes and William Ferguson Massey. Both were keen to ensure that the war had achieved something, and Australia was given charge of German New Guinea (which was merged with Papua to form Papua & New Guinea, later Papua New Guinea) and the Solomon Islands, and New Zealand was given Western Samoa.

The formation of the League of Nations after the war was treated differently by Australia and New Zealand. The former decided to play a more active role, but in New Zealand Massey felt that the organization was useless and that New Zealand should rely not on multilateral diplomacy but on the might of the Royal Navy. As a result, in the first 10 years of the League of Nations, New Zealand only sent three delegations to its annual conferences of the International Labour Organisation and did not ratify any of the league's conventions until 1938. This was in spite of New Zealand's election in 1936 to the League Council and a gradual move to support collective security.

THE DEPRESSION

During the 1930s in Australia and New Zealand the worldwide Great Depression saw widespread unemployment, which hit many families very hard. Others, fearing they might become unemployed, stopped spending money, further deflating the economy, and both countries were struggling to pay their war debts. Many of those badly hit were former soldiers who had fought in World War I and were now angry about a government that had "let them down." Soup kitchens appeared, beggars were regularly seen in the streets, and children came to school malnourished. Some people turned to extreme political movements, and with the increase in strength of the trade union movement came the formation of pseudo-fascist organizations in Australia—the New Guard—and in New Zealand—the New Zealand Legion. In 1935 a Labour government came to power in New Zealand with Michael Savage as prime minister. When he died in 1940 he was succeeded by Peter Fraser, who remained in office until 1949. In contrast, in Australia for most of the depression Joseph Lyons of the United Australia Party was prime minister, having defeated the Labour Party under James Scullin in 1932.

Pointing to the desire of both countries to connect with the wider world, Australian and New Zealand aviators began a series of remarkable pioneer flights. On September 10–11, 1928, the Australian aviator Charles Kingsford Smith made the first Australia–New Zealand flight. During that trip he met the teenage Jean Batten, who was to become a New Zealand flying legend. She moved to Sydney in the following year to train for a commercial pilot's license. Kingsford Smith was to achieve numerous records for his flying across the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans and the Tasman Sea, as well as his October 1933 solo flight from England to Australia, and Jean Batten was to be the first woman to fly solo from England to Australia and back (1934–35), the first woman to fly the South Atlantic solo, and in 1936 the first person to fly from England to New Zealand.

In the arts Australian painters Hans Heysen, Arthur Streeton, William Dobell, and in the 1940s Sidney Nolan and Russell Drysdale were to gain international prominence, as were New Zealand artists Charles Goldie and Frances Hodgkins. Prominent artistic families the Lindsays and the Boyds flourished in Australia. Writers like Frank Clune and Ion Idriess wrote many books describing Australia and Australians—perhaps the most famous book by Idriess was about the quintessential Australian hero Harold Lasseter and the search for gold in central Australia. Other writers such as Miles Franklin, Ernestine Hill, Eleanor Dark, and Henry Handel Richardson dealt with Australia in fiction.

Poets such as Dame Mary Gilmore, Banjo Paterson, and Judith Wright are representative of that genre of Australian literature. New Zealand literature is widely known by way of Katherine Mansfield and crime fiction writer Ngaio Marsh. Australian actor Oscar Asche and singer Nellie Melba achieved as much fame overseas as they did in Australia.

In the realms of medicine and science, respectively, Australian pathologist Howard Florey and atomic scientist Ernest Rutherford (from Nelson, New Zealand) were to make major contributions to the world. In Britain New Zealander Sir Arthur Porritt became surgeon to King George VI, and on the day of the coronation of Queen Elizabeth II in 1953 news was received of the scaling of Mount Everest by another New Zealander,

An Australian World War I recruitment poster calls for men to join the Allied cause. Though Australia and New Zealand became increasingly independent from Great Britain, both maintained strong cultural ties, especially in times of war.

Edmund Hillary, earlier that day, the first known ascent of the mountain.

In Australia and New Zealand the indigenous populations, the Aboriginals and the Maoris, remained marginalized economically and socially. Gradually, the Maoris in New Zealand began, through their numbers and the fact that they all spoke a common language, to exert some political influence. Maori started to be taught in some schools and by the 21st century was widely taught throughout the country. By contrast, the Aboriginal people in Australia remained geographically on the fringes of cities and towns and were discriminated against in work and housing. Children were taken away from parents when they were young to be brought up in foster homes or children's homes, where they were alienated from their own culture. They became known as "The Stolen Generation." Although Maoris were always recognized as citizens of New Zealand, it was not until 1967 that Aboriginal Australians had the right to vote.

In 1931 the British parliament enacted the Statute of Westminster, by which Britain relinquished powers over self-governing dominions. However, it was not adopted in Australia until 1942 and was finally adopted in New Zealand in 1947. In 1940 Australia established its own diplomatic posts in foreign countries: in Washington, D.C.; Tokyo; and Ottawa. New Zealand followed in the following year with a minister in Washington, D.C. Representation in commonwealth countries was still by a high commissioner and in other countries by an ambassador.

With the outbreak of World War II in 1939, Australia and New Zealand both immediately declared their support for the United Kingdom, and soldiers from both countries were sent to the Mediterranean, serving in North Africa and in Greece. In December 1941, when

the Pacific War began, there was panic in both Australia and New Zealand over a possible Japanese invasion. Australian soldiers were immediately recalled from the Middle East, and some were sent into action in Malaya and Singapore, both of which quickly fell to the Japanese. On February 19, 1942, the Japanese bombed Darwin, causing significant physical damage and showing Australia's vulnerability to attack. Australian soldiers returning from North Africa were reinforced by large numbers of U.S. soldiers. Australian soldiers were then sent into action against the Japanese in New Guinea, where at Kokoda they managed to halt the Japanese advance and gradually drive them back. In contrast, in New Zealand soldiers were not recalled and continued to play an important part in the campaigns in the Western Desert and in Italy but a minimal role in the Pacific. U.S. soldiers also came to New Zealand, which at that point was largely defended by World War I veterans and teenagers who were hastily armed by the frightened government.

Australia and New Zealand, seeing their joint vulnerability, decided to conclude the Canberra Pact of 1944, which was to determine that after the war Australia and New Zealand would dominate the South Pacific, and the United States would be excluded. As the Pacific War gradually saw the Japanese pushed back, New Zealand soldiers were recalled from Italy. Some were posted to the Pacific, but the war ended soon after. After the war both Australia and New Zealand became founding members of the United Nations, and both were led by governments that supported a multilateral approach to political problems.

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Justin Corfield

B

Balfour Declaration

The Balfour Declaration was a statement by the British government regarding Zionist aspirations for the creation of an independent Jewish state in Palestine. The statement took the form of a public letter from Lord Arthur James Balfour, the British foreign secretary, to Lord Rothschild, a prominent British Zionist and member of the renowned banking family. After many preliminary drafts the final statement, issued on November 2, 1917, read that His Majesty's government viewed "with favour the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people." It went on to say that the British government would use its "best endeavours" to achieve that goal and that nothing should be done to prejudice "the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews" in other nations.

Chaim Weizmann, a leading figure in the World Zionist Organization and a skillful diplomat, had been instrumental in securing British support for a Jewish state. Weizmann was a personal friend of Balfour's and had met with many key British officials to gain their sympathy for a Jewish state.

There were many motivations for the British to issue the Balfour Declaration in 1917. Some Christian Zionists supported a Jewish state for religious and moral reasons. But most government officials supported the declaration for political and wartime reasons. It was hoped that the declaration would encourage Russia to stay in the war in spite of the revolutionary upheaval at the time. Some also thought the statement would prod the United States, where some key Zionists, especially Louis Brandeis of the Supreme Court, had important positions, to enter the war. However, the arguments that a Jewish state would support Britain in the Middle East and help to protect the vital Suez Canal were probably paramount in convincing many in the British cabinet to support the declaration.

Because most people in the West knew little or nothing about Palestine, many assumed that there were only a few non-Jews in Palestine and that their civil and religious (but not political) rights should be protected. However, in 1917, when the Balfour Declaration was issued, Palestinian Arabs, a mix of Muslims and Christians, made up over 80 percent of the population in Palestine. It was a predominantly agricultural society, and most people lived in settled villages. Palestinian Arabs and Arab nationalists, especially Sherif Husayn, immediately expressed their opposition to the Balfour Declaration. Sherif Husayn also argued that the statement contradicted the earlier Sherif Husayn–McMahon correspondence regarding the creation of an Arab state. But the Balfour Declaration did not mention the Palestinian Arab population by name, and they remained largely invisible to the Western world. Interestingly, some Jews also opposed the statement. Sir Edwin Montagu, a British Jew and secretary of state for India, opposed the creation of a Jewish state on the grounds that it would raise problems of dual nationality and might actually increase anti-Semitism.

The Balfour Declaration was a major step forward in the Zionist struggle to create a Jewish state in Palestine. At the Paris Peace Conference after the war, Weizmann used the Balfour Declaration to justify the creation of a Jewish state. However, neither Arab nor Jewish national aspirations would be realized after the war because the British and French implemented the Sykes-Picot Agreement, which essentially divided the Arab world between the two imperial powers. The division was formalized in the San Remo Treaty, and Britain made key decisions on how to rule its newly gained Arab territories, including Palestine, at the Cairo Conference in 1921.

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Janice J. Terry

Balkan Wars (1912–1913)

During 1912–13 the Balkan Peninsula witnessed two wars: the First Balkan War, which saw an alliance of Balkan states all but destroy the Ottoman presence in the region, and the Second Balkan War, fought between the former allies over the division of the spoils. The Balkan Wars were the result of the incomplete processes of nation-state formation in southeastern Europe at the beginning of the 20th century. Ever since the Congress of Berlin in 1878 warranted the continued existence of the Ottoman Empire in the region, the dominant foreign policy goal of the Balkan states had been expanding into European provinces. Their main motive was to recover territories that were perceived to be under foreign occupation. Thus, one of the dominant claims of the Balkan states at the time was that their fellow ethnic kin were still oppressed by the Ottoman sultan. Bulgaria, Greece, Serbia, and Montenegro justified their desire to extend into Ottoman-controlled Macedonia and Thrace through the principle of "liberation" of subjugated populations. For this purpose each country supported armed groups of its conationals that subverted and challenged the Ottoman regime. One of the aims of the Young Turk revolutions of 1908 had been precisely to end these revolts, suppress rival national identities, and "Ottomanize" the population.

In this context the situation in the European provinces of the Ottoman Empire impressed on the Balkan governments the need to cooperate. External great powers such as Austria-Hungary, Russia, and Italy were also sizing up the opportunity to get their share of the crumbling Ottoman state, which was referred to at the time as the "sick man of Europe."

The war that Italy launched against the Ottoman Empire in September 1911 hastened the resolve of Balkan governments to sit at the negotiating table. On March 13, 1912, Bulgaria and Serbia signed a treaty of alliance and friendship, which was accompanied by a secret annex anticipating war with Turkey and providing for the division of territorial acquisitions in case of a successful war. According to this annex the territory of Macedonia was to be divided into three zones: two zones that would belong, respectively, to Bulgaria and Serbia and a third one that was contested and would be subject to the arbitration of the Russian czar. At the same time Greece and Bulgaria were conducting separate negotiations, which culminated in the signing of a mutual defense treaty on May, 29, 1912, assuring support in case of war with Turkey. Bulgaria and Serbia had separate discussions with Montenegro, which concluded with verbal agreements that provided for mutual actions against the Ottoman state. By autumn the Balkan governments had managed to prevail over their mutual distrust and had formed a Balkan League premised on an extensive system of bilateral treaties.

The Balkan Wars began immediately afterward. On September 26, 1912, Montenegro opened hostilities invoking a long-standing frontier dispute as an excuse for declaring war. On October 2 Turkey hastily concluded a peace treaty with Italy, and on the next day it broke diplomatic relations with Bulgaria, Serbia, and Montenegro but tried to mend relations with Greece. On October 4, 1913, the Ottoman Empire declared war on the Balkan League. In turn Bulgaria, Greece, Serbia, and Montenegro declared war, accusing the Sublime Porte of not having implemented an article of the 1878 Treaty of Berlin, which insisted on the recognition of the minority rights of their conationals in Macedonia. This event began the First Balkan War.

With specific manifestos the governments of Athens, Belgrade, and Sofia informed their citizens that they were to fight for a common cause and against Ottoman tyranny. Military operations began on all frontiers of European Turkey. Within a month after the start of hostilities, the Balkan armies had won spectacular victories on all fronts. The Bulgarian troops had pushed the Ottoman army to the Çatalca

Turkish soldiers in the Balkans in 1912 line up for inspection. The two wars in the Balkans saw the effective end of the Ottoman Empire in the region. Following the war against the Turks, the other countries in the Balkans fought each other for territory.

line of defense, just 40 kilometers outside of Istanbul, and had besieged Adrianople (modern-day Edirne in Turkey). The Serbs had surged into Macedonia, reaching Monastir (Bitolj) on November 17, 1912, and together with Montenegrin forces had occupied the Sandzak of Novi Pazar and had besieged the town of Scutari (today Shkodra in Albania). The Greek troops advanced in Thessaly. They entered Thessalonica on October 28, only a few hours before the arrival of a Bulgarian detachment, and the town was occupied by both armies. In Epirus Greek detachments advanced all the way to Janina (present-day Ioannina in Greece) and on November 10 laid siege to the city.

By December 1912 the Ottoman rule in the Balkans was over. Save for the besieged Adrianople, Scutari, and Janina, the Ottoman troops had been driven out of the former European provinces beyond the Çatalca line covering Istanbul. Alarmed by the success of the Balkan armies, the great powers imposed an armistice on the belligerents on December 3, 1912. It was signed by Bulgaria, Serbia, and Montenegro, who pledged that their troops would remain in their positions. Greece, however, did not join in, as it wanted to continue the siege of Janina and carry on with the blockade of the Aegean coastline. Yet despite the continuation of hostilities in Epirus, Greece, together with Bulgaria, Serbia, Montenegro, and Turkey, took part in the peace conference that opened in London on December 16, 1912. After two months of negotiations, toward the end of January 1913, a peace agreement seemed to be in sight. However, on January 23, 1913, a group of disgruntled Turkish officers overthrew the Ottoman government.

By January 30 fighting had resumed on the Çatalca line. On February 21 the Greek army captured Janina, and on March 13 the Bulgarian troops broke the Turkish defenses at Adrianople and occupied the city. On April 10, 1913, Montenegrin and Serb forces entered Scutari, but they had to withdraw eventually under the threat of war from Austria-Hungary. At this juncture the great powers again insisted on armistice and proposed

a peace treaty, which projected that all the territory west of a straight line stretching between Enos (Enez) on the Aegean Sea and Midia (Midye) on the Black Sea would be ceded to the Balkan states, that this territory was to be divided between the Balkan states under the supervision of the great powers, that an Albanian state would be established, and that the future of the Aegean islands was to be decided by international arbitration. By the end of May 1913 all parties taking part in the First Balkan War were compelled to agree to these conditions at the Treaty of London.

Yet at that time rifts started to appear among the Balkan allies over control of the "liberated" territories, with skirmishes between the Greek and Bulgarian troops occupying Thessalonica. Furthermore, the creation of an Albanian state confused the agreements made between Athens, Belgrade, and Sofia before the start of hostilities. Greece and Serbia insisted that the emergence of Albania deprived them of their anticipated gains on the Adriatic. Therefore, they asserted their right to retain the territories that their armies had already occupied in Macedonia at the expense of Bulgaria. Sofia insisted that the acquired territory should be divided in accordance with the principle of proportionality of the acquisitions to the military input. Athens and Belgrade insisted on a principle ensuring the balance of power among the members of the Balkan League.

Because of their shared interests, Greece and Serbia entered into secret negotiations and on May 19, 1913, reached an agreement for a military pact against Bulgaria. At the same time Romania, which had so far remained neutral, took the opportunity to obtain some concessions for itself. On the pretext of concern about the treatment of the Vlach population in Macedonia, Romania demanded that Bulgaria give up some of its territory in the contested Dobrudja region. Under pressure from Russia, Bulgaria agreed to cede the town of Silistra and the surrounding area to Romania. At the same time Bulgaria, urged by Austria-Hungary, refused to concede any territory in Macedonia to either Serbia or Greece.

In the beginning of June there were several military clashes between Bulgarian and Serbian troops. However, it was on June 16, 1913, by an oral command from the Bulgarian czar Ferdinand, that Bulgarian troops launched a full-scale attack on Greek and Serbian forces. Ferdinand was partly encouraged by promises by Austria-Hungary of assistance. However, a recent visit to Bulgarian-occupied Adrianople had also stirred in him a desire to revive the medieval Bulgarian Empire and capture Constantinople. Thus, on June 16, 1913, the Second Balkan War began.

In the first few weeks the Bulgarian army had some limited success in holding to its positions, but by the end of the month the Serb, Montenegrin, and Greek armies were already on the offensive. On June 28, 1913, Romania also joined in the fray and declared war on Bulgaria. By July 6 Romanian troops had occupied the whole of northern Bulgaria, and a Romanian cavalry detachment arrived at the Bulgarian capital of Sofia. On June 30, 1913, Ottoman troops began attacks on Bulgarian positions, and on July 10 they recaptured Adrianople. By mid-July Bulgaria was suffering defeats on all fronts and had lost most of the territory it had gained during the First Balkan War.

The Second Balkan War ended in late August 1913. After a personal intercession by Emperor Franz Josef of Austria-Hungary, a peace conference was convened at Bucharest from July 17 to August 16, 1913. As a result of the Bucharest Peace Treaty, Serbia kept the territories of Macedonia, which its troops had obtained during 1912. Thus, it added Kosovo, Novi Pazar, and Vardar Macedonia to its territory.

Greece secured over half of Macedonia (Aegean Macedonia), the southern part of Epirus, and an extension into southern Thrace. Bulgaria received the smallest part of Macedonia (Pirin Macedonia) and a section of the Aegean coast, but it had to cede southern Dobrudja to Romania. As a result of its treaty with the Ottoman government, Bulgaria also gave up its claims to Adrianople. In the meantime an independent Albanian state was officially created by the Conference of Ambassadors in London on July 29, 1913.

This series of treaties concluded the Second Balkan War. It was bloodier than the first one, cost more lives, witnessed horrific crimes against civilians, and deepened the divisions between the Balkan states. All sides in the Balkan Wars acted in a way that indicated that their main aim was not simply the acquisition of more territory but also ensuring that this territory was free of rival ethnic groups. The atrocities committed during the Balkan Wars led to the establishment of an international commission of inquiry set up by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. It produced an extensive report detailing the crimes committed by all combatants against their enemies and against civilian populations.

Instead of resolving the problems between nationalities in the region, the Balkan Wars further exacerbated interethnic tensions. The psychological trauma of the wars and the displacement of populations increased

the suspicions and divisions between the Balkan states. The new boundaries that were established as a result of the Treaty of Bucharest in 1913 produced conditions for persistent resentment and created a feeling of unjust expropriation of territory and eradication of people. The suffering and the perceived injustice that all nations in the Balkans experienced molded the foreign policies of regional states. In this respect the Balkan Wars became a major source of the grievances that contributed to the beginning of World War I.

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Emilian Kavalski

Bao Dai

(1913–1997) *Vietnamese emperor*

Prince Nguyen Vinh, later known as Emperor Bao Dai, was the son of Annamese emperor Khai Dinh. Born in Hue on October 22, 1913, Bao Dai was educated in France. He became emperor of Vietnam on November 6, 1925. On his ascension to the throne he took the name Bao Dai, meaning "Keeper of Greatness." After taking the throne he returned to France and resumed his education, and the regent Ton-Thai Han served until he came of age in 1932. Bao Dai married Jeanette Nguyen Huu Hao on March 24, 1934. As the empress Nam Phuong, she bore him two sons and three daughters.

Bao Dai was a reformer, seeking to modernize Vietnamese educational and judicial systems and to end archaic court practices such as the kowtow, and he put young reformers in his first cabinet of 1933. However, the French government continually undermined his initiatives and his authority.

In the mid-1930s, with France threatened by Germany, Bao Dai saw his opportunity to seek greater autonomy. When Germany conquered France the new French government at Vichy was compelled to surrender Indochina to Japanese control. Japan declared that it had freed Vietnam from foreign rule.

Under Japanese control Bao Dai established a nationalist government. Although he declared Vietnamese independence, in reality Vietnam switched from French to Japanese control. Under Japanese occupation a communist resistance formed led by Ho Chi Minh communist guerrillas called the Vietminh.

At the Potsdam Conference in 1945, the Allied leaders Franklin Roosevelt, Winston Churchill, and Joseph Stalin agreed that Vietnam would be divided between Chinese and British control after the war. A month after the Japanese surrender in August 1945, Ho Chi Minh announced the creation of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. Vietnam became a battleground among the Vietminh, royalists, democrats, and supporters of the French.

Bao Dai stepped down to avert a civil war and in March 1946 went into exile in Hong Kong. However, France returned him as a constitutional monarch in an attempt to unify Vietnam. Bao Dai was hesitant, but French agreement to recognize the independent Vietnam led him to return. In 1948 Bao Dai agreed to lead a unified Vietnam under the French Union, received permission to return, and became head of state in 1949. But he soon left Vietnam for Europe, vowing never to return until his country was truly independent.

In 1954, when France lost the crucial battle at Dien Bien Phu against the Vietminh, it finally agreed to grant independence to Indochina. At Geneva in June 1954, representatives of the United States, the Soviet Union, China, Britain, and France met to decide how to end conflict in Vietnam. They agreed to divide Vietnam at the 17th parallel, with Ho Chi Minh ruling the north and Ngo Dinh Diem ruling the south as prime minister under Bao Dai. The Vietnamese could choose whether to live in the north or south. By July 1956 an election would be held to determine whether Vietnam would be unified.

With U.S. backing Ngo Dinh Diem held a plebiscite on whether to abolish the monarchy in October 1955. The United States opposed Bao Dai because he was out of touch, and supported Diem. American adviser Colonel Edward Lansdale suggested that ballots should be in two colors in hope that the Vietnamese would vote based on their beliefs that red meant good luck while green meant misfortune. Voters complained that they were harassed at the polls, with ballots for Diem counted and votes for Bao Dai tossed into the trash. Diem won 99 percent of the vote. Bao Dai lost the election and went into exile in France. In exile Bao Dai spoke

often on behalf of peace and unity for Vietnam, but he lived the life of a playboy. He died in a Paris military hospital on July 31, 1997.

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John H. Barnhill

Batista, Fulgencio

(1901–1973) *Cuban soldier, politician, and dictator*

Fulgencio Batista was born in Banes, located in the Oriente province of Cuba, on January 16, 1901, to a poor farming family. He received little formal schooling, although he attended night school, and joined the army in 1931, where he studied stenography. He was promoted to sergeant in 1928. During 1931–33 he took part in a conspiracy to overthrow the dictatorship of Gerardo Machado, which was successful in August 1933. In September of that year he led a revolt against Machado's successor, Manuel de Céspedes. During this period he violently suppressed a number of attempts to defeat his control. During one attempt a number of those who surrendered to Batista and his men were executed. He was then promoted to colonel and commander in chief of the army by the provisional president, who Batista thanked by leading another revolt that overthrew him. Batista resigned from the army in 1944 and was elected president.

Batista was not allowed to succeed himself as president by Cuban law, so he left office in 1944. He traveled widely and lived in Florida for a time. He returned to Cuba and was elected to the senate in 1948. He staged another coup on March 10, 1952, and regained control of the government. He was elected president unopposed on November 1, 1954. In that election he was not expected to win and again used force to suppress his opponents.

During his presidency, Batista promoted education and public health care, encouraged independent economic development, and improved labor conditions. He also simplified administrative procedures. However, his regime was exceptionally corrupt, and that, along with his brutal terror against political opponents, turned the people against him. There were several revolts, most notably the guerrilla campaign led by Fidel Castro in 1956, which was successful by late 1958. His regime was overthrown by Castro's forces, and he resigned the presidency on January 1, 1959, and fled the country with his family and many of his followers to the Dominican Republic. He later settled in Portugal, where he wrote *Cuba Betrayed* in 1962. He also wrote *I am With the People* (1939), *Repuesta* (1960), *Stones and Laws* (1961), *To Rule is to Foresee* (1962), and *The Growth and Decline of the Cuban Republic (*1964). Batista died in Spain on August 6, 1973.

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James E. Seelye, Jr.

Batlle, José

(1856–1929) *president of Uruguay*

José Batlle y Ordonez was the president of Uruguay from 1903 to 1907 and again from 1911 to 1915 and remains one of the great politicians in the history of Uruguay. He was a passionate believer in pan-Americanism and introduced many social reforms that made Uruguay one of the most liberal countries in the world.

José Batlle (pronounced "Bajé") was born on May 21, 1856, the son of Lorenzo Batlle y Grau, who was one of the major figures in the Uruguayan Colorado Party. Lorenzo was minister of war during the siege of Uruguay's capital, Montevideo. In 1868, when José, Jr., was 12, his father became president of Uruguay, a post he held until 1872. José spent four years studying at Montevideo University and then traveled around Europe, returning to Montevideo in 1881. He followed his father into the Colorado Party and on June 16, 1886, founded the newspaper *El Día*, which became the party's paper. In the following year José Batlle became political chief of the department of Minas, an area near Montevideo, and in 1890 he reorganized the Colorados. His wife, Matilde, was also from an

important Colorado family. Her father was Manuel Pacheco y Obes, who had fought in the defense of Montevideo with José's father.

From February 15 to March 1, 1899, José Batlle was acting president of Uruguay, and he made an unsuccessful bid for the presidency in 1900. Following his narrow victory in elections four years later, on March 1, 1903, he succeeded Juan Lindolfo Cuestas. Many people knew José Batlle as the son of a former president and a man of great intellect. However, when he was elected he had no public platform to implement. This was in spite of his being one of the most prominent journalists in Montevideo. When he was elected, Aparicio Saravia, the leader of the rival party, the Blancos, launched a rebellion that lasted for 18 months. When the Colorados defeated the Blancos at the Battle of Masoller on September 1, 1904, it marked the end of fighting as a way of sorting out political problems in the country. Saravia was mortally wounded in the fighting, and his forces were annihilated.

Batlle promoted discussion on social reform and gave Uruguay much of its heritage of democracy and the system of the welfare state, almost alone in Latin America. In 1905 he ended the payment of income tax by low-level civil servants, encouraging people to join the government service. In the following year by presidential decree, he established secondary schools in every city in Uruguay. His third major reform, in 1907, was to allow women to divorce their husbands if they were being cruelly treated, while men could only divorce on grounds of adultery. That bill spent two years in the Uruguayan congress before it was finally made law. Other social reforms included the removal from public oaths of references to God and other Christian beliefs and the removal of crucifixes from hospitals.

When his term of office ended on March 1, 1907, Batlle went to Switzerland, where he became an admirer of the plural presidency. He was also hugely influenced by the social reforms in Europe during this period, and when he returned to Uruguay he was determined to establish a complete welfare state. His first move was to shore up the financial side of his government, and in 1912 he established the Banco de Seguros, the state insurance bank, and took over the state mortgage bank.

In 1913 Batlle wanted to introduce a collegiate head of the executive branch of government on the Swiss model. This caused a massive split in the Colorados, which lasted until 1966 and was blocked by dissident Colorados and the Blancos until Batlle threatened in 1919 to run for a third term. This forced his enemies to decide to back the project as a way of reducing any future power he would have. In 1914 Batlle instituted social security for people who were unemployed. He also legislated for employers in bakeries and textile factories to provide chairs for women employees. In the following year he finally pushed through a law that had taken four years of debates. This established the eight-hour workday. At the same time the government took over the telephone services and power generation facilities. The two were merged to form the Usinas Eléctricas y los Teléfonos del Estado (the State Telephone and Electrical Facilities). Many secondary schools were created around the country, and everybody was guaranteed a free high school education. The university was enlarged and also allowed to admit women.

Many of these reforms were paid for by the increasingly wealthy beef industry, which expanded dramatically. It was to provide much of the meat required by the British war effort during World War I. José Batlle stood down as president on March 1, 1915, and went into retirement. He died on October 20, 1929.

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Justin Corfield

Ben-Gurion, David

(1886–1973) *prime minister of Israel*

Born as David Josef Gruen in Plonsk, Russia, David Ben-Gurion studied the "Lovers of Zion" movement at a school established by his father. At an early age he met and greatly admired Theodore Herzl, the founder of the International Zionist Movement, who died when Ben-Gurion was 18. It was from then on that he was determined to carry through with what Herzl had only dreamed of—the establishment of a Jewish state. Because of his determination and in fear of the widespread anti-Semitism that plagued eastern Europe, Ben-Gurion moved to Palestine in 1906. He initially worked as a laborer and remained active in the Poalei Tzion movement, which he joined at 17. In 1910 he was elected a member of the editorial board of the *Achdut*

(unity) newspaper and shortly thereafter adopted the Hebrew name David Ben-Gurion.

In hopes of changing the anti-Zionist Ottoman policies in Palestine he went to Constantinople, Turkey, in 1912 to study law and government. At the outbreak of World War I Ben-Gurion returned to Palestine but was arrested as a known member of Poalei Tzion and was deported. He moved to New York City and began Hehaulutz, the American wing of Labor Zionism, and in 1917 married Paula Munweis, with whom he had three children. Certain that the Ottoman authorities would never support Zionism, he strategically altered his plans and joined Ze'ev Jabotinsky's call to form Jewish battalions within the British Army to liberate Palestine from the Ottoman Empire.

Ben-Gurion and his family returned to Palestine in late 1918. Ben-Gurion formed the Histadrut, the Federation of Laborers in Israel, in 1920 and was elected secretary-general in 1921. He also established the Haganah, the paramilitary force of the Labor Zionist movement, which facilitated underground Jewish immigration and provided the backbone of the future Israel Defense Force (IDF). In 1930 Ben-Gurion formed the Israel's Workers Party, Mapai, which became the government during the first three decades of Israel's existence. He was elected chairman of the Zionism Executive and chairman of Histadrut, was regarded by the British as the official representative for the Jews in Palestine, and was instrumental in purchasing arms from Europe.

Ben-Gurion was elected the leader of the World Zionist Organization's Department of Defense in 1946. From this and his other positions he pressured the British to either grant the Jews a state in Palestine or to quit the mandate. In 1947 Britain chose the latter. On May 14, 1948, David Ben-Gurion announced Israel's declaration of independence and became leader of its provisional government. The surrounding Arab nations invaded Israel, and violence increased between the Arabs in Israel and the Jews. Ben-Gurion recognized the rationale of Arab objections to Zionism early on and was aware of the nature of the clash between two genuine claims to the same land; however, he and others believed that the establishment of a Jewish homeland was crucial for the survival of Judaism.

Equipped with a stronger military force, Israel defeated the Arabs, and Ben-Gurion became the prime minister on February 26, 1949, a post he held until 1963 except for a period of two years (1953–55). In 1970 he resigned from politics altogether and worked on his autobiography at Kibbutz Sde-Boker until his death in 1973.

See also Arab-Israeli War (1948); British mandate in Palestine.

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Jenna Levin

Black Dragon and Japanese ultranationalist societies

Owing their origins to the yakuza, Japan's native organized crime group, Japanese ultranationalist societies gained strength in the ex-samurai class during the reign of Emperor Meiji. The purpose of one such society, organized in 1901, was the expansion of Japanese control past the Amur River, the border between northeastern China (Manchuria) and Russia. The river, named Amur in Russian, has a Chinese name that translates as the Black Dragon River, hence the name for the society. The Black Dragon Society and other new types of yakuza organizations considered themselves righteous gangsters who worked for the rights of the people, reverence for the imperial institution, and total Japanese domination of Asia.

By the beginning of the 20th century, the reign of Emperor Meiji had turned Japan into a world power with a growing economy and a population of around 45 million people. Commerce flourished in Japan. As the economy grew and the priorities of the population shifted toward consumerism, gangs grew in power as they organized laborers in businesses such as construction, gambling, building the new metal-wheeled rickshaw, and running street stalls. Gang bosses often opened legitimate businesses to act as covers for underground work. Often they paid off local police to keep their activities quiet.

As their power grew, the yakuza increased their presence in politics. Eventually, close ties to influential officials developed, and many gangs worked under government sanction that protected them from persecution. Since both sides were motivated by opportunism, ideology played only a small part at this time, and cooperation between the gangs and the government resulted. There was always a conservative slant to the

yakuza, but as the Japanese increased their international military presence and some Japanese sought greater democracy, the new yakuza became more conservative and ultranationalist.

First erupting on the southernmost Japanese island of Kyushu, ultranationalism became the defining force behind Japan's move to extreme conservativism. The island served as the home to a large number of discontented ex-samurai. Many of these samurai had already been taken advantage of by charismatic patriots and politicians who fought against the perceived disregard for tradition among the modern sector. The city of Fukuoka, located closest to mainland Asia, had developed into a center of xenophobic ultranationalism.

From this center of antigovernment ideology, Mitsuru Toyama emerged as a strong leader who effected lasting change in Japanese organized crime. During his 20s, Toyama's political activities sent him to jail for three years, and upon his release he joined his first nationalist society, called the Kyoshisha, the Pride and Patriotism Society. Toyama handed out money to his followers on the streets in the manner of those before him, earning him the moniker Emperor of the Slums. Next he began enlisting the disgruntled youth of Fukuoka and created a workforce of disciplined and dedicated fighters.

Toyama made a move in 1881 upon the founding of the Genyosha, the Dark Ocean Society. According to the tenets of its charter, the Dark Ocean Society vowed to revere the imperial institution, love and respect the nation, and defend the people's rights. Even with such vague intentions, Toyama exploited the passion of the ex-samurai for Japanese expansion and total rule. Toyama was able to successfully tap into this sentiment and create a strong political, paramilitary force. The work of the Dark Ocean Society, whose very name indicated expansion across the small divide of ocean between Japan and mainland Asia, was a campaign of strength. Using blackmail, assassination, and other forms of terror as a catalyst, the Dark Ocean Society was successful in exerting influence over government officials and ultimately played a critical role in pushing Japan into mainland Asia and war with the United States.

An offshoot of the Dark Ocean Society, the Black Dragon Society was known for their espionage, sabotage, and assassination methods in Japan, China (especially in Manchuria), Russia, and Korea. The ultimate objective of the Black Dragon Society was domination of Asia. The natural successor of the Dark Ocean Society, the Black Dragon Society took over Dark Ocean followers along with Dark Ocean policies and goals. Under the patronage and guidance of the Dark Ocean Society's Toyama, the Black Dragons pushed Japan into a victorious war with Russia, committed political assassinations, and helped create the conditions for a Japanese invasion of Asia. For 30 years, the Black Dragon Society flourished. They discouraged Japanese involvement in capitalism, democracy, and anything associated with the West.

In the 1920s, even during the Taisho democracy and the increase in Japan's liberalism, the Black Dragons grew. As a result the Japanese polity was overwhelmed by assassination, police repression, and an increasingly renegade military. Ultranationalist groups increased in power, even receiving money from the imperial family. The Black Dragon Society evolved into the paramilitary arm of a dominant political party.

See also Manchurian incident and Manchukuo.

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Melissa Benne

Boer War

The Boer War, from 1899 to 1902, was a conflict between Great Britain and the Boers, or Dutch settlers, in South Africa. The Boers were mostly farmers who had settled as early as the 18th century in South Africa. The British wanted to unify their Cape Colony and Natal colonies and the Boer republics of the Orange Free State and the South African Republic. The discovery of gold in Transvaal in 1886 led more English settlers to South Africa. These new settlers, called *Uitlanders* by the Boers, raised Boer concerns over the possible loss of valuable farmland to the English, who were predominantly interested in the mineral resources of South Africa.

After British leaders attempted to incite an uprising among the English in Transvaal in the Jameson Raid of 1896, the rift between the British and the Boers widened. As a result, the Boer leader Paul Kruger won the 1898 election as president of the South African

Soldiers man their guns during the Boer War, which pitted the agrarian Dutch settlers of South Africa against the British.

Republic. To undercut possible British moves, the Boers demanded that the British withdraw all their troops; when the ultimatum was rejected, the Boers attacked the Cape Colony and Natal, laying siege to the cities of Kimberley, Mafeking, and Ladysmith. The defense of Mafeking was led by Robert Baden-Powell, the founder of the Boy Scouts. The future prime minister of Britain Winston Churchill also participated in the war, as did the Indian nationalist leader Mohandas K. Gandhi, who served in the British medical corps.

After initial defeats, the British rallied their troops and in 1900 appointed Horatio Herbert Kitchener, who had just successfully taken the Sudan, as the commander in chief. With superior firepower the British army successfully lifted the sieges, but the Boers then resorted to hit-and-run guerrilla warfare tactics, some of which they had learned from the Zulus in earlier confrontations. To defeat the Boers, Kitchener adopted techniques that were used against guerrilla fighters throughout the world in the 20th century. These included slash-and-burn attacks against civilian farms and cutting off supplies of food and arms to Boer fighters by placing the civilian population in concentration camps. Thousands of Boer women and children were rounded up and placed in armed camps, where many starved to death. Their farms were then burned to the ground, thereby depriving the Boer fighters of cover and food supplies. Many indigenous Africans were also placed in camps. Some were sent to camps in Bermuda, India, and St. Helena. Almost 30,000 Boers, mostly women and children, and 14,000 Africans died in the camps. The destruction of much of the countryside also led to food shortages. In the spring of 1902 the Boers were forced to accept defeat. Under the Treaty of Vereeniging all of South Africa became part of the British Empire.

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Janice J. Terry

Bonhoeffer, Dietrich

(1906–1945) *theologian and social activist*

Dietrich Bonhoeffer was a German pastor and brilliant theologian who was made famous by his role in the German resistance movement. He was executed in April 1945 for his involvement in plots to overthrow Adolf Hitler.

Bonhoeffer and his twin sister, Sabine, were born on February 4, 1906, in Breslau, Germany (now Wroclaw, Poland). His father, Karl Bonhoeffer, was a distinguished psychiatrist, and his mother, Paula, presided over the early education of her eight children with the aid of a governess, entering her children for state examinations at an early age.

In 1912 the Bonhoeffers moved to Berlin, where Dietrich's father took a post as a professor of psychiatry. By age 14 Dietrich Bonhoeffer had already decided to pursue theology. His family was not particularly religious, attending church only occasionally, but respected his decision even at a relatively young age.

In 1923 at age 17, Bonhoeffer entered the University of Tübingen. In 1924 he switched to the University of Berlin, a center for theology made famous by one of its founders, Friedrich Schleiermacher. The theology faculty was headed by Adolf von Harnack, an eminent theologian, and Reinhold Seeberg, a well-known systematic theology professor and author. Bonhoeffer stood out as a brilliant, studious, and somewhat independent thinker.

It was during this period that Bonhoeffer began to read and be influenced by the works of the Neo-Orthodox movement, a reaction to the liberal theology of Schleiermacher and von Harnack made famous by Karl Barth. Bonhoeffer began work on his doctoral thesis in mid-1926 under Seeberg, finishing in December 1927 at age 21 with a rarely awarded summa cum laude.

Assigned to work for a year as an assistant pastor in a Lutheran church in Barcelona, Spain, Bonhoeffer plunged into congregational life. Always interested in children, Bonhoeffer quickly organized a Sunday school program aimed at boys, who responded well to his leadership. In 1930–31 Bonhoeffer did postgraduate study in New York at the Union Theological Seminary. Returning to Berlin, he took up his pastoral duties but continued his association with the university. By this time he had published two books (*Sanctorum Communio* and *Act and Being*). In 1931 Bonhoeffer attended an ecumenical conference in Cambridge, England. This conference proved to be the start of his leadership role in the ecumenical movement as well as a wartime cover for many of his activities. During this period, Bonhoeffer's own faith grew more intensely personal rather than simply academic.

In 1933 Adolf Hitler came to power and quickly moved to control the churches. After spending several months in England in late 1933, where he was able to inform British Christians about the increasingly severe plight of Christians in Germany, Bonhoeffer returned to Berlin. During 1934 the regional churches that were still relatively free from government influence formed what was called the Confessing Church. This church body decided to form unofficial seminaries separate from the theological schools at the government-controlled universities. Bonhoeffer was asked to run a seminary consisting of 23 seminarians in the country town of Finkewalde. It was during this time that Bonhoeffer wrote his best-known work, *The Cost of Discipleship*, which was based on some of his evening lectures to the seminarians. In the context of Germany with its unquestioning obedience to the führer, Adolf Hitler, Bonhoeffer focused on what true obedience as a Christian meant. He would eventually prove such obedience with his own life.

In 1939, in part to avoid a call-up into the military, Bonhoeffer went to England for several months. During that time he met with church and ecumenical authorities trying to persuade them to support the Confessing Church on an official basis. In the United States Bonhoeffer was offered a position as pastor to the German refugees in New York. Accepting it would have meant he could never return to Nazi Germany, then on the verge of war. After much discussion and prayer he chose to return to Germany to share in the fate of his country.

Bonhoeffer's brother-in-law, Hans von Dohnanyi, was already deeply involved in the resistance movement, which at the time was trying to persuade influential generals to arrest Hitler. Hitler's early successes in the war precluded this strategy. In 1940 Bonhoeffer began working for the Abwehr, the German intelligence service headed by Admiral Canaris ostensibly to gather information for the Germans from his international church contacts. This cover provided Bonhoeffer with the freedom to travel internationally as well as avoid a military call-up but at the same time drew him deeper into the circle of resistance, which included Admiral Canaris himself. In 1941 and 1942, well aware of the conspiracy to overthrow Hitler, which involved several German generals, Bonhoeffer traveled several times to Switzerland, Norway, and Sweden looking for ways to communicate via church channels to officials in England and elsewhere the necessity for a speedy recognition of the new government that would result from Hitler's overthrow.

In March 1943 Dohnanyi was involved in a failed plot to blow up Hitler during one of his inspection tours. The Gestapo investigations of the resistance were drawing their nets tighter around Canaris and his associates, and on April 5, 1943, Dohnanyi, Bonhoeffer, and several others were arrested on suspicion of conspiracy and put in prison in Berlin. Bonhoeffer had carefully prepared for this moment and was able to evade the charges against him successfully, although he was never released from prison. His case never came to trial, and in 1944 it increasingly looked like Bonhoeffer would be released. During his time in prison Bonhoeffer secretly worked on his book *Ethics*, which was published posthumously.

On July 20, 1944, there was another assassination attempt on Hitler by the conspirator von Stauffenberg. The resulting investigation uncovered incriminating evidence against Canaris and Dohnanyi and indirectly against Bonhoeffer. This judgment sealed the fate of all the conspirators. They were moved to a concentration camp, where they were hanged on the personal orders of Hitler on April 9, 1945.

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Bruce Franson

Bonus Army

During the summer of 1932, in the midst of the Great Depression, as many as 25,000 World War I veterans calling themselves the Bonus Expeditionary Force

marched on Washington, D.C., to ask Congress for bonuses promised for wages they had lost while in service to their country. The bonuses, authorized in 1924, would not mature until 1945, but the former servicemen clamored for any small portion that would aid the survival of themselves and their starving families.

Many of the desperate vets inhabited abandoned downtown buildings or erected makeshift abodes of cardboard, wood, and tin in a shantytown located across Washington's Anacostia River. Peaceful demonstrations and parades past the capitol were organized by Walter Waters. President Herbert Hoover refused to meet with Waters or the other vets. The House of Representatives passed Texas representative Wright Patman's bill for accelerated payment, but the Senate defeated the measure by a vote of 62 to 18.

With Congress set to recess for the summer, some of the protesters accepted an offer of free transportation back to their homes; others had nowhere else to go. With the help of superintendent of police Pelham Glassford, many others defiantly remained in Washington. On July 28 Secretary of War Patrick J. Hurley ordered Glassford to remove the emaciated veterans, many of whom occupied condemned buildings. Feeling betrayed, veterans hurled rocks at the police, who opened fire, killing one and wounding another. That afternoon 600 federal troops led by General Douglas MacArthur moved on the marchers in compliance with the president's order to evict.

MacArthur, perhaps convinced that these were communists, not veterans, exceeded his orders and attacked the desperate itinerants with tanks, gas grenades, and cavalry; MacArthur ordered the troops across the Anacostia River, where fire was set to the Bonus Marchers' makeshift village, killing three and injuring 54, including children and women. Public sentiment favored the Bonus Marchers. President Hoover could not escape the wrath of an astonished U.S. public that rebelled at such harsh tactics. It was a final straw in his decisive loss in that fall's election. Hoover's Democratic successor, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, while opposing payment of the bonus, created the Civilian Conservation Corps, setting aside jobs for many veterans; soon after his wife, Eleanor Roosevelt, met with a small group of marchers in 1933. In 1944, during World War II, Congress passed and Roosevelt signed the G.I. Bill of Rights, the United States' first-ever comprehensive and reliable benefit system for its military veterans.

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John M. Mayernik

Bose, Subhas Chandra

(1897–1945) *radical Indian politician*

Subhas Chandra Bose abandoned an intended career in the Indian civil service to support Mohandas K. Gandhi and the Indian National Congress (INC) in the cause of Indian independence from Great Britain. However, he later found Gandhi's nonviolent movement too moderate, attacked Gandhi for negotiating with the British authorities, and organized a Socialist Independence of India League in 1928. He also became a labor leader, organized strikes, and was elected president of the All-India Trade Union Congress (1929–31). When Gandhi suspended his *satyagraha* (truth, force, nonviolent protest) campaign against the British in 1933, Bose and the left-wing members of the INC called for Gandhi's suspension from the organization and its reorganization.

A showdown between Gandhi and Bose in 1937 resulted in the first contested election for president of the INC, which Bose won in 1938. He became an open admirer of Adolf Hitler and took on the title *Netaji*, which means leader in Hindi, in emulation of the German Nazi leader. His policies so severely fractured the INC that it could not function, compelling him to resign. He broke off relations with the INC and Gandhi as a result and formed the Forward Bloc Party. Whereas Gandhi and the INC advocated noncooperation with the British government when World War II broke out, Bose sponsored terrorism, sabotage, and assassination. His party was banned, and he fled India, arriving in Berlin via Afghanistan and the Soviet Union. He was welcomed by Hitler, who provided him with a radio facility to broadcast anti-British propaganda to India.

Bose arrived in Japan in mid-1943 in a German U-boat. He proceeded to Japanese-occupied Malaya and helped organize the "Indian National Army," which consisted of 40,000 soldiers from among the 45,000 Indian prisoners of war captured in Malaya and Singapore. However, command and control of that army remained in Japanese hands. In October 1943 Bose announced the creation of a Provisional Government of Free India and assumed the titles of head of state, prime minister, and minister of war and foreign affairs.

The people he supposedly controlled were the 2 million ethnic Indians who were living in Japanese-occupied Malaya and Singapore. However, the Japanese initially put Bose on the Andaman Islands. In November 1943 Bose and other Japanese puppets met in Tokyo in the Greater East Asia Conference.

This conference marked the high point of Japan's "New Order" in Asia and the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere it created and controlled. Bose's "government" was moved to Rangoon in Burma in 1944 as the Japanese-controlled Indian army advanced across the Indian border. It was turned back and surrendered in Rangoon in May 1945. Bose escaped with his Japanese patrons, fleeing to Indochina, and when Japanese forces collapsed there he left Saigon for Taiwan on the last Japanese plane, which crashed on landing. Captured officers who served under Bose were tried and convicted but were given suspended sentences.

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Jiu-Hwa Lo Upshur

Watching the "Foreign Devils": Cantonese citizens peer through the gate of the English Bridge, barring them any further access.

Boxer Rebellion

The Boxer Rebellion in China was the culmination of the reactionary policies of the dowager empress Cixi (Tz'u-hsi) after she crushed the reform movement of 1898 and imprisoned Emperor Guangxu (Kuang-hsu), who had advocated the thoroughgoing reforms. The defeat of the Boxers by forces of seven Western powers and Japan would bring deeper losses of sovereignty and humiliation to China and totally discredit the Qing (Ch'ing) dynasty.

The Boxer movement was rooted in half a century of Western victories over China and the unequal treaties they had imposed on the Chinese, resulting in deep popular resentment among all segments of the people. Many Chinese resented the activities of Western Christian missionaries who had been free to build churches and proselytize throughout the country and were not subject to Chinese laws. The expansion of Western trade in China and the low tariff that they imposed made Chinese-produced goods noncompetitive against Western imports, damaging the economy. Shandong (Shantung) province was particularly hard hit by economic hardships, the result of frequent flooding of the Yellow River beginning in the 1880s. Local frustration reached a high point in 1898 due to two events: a particularly bad flooding of the Yellow River and Germany's establishment of a sphere of influence in Shandong. A Chinese secret society called the Yihe chuan (I-ho chuan), or the "Righteous and Harmonious Fists," capitalized on the popular discontent. It was an offshoot of the White Lotus Society and the Eight-Trigram Sect, which had risen in revolt against the Qing dynasty in the late 18th century. Their members claimed magical powers through the practice of shadow boxing, charms, and magical arts. Westerners called its members Boxers because they practised martial arts.

The Boxers were mostly poor unemployed farmers and were initially noted for being both antiforeign and antidynastic. However, they were soon co-opted by Cixi and the powerful reactionary Manchu nobles who surrounded her, who hoped to use them to consolidate their power. They skillfully manipulated the Boxers to support the Qing and whip up xenophobia among the people. The Boxers were initially most active in Shandong. However, acting governor Yuan Shikai (Yuan Shih-k'ai) was no fool and knew that their martial arts were no match for firearms. He defied Cixi's order to

afford them protection, suppressing them and driving them out of the province. They found a new home in Zhili and Shanxi (Shansi) provinces and were welcomed by Cixi into Beijing (Peking), where they were organized into a militia and "proved" their invulnerability to bullets by a demonstration before her with blanks. Then followed a reign of terror by the Boxers, killing Westerners, Chinese converts to Christianity, and anyone who opposed them. Cixi executed a number of officials opposed to the Boxers in the capital, thereby silencing opposition.

On June 21, 1900, Cixi issued an edict declaring war against all Western nations, ordered all Chinese diplomats stationed in the West to return home, and ordered provincial governors to round up all foreigners. She also ordered the cutting of telegraphic links between China and the outside world. Several Western diplomats were killed in the capital city, and a Boxer force besieged the Western diplomatic quarters. Fortunately, governors in the south and eastern provinces, including the senior statesman Li Hongzhang (Li Hungchang) and Yuan Shikai, among others, jointly declared the court's declaration of war illegitimate and their intention to suppress the Boxers and protect the foreigners in their territories. Likewise, Chinese diplomats stationed in the West declared Cixi's moves illegitimate since the rightful ruler, Emperor Guangxu, was held prisoner by her.

A relief force consisting of units of Great Britain, France, Germany, Russia, Austria-Hungary, Italy, the United States, and Japan was organized and captured Beijing on August 14, lifting the siege of the diplomatic quarters because with no artillery pieces, the Boxers had been unable to capture the sandbagged buildings that held the diplomats, Western missionaries, and Chinese Christians inside. Meanwhile, Cixi, her nephew the captive emperor, and her supporters had fled Beijing disguised as farmers. The city and environs were subjected to severe destruction and looting by the conquering soldiers.

Diplomats of the eight powers then negotiated terms among themselves to dictate to China. The Boxer Protocol (1900) had 12 clauses: official apologies, punishment of the guilty, suppression of antiforeign organizations, no civil service examinations to be held in provinces that supported Boxer activities, the demolition of Chinese forts at Taku (that controlled entry to Beijing by sea), no import of arms by China for two years, the Western powers to be able to garrison troops at designated points in northern China and to fortify their diplomatic quarters, the abolition of the Zongli Yamen (Tsungli Yamen) that had conducted Chinese foreign affairs since 1862 (to be supplanted by a new ministry of foreign affairs), and an indemnity of 450 million gold taels (1 tael=1 1/3 ounces) to be paid over 40 years. China was not represented at the negotiations and was not permitted to change a word in the protocol. Li Hongzhang was appointed head of the delegation to offer apologies to the Western powers—he died soon after completing the task. Allied soldiers evacuated Beijing in September 1901. Cixi returned to Beijing in 1902 and issued a proclamation blaming Guangxu for all that had happened.

The Boxer Rebellion was propelled by popular anger against Western imperialism that was manipulated by an ignorant and reactionary court headed by Cixi. Both the Boxers and Western troops caused terrible suffering among innocent people, the inevitable collapse of the Boxer Rebellion plunged China's existence into jeopardy, and ultimately it spelled the death knell of the Qing dynasty.

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Jiu-Hwa Lo Upshur

Brandeis, Louis D.

(1856–1941) *U.S. Supreme Court justice*

A son of German immigrants who became a crusading attorney and the United States' first Jewish Supreme Court justice, Louis Brandeis made his mark as a leading progressive and helped shape President Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal.

Brandeis was born in St. Louis but made Boston his home soon after graduating from Harvard University. He became a wealthy lawyer while also pursuing cases on behalf of embattled labor unions, immigrants, and others left behind in Gilded Age America. He took on streetcar and railroad interests and wrote muckraking articles about banking. In 1910 New York City cloakmakers struck local sweatshops. Brandeis

negotiated a settlement satisfactory to both the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union (ILGWU) and the manufacturers.

Brandeis believed that big business tended to excessively concentrate economic power, harming regional and local enterprises and eliminating true competition. He played a key role in making the Constitution's Fourteenth Amendment, used mostly to bolster corporate rights since its adoption in 1868, into a vehicle expanding rights for ordinary people. His biggest victory came in 1908 when in *Muller v. Oregon* the Supreme Court unanimously ruled that the state could prevent manufacturers from making women work more than 10 hours a day. Brandeis's win came just three years after the Court had invalidated a maximum hours statute for bakery workers. In what was soon nicknamed a "Brandeis Brief," its namesake wrote a 112-page document that went far beyond narrow legal precepts, adding sociological information that, in the words of the *Muller* decision, included "extracts from over ninety reports of committees, bureaus of statistics, commissioners of hygiene, inspectors of factories, both in this country and in Europe, to the effect that long hours of labor are dangerous for women. . . ."

By the time President Woodrow Wilson nominated Brandeis, a political ally, to the Supreme Court, Brandeis had a national reputation as "the people's attorney." Nevertheless, his confirmation process was difficult. Both his liberalism and his religion were held against him. His "fitness" was questioned by leading attorneys, including former President William Howard Taft, and officials from his alma mater opposed him. Brandeis was confirmed by a 47-22 Senate vote in 1916.

Considered a reliably liberal member of a rather conservative court, Brandeis was a supporter of the New Deal but by no means a doormat. In 1935 he joined in the unanimous *Schechter* decision that killed Roosevelt's National Industrial Recovery Act, a centerpiece of the New Deal program. In 1932 Benjamin N. Cardozo joined the Court as its second justice of Jewish descent. Brandeis was instrumental in mentoring Felix Frankfurter, a law professor and Roosevelt aide, who became the third Jewish member of the Court, replacing Cardozo when he died in 1938. Brandeis, who was 80 when Roosevelt proposed his controversial 1937 Court-packing plan, was offended but decided to retire in 1939.

Brandeis was not especially religiously observant but took a strong interest in Zionism during World War II. His Court duties and a falling-out with European Zionists, including Chaim Weizmann, reduced his involvement, but Brandeis continued to back creation of a Jewish state in British Palestine. In 1948, seven years after Brandeis's death and the year of Israel's founding, Brandeis University opened in Waltham, Massachusetts, commemorating its namesake as a Jewish-American legal pioneer and supporter of social justice.

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Marsha E. Ackermann

British mandate in Palestine

Although British control of Palestine started on December 11, 1917, the Palestine mandate was not approved by the council of the League of Nations until July 24, 1922, through the Treaty of San Remo. The mandate was formally established on September 29, 1923. Some of the causes of the delay were uncertainties about the territorial boundaries of the new entity and the issue of the contradictory future obligations of the Mandatory Power. The land's symbolic and political significance by far exceeded its local or even regional importance.

The historical cradle of the Jewish people and the holy land of Christianity, Palestine had for many centuries been inhabited by a mainly Muslim and Arab-speaking population. Since the beginning of the 20th century the Zionist movement, established at the congress at Basel in 1897, sought to recreate there the Jewish national home, but up until World War I it still had no international recognition and only limited Jewish support. During World War I on November 2, 1917, the British foreign secretary, Arthur James Balfour, seeking Jewish international support, issued a declaration assuring his government's support for the establishment in Palestine of the Jewish national home. The Palestine mandate copied the text of the Balfour Declaration, as both Britain and the League of Nations apparently believed that building a Jewish national home and protecting the Arab majority's rights and position were not incompatible objectives.

The Palestine mandate received by Britain in 1920 included the future Transjordan, but this was transformed into a separate territorial unit. The Emirate of Transjordan, never considered part of historic Palestine, was explicitly excluded from the area of Palestine designed as the Jewish national home. In this framework

of the Palestine mandate the Jews enjoyed numerous advantages over the local Arab Palestinian population. With the help of worldwide Jewish communities and the British government the Zionists made enormous progress in developing an up-to-date economic, social, and political system.

Their numbers increased quickly because of growing immigration, from 83,790 in 1922 to 174,606 in 1931, and were estimated at 528,702 in 1944; they grew from 12 percent of the total population in 1922, to about 17 percent in 1931, to about 31 percent in 1944. In spite of that, the Jewish population remained a minority and would not have achieved their goals and aspirations without constant British military and security guarantees and protection. In practice the British granted considerable autonomy to the various religious groups along the lines of the old Turkish *millet* system and intended to prevent the development of the national-minded Palestinian Arab ethnic community. Lack of self-rule institutions and elected representatives deprived the Palestinian population of many political chances in the future. Led mainly by the clan (*hamula*) and big land-owning families, the Palestinian population in the country by 1936 had increased to about 1 million, primarily as the result of a high birth rate.

The British government started to introduce limitations on Jewish immigration to Palestine, but these quotas and the very concept of the absorptive capacity of the country became controversial, particularly in the 1930s and early 1940s. The situation in Palestine deteriorated largely under the impact of external factors, which included the Great Depression and Hitler's assumption of power in 1933 followed by the Nazi regime in Germany. Legal and illegal Jewish immigration to Palestine increased dramatically, from 9,553 in 1932 to 61,854 in 1935, because of which Arab-Jewish relations became tenser. Even before that, especially in 1921 and 1929, there had been violent clashes between the two communities. The Jewish Self-Defense Force, Haganah, was formed on June 15, 1920, and eventually evolved into the Israeli Defense force (IDF).

Between 1936 and 1939 there was the great Arab uprising, directed predominantly against the British mandatory power but also against Zionist settlers. The revolt began with a general strike that lasted some six months and soon evolved into a large-scale peasant revolt that mobilized the entire Palestinian Arab population. Almost 1,000 Palestinians and 80 Jews were killed in the first year, and by 1939 the British military had either killed or imprisoned most of the key Palestinian leaders. The revolt considerably weakened Palestinian political and military organizations and caused the loss of key leaders who might have been effective after World War II in the ongoing Arab-Israeli conflict.

The British also tried to find a political solution to the existing dilemma of conflicting Zionist and Palestinian demands for national control over the same territory. In 1936 the Peel Commission was sent to Palestine, and in 1937 it concluded that the mandate was unworkable in its present form. The Peel Commission recommended the partition of Palestine into a Jewish state, a Palestinian area to be merged with Transjordan, and Jerusalem and its neighborhood remaining under direct British control. The partition plan was opposed by both sides.

In May 1939 the Statement of Policy on Palestine replaced the partition plan with new directives. The British government declared that it wanted to establish "an independent Palestine State." This state was to be established within 10 years. During that period Jewish immigration would be limited to 15,000 per year during the first five years, after which no further Jewish immigration without Arab consent would be allowed. In 90 percent of Palestine, the transfer of Arab lands was forbidden or restricted.

Predictably, the most negative reaction came from the Zionist and Jewish circles, who dubbed it the "Black Paper." The most radical wing of the Zionist movement, the revisionists, almost immediately initiated violent actions against the British administration and the Arabs. The smuggling of arms and illegal immigrants into Palestine had begun before 1939, but it continued and intensified after that. Between 1939 and 1943 about 20,000 illegal Jewish immigrants and 19,000 legal ones entered the country.

After World War II several factors, such as U.S. support for the Zionist cause, the decline of British economic and political power, and the impact of the Holocaust on world opinion persuaded the British to submit the Palestine question to the United Nations on April 12, 1947. On May 15, 1948, the British mandate was terminated, and the British evacuated their troops from Palestine. Caught between conflicting obligations and facing the decline of their own power, the British had no choice but to leave.

See also Ben-Gurion, David; Hashemite monarchy in Jordan.

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Andrej Kreutz

Bryan, William Jennings

(1860–1925) *U.S. political leader*

Although he lost the presidency three times, William Jennings Bryan used powerful oratory and sympathy for America's downtrodden to transform the Democratic Party. In the Woodrow Wilson administration, Bryan tried unsuccessfully to keep the United States out of World War I. A committed Christian, he spent his final days in Tennessee, opposing Darwinian evolution at the Scopes trial and thereby entering history as a hero to the devout and a laughingstock to an urbanizing nation.

Bryan grew up in rural Salem, Illinois, becoming a lawyer and a Democrat like his father. In 1887, seeing greater political opportunity, he moved to Nebraska, where he became in 1890 only the second Democrat to win a congressional seat in Nebraska's 23 years of statehood.

In an era that esteemed oratory, Bryan spoke clearest and loudest, attracting national attention as he took up "prairie insurgency" causes that challenged both major parties. A supporter of direct senatorial election and banking reform, he called for federal intervention on behalf of farmers and laborers who felt themselves oppressed. Bryan sided with those who demanded unlimited coinage of cheaper silver money, positioning himself in the depression year of 1896 as the one candidate who could make populist demands a reality. The Chicago nominating convention erupted in cheers when Bryan finished his 20-minute "Cross of Gold" speech. The next day Bryan outpolled 12 other hopefuls, winning nomination on the fifth ballot.

Bryan broke campaign tradition by barnstorming 18,000 miles through 26 states, while Republican senator William McKinley conducted a genteel campaign from his Ohio front porch. Despite attracting a huge following of "believers," Bryan could not match the Republicans' fund-raising prowess and had trouble attracting urban support. He lost decisively and would lose again to McKinley in 1900 and to William Howard Taft in 1908.

Although he volunteered for the 1898 Spanish-American War (but never saw action), Bryan opposed imperialism and especially opposed U.S. efforts to rule the Philippines. Yet he disregarded Jim Crow laws that stifled African-American political participation. Bryan calculated that his political success depended on white votes from the "Solid South." Even so, black leader W. E. B. Dubois saw hope in the "Great Commoner's" concern for the poor and exploited.

Bryan's tenure as Woodrow Wilson's secretary of state was disastrous. Wilson, who meddled in the Mexican Revolution and the Caribbean, did not share Bryan's idealistic pacifism. In June 1914 World War I broke out in Europe. Bryan counseled true neutrality but resigned after a German U-boat attack on Britain's *Lusitania* in 1915 killed 128 Americans and prompted a harsh presidential warning.

Although Bryan was a dedicated Christian and teetotaler who championed Prohibition, he was no rube. He became wealthy from speaking engagements yet supported the graduated income tax. He traveled widely abroad, visiting Russian writer and pacifist Leo Tolstoy. Bryan (and his wife, Mary Baird Bryan) strongly backed women's suffrage. By the 1920s, though, Bryan seemed quaint to a new generation. His focus on Darwinism's evils and the Bible's truth seemed especially antimodern, even though he was among the first evangelists to speak on radio.

So when Bryan was brutally interrogated during the 1925 Scopes trial by famed lawyer Clarence Darrow, once a Bryan supporter, the legendary orator's weak showing seemed to prove the idiocy of his cause. Six days later Bryan, a diabetic, died in his sleep in Dayton. Mourned by thousands along its route, Bryan's funeral train carried him to burial in Arlington Cemetery. The Democratic Party of Franklin D. Roosevelt and other future leaders would owe much to Bryan's initiatives.

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Marsha E. Ackermann

Cairo Conference (1921)

The Cairo Conference was convened by the British to decide how to govern their newly gained Arab territories after World War I. Opening in March 1921, the conference represented a virtual who's who of British experts on the Middle East from the foreign office and the military. Lawrence of Arabia (T. E. Lawrence), champion of the Arab revolt; Gertrude Bell, an expert on Iraqi tribes and politics; as well as Sir Percy Cox, high commissioner for Iraq, and Sir Herbert Samuel, high commissioner for Palestine, all participated. The conference was chaired by Winston Churchill, then secretary of state for the colonies.

The San Remo Treaty in 1920 had formalized British control over Iraq and Palestine, formerly territories of the now-defunct Ottoman Empire. However, the British had been caught off guard by the 1920 violent revolt against their occupation of Iraq. If possible, they wanted to avoid future confrontations that necessitated the deployment of British or imperial troops and that placed heavy financial burdens on the British treasury.

At the conference it was agreed that a plebiscite should be held in Iraq to elect a king who would rule in close conjunction with British advisers. Faysal, Sherif Husayn's son and a favorite of the British, was proposed as the British nominee. After some hesitation he accepted the position. Faysal won subsequent elections that were held under British supervision, and he duly became the king of Iraq. His heirs continued to rule Iraq until they were overthrown in a violent military-led revolution in 1958. The installation of an Arab-led government made Iraq ostensibly independent, and it was ultimately granted entry into the League of Nations. But Iraq remained linked with Britain by a treaty that granted Britain extensive control over its foreign affairs and allowed the British military access whenever it chose.

Faysal's older brother Abdullah was selected to become amir (prince) and ultimately king of the land east of the River Jordan. Churchill coined this new entity, Transjordan, meaning on the other side of the Jordan. Abdullah was dependent on Britain for economic and military support, and his main military force, the Arab Legion, was led by a British military officer. This territory ultimately became the Hashemite monarchy in Jordan under the rule of Abdullah and his heirs. His great grandson, Abdullah II, ruled Jordan in the early 21st century. The creation of allegedly independent countries was meant to assuage Sherif Husayn and Arab demands that the promises regarding Arab independence after the war seemingly made by the British in the Sherif Husayn–McMahon correspondence be met.

In Palestine the British retained direct political and military control and assured their security concerns in the region, especially the protection of the vital Suez Canal. During the interwar years the British retained their preeminent position while attempting, with various degrees of success, to balance the conflicting national demands of the Palestinian Arabs for an independent

Arab state and the Zionists for an independent Jewish state. The British mandate in Palestine lasted until after World War II, when the British could no longer economically or militarily afford to maintain order in Palestine, and they consequently turned over the entire issue of who should rule Palestine to the newly formed United Nations.

The decisions made at the Cairo Conference failed to satisfy either Arab or Zionist demands for self-determination. They also formalized the division of the Arab territories into separate nations ruled by regimes established and in large part maintained by the British. The nationalist hostility and resentment fostered throughout the Arab world by the actions taken at the Cairo Conference lasted throughout the 20th century.

See also Hashemite dynasty in Iraq; Iraqi rebellion (1920).

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Janice J. Terry

Cairo Conference (1943)

China was Japan's first target during World War II and fought alone from July 1937 until Japan attacked the U.S. Pacific naval base at Pearl Harbor, the Philippines, and British interests in East and Southeast Asia in December 1941. These events led to a general declaration of war between the Allied and Axis powers and an expansion of World War II to Asia.

China's military position and diplomatic status improved significantly after December 1941. Militarily, it no longer fought alone. The Allies established the China-Burma-India theater of war, and Chinese leader Chiang Kai-shek was appointed supreme commander of the China theater (which included Vietnam and Thailand) effective January 1, 1942. U.S. Lend-Lease aid to China increased, U.S. general Joseph Stilwell was appointed Chiang's chief of staff, and the until-now U.S. volunteers of the Flying Tigers were incorporated into the U.S. Fourteenth Air Force under the command of General Claire Chennault. On the diplomatic front, China was now recognized as one of the Big Four Powers among the 26 anti-Axis nations; it also became a founding member of the United Nations (UN) and a permanent member of the UN Security Council. New treaties were negotiated and signed between China, the United States, and Great Britain in 1943 that ended a century of inequality for China.

U.S. officials leaving the 1943 Cairo Conference, which dealt with the future of Asia after World War II.

President Franklin D. Roosevelt, a proponent of personal diplomacy, proposed a joint meeting with British prime minister Winston Churchill, Soviet leader Joseph Stalin, and Chiang (Roosevelt had numerous meetings with Churchill). However, Chiang did not wish to meet Stalin due to his anger over the Soviet-Japanese Neutrality Treaty (1941) and Soviet assistance to the Chinese communists, both damaging to his war effort. Roosevelt agreed to meet first with Chiang and Churchill at Cairo, Egypt, and then with Stalin at Tehran, Iran. Accompanied by his popular U.S.–educated wife, Mei-ling Soong Chiang, Chiang met Roosevelt and Churchill in November 1943. The Cairo Declaration, published on December 1, 1943, stipulated the unconditional surrender of Japan, the complete restoration to China of territories that it had lost to Japan since 1895, the return of southern Sakhalin and the Kurile Islands to the Soviet Union, and that Japan give up the north Pacific islands it had received as mandates after World War I.

The Cairo Conference was the only one during World War II that focused solely on Asia. It was also the first time in modern times that China's leader played a major world role. Roosevelt declared in his Christmas message in 1943: "Today we and the Republic of China are closer together than ever before in deep friendship and in unity of purpose."

See also Sino-Japanese War.

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Jiu-Hwa Lo Upshur

Calles, Plutarco

(1877–1945) *Mexican president*

Plutarco Elías Calles was president of Mexico from 1924 to 1928, taking over from Alvaro Obregón. He was the founder of the Partido Nacional Revolucionario (National Revolutionary Party), which in 1946 would become the Institutional Revolutionary Party and dominate Mexican politics until 1988.

Plutarco Calles was born on September 25, 1877, the son of Plutarco Elías Lucero, a Lebanese man hired by the U.S. Army to test the use of camels in the southwestern United States. He was orphaned when he was three and went to live with his father's sister, Josefa Campuzano, and her husband, Juan Bautista Calles. They looked after him well, and he took his uncle's surname as his own. Young Calles became one of the earliest teachers at the Colegio Sonora and also contributed some articles on problems in the Mexican educational system of the time. However, he left teaching, as he found the strictures too great for his independent thought.

During the Mexican Revolution, Calles became a supporter of Francisco Madero and became mayor of Agua Prieta, a town on the Mexican side of the Mexican-U.S. border. When Madero was deposed and killed, Calles was involved in the resistance to the new government and rallied supporters of the revolution in Sonora. He was involved in a battle in 1915 against Maytorena, an ally of Pancho Villa, defeating him. However, he was a politician rather than a military strategist and became the interim and later the constitutional governor of Sonora. There he introduced some of the educational reforms that he had advocated as a teacher. He was also affected by the anticlerical traditions of the period, expelling all Roman Catholic priests from Sonora. He also introduced laws prohibiting the production and consumption of alcohol.

In 1914 President Venustiano Carranza offered Calles a cabinet position on two occasions, with Calles finally accepting the post of minister of industry, trade, and labor in 1919. By this time Calles was seen as a clear supporter of Alvaro Obregón, who was emerging as a major rival to Carranza. Both came from Sonora, and as the alliance between Carranza and Obregón began to falter Calles resigned from the cabinet and in April 1920 published his Plan de Agua Prieta calling on Sonorans to overthrow Carranza.

After the death of Carranza, Adolfo de la Huerta became president, and during his short presidency Calles became minister of war. He was then minister of the interior for three years during Obregón's period as president. It was not long before Obregón and de la Huerta were arguing, and very soon the latter was getting army support for a revolt. Calles sided with Obregón and quickly defeated the de la Huerta rebellion. When Obregón retired as president on December 1, 1924, Calles became the new president.

One of his most controversial political decisions was the Law Reforming the Penal Code. Published on July 2, 1926, this law reinforced the anticlerical provisions of the 1917 constitution by fining people who wore church decorations and even threatening five years in prison for anybody who questioned the law. Some Roman Catholics were involved in the Cristero revolt, which caused much trouble in central and western Mexico from 1926 until 1929.

Although Calles was a revolutionary, his enemies in the United States denounced him as a communist and even as a Bolshevik. On September 29, 1927, he established a direct telephone link with Calvin Coolidge. He also managed to get the new U.S. ambassador, Dwight Morrow, who had worked for banker J. P. Morgan, to get the famous aviator Charles Lindbergh to visit Mexico City. There Lindbergh met Morrow's daughter Anne, whom he later married. Morrow was, however, critical of many of the measures that Calles had introduced.

Calles drew much of his support from the poor farmers, and his plan was to improve their lot as small businessmen. To help them, on February 1, 1926, he established the National Bank of Agricultural Credit, having overhauled the banking system and established the Bank of Mexico, modeled on the American Federal Reserve, five months earlier. He also introduced a new system of running the government finance ministry.

On November 30, 1928, Calles stood down as president, and with Obregón having been killed Emilio Portes Gil became provisional president. In 1934 Calles supported Lázaro Cárdenas, who was elected president. In the following year the press became extremely critical of Calles, who returned from retirement to defend the decisions he had made in office. However,

in 1936 Cárdenas had Calles deported after he was accused of trying to establish his own political party. After some years in exile in San Diego, where he reflected on his time in office and played golf, in 1944 President Manuel Ávila Camacho invited him to return to the country to provide more unity during World War II. He died on October 19, 1945, in Mexico City.

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Justin Corfield

Cárdenas, Lázaro

(1895–1970) *Mexican president*

Lázaro Cárdenas del Río was president of Mexico from 1934 to 1940 and was drawn into Mexican revolutionary politics during the presidency of Francisco Madero from 1911 until 1913. Born on May 21, 1895, in Jiquilpan de Juárez, Michoacán, Lázaro Cárdenas was the eldest of eight children. When his father died, Lázaro Cárdenas was 16 years old and had to look after the family, working variously for a printer, collecting taxes, and even in the local prison.

In 1913, with the overthrow of Madero, Cárdenas joined the Constitutional Army and served under Álvaro Obregón and then Plutarco Calles. When Obregón signed the Treaty of Teoloyucan, sending rival politician Adolfo de la Huerta into exile, Cárdenas was one of the witnesses. In 1928 he became a divisional general and also governor of Michoacán, where he became well known for his work on building roads, starting schools, and promoting land reform. Calles was president from 1924 to 1928, and Cárdenas served under him.

When Calles stepped down from office he was succeeded by Emilio Portes Gil, then by Pascual Ortiz Rubio, and then by Abelardo L. Rodríquez. All these men were seen as "puppets" of Calles, and when Cárdenas was nominated as the candidate for the ruling Partido Nacional Revolucionario (National Revolutionary Party), most people believed that Cárdenas was also under the control of Calles.

Cárdenas became president on December 1, 1934, and immediately set about trying to establish an administration that would earn the public's respect. In a surprise move, one of his first acts was to cut his own salary in half. He then arrested Calles and many of his associates, and some of these were deported, including Calles himself. Sweeping away many of the political and business elite, Cárdenas changed the name of his political party to the Party of the Mexican Revolution. In 1946 it would be renamed the Institutional Revolutionary Party. He also established a system of government whereby large trade unions, peasant organizations, and middle-class professionals played a major role in the political party, which took on a corporatist structure. Introducing a massive land reform program, Cárdenas granted large pay raises to industrial workers.

The money to pay for these developments was largely drawn from Mexican oil revenue, which followed the nationalization of the petroleum reserves. Cárdenas tried to negotiate with Mexican Eagle, a company controlled by Standard Oil of New Jersey, and Royal Dutch/Shell. However, oil executives refused a plan to establish a presidential commission to look into compensation for the companies. Eventually, on March 18, 1938, the oil companies agreed to accept 26 million pesos in compensation but rejected some of the other terms. For Cárdenas, the decision came too late, and at 9:45 p.m. he nationalized the oil reserves. This resulted in some 200,000 people marching in the streets of Mexico City to celebrate for the next six hours.

On the home front, Cárdenas also had to deal with an internal rebellion led by General Saturnino Cedillo. It was believed that he had been supported by foreign oil companies, and Cárdenas tried to negotiate personally with the rebel commander. With the death of Cedillo in January 1939, Mexico's last military rebellion came to an end.

For his foreign policy, Cárdenas was resolutely left wing and issued strong condemnations of the invasion of Abyssinia by Mussolini, the Japanese actions in China, the German *Anschluss* of Austria, and the German persecution of the Jews. Britain severed diplomatic relations with Mexico, which, curiously, led to the Mexicans' selling oil to Nazi Germany. With the outbreak of the Spanish civil war, Cárdenas proclaimed his support for the Spanish Republic, supplying weapons and ammunition. At the end of the war, he allowed 30,000 Spanish republicans to migrate to Mexico. After the outbreak of World War II, Cárdenas condemned the German invasions of Belgium and the Netherlands and also the Soviet Union for invading Finland.

After his term as president ended on December 1, 1940, Cárdenas became secretary of defense until 1945. Never wealthy, he retired to a modest house on Lake Pátzcuaro and died of cancer on October 19, 1970.

His son, Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas Solórzano, contested the Mexican presidential elections in 1988, and his grandson, Lázaro Cárdenas Batel, was also prominent in Mexican politics.

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Justin Corfield

Carranza, Venustiano

(1859–1920) *Mexican president*

Venustiano Carranza Garza was president of Mexico from 1914 to 1920, having been a supporter of the Mexican Revolution of Francisco Madero. Born on December 29, 1859, at Cuatro Ciénegas, in Coahuila, he was the son of Colonel Jesús Carranza, who had served in the army of Benito Juárez, and María de Jesús Garza.

Carranza was educated at the Ateneo Fuente in Saltillo and then at the National Preparatory School in Mexico City, returning to Coahuila, where he took part in running the family farm and ranch. At school he had become interested in Latin American history, and this led him into a late involvement in politics when he became an opponent of Porfirio Díaz, leading a successful revolt against Diaz's handpicked governor of Coahuila. Carranza, who had been a municipal president, was allowed to retain much of his political power in Coahuila and was also a senator in the national congress. He initially became a supporter of General Bernardo Reyes but quickly came to support the presidential candidate Francisco Madero. Madero was forced to flee into exile in Texas, and from there he rallied his supporters for an attempt to overthrow Díaz. It had been Díaz who had narrowly beaten Madero in the 1910 election, but many, like Carranza, felt that Díaz should not have been allowed to stand, as it went against the Mexican constitution.

Madero became president in November 1911, and Carranza, who had been his secretary of war and of the navy, was appointed governor of Coahuila, where he improved working conditions for people. However, Madero was soon faced with several rebellions against him, and in February 1913 he was overthrown and replaced by General Victoriano Huerta. Carranza then led a rebellion against Huerta, leading what became known as the Constitutionalist Army, as it supported the reinstatement of Benito Juárez's liberal constitution of 1857.

On May 1, 1915, Carranza became president and immediately tried to continue the reforms introduced by Madero. This included land reform, the formation of a more independent judiciary, and the decentralization of political power. He wanted to control the developing Mexican Revolution by trying to regulate the economic problems facing the country. Carranza introduced rules to regulate the economy, regulating banks and forcing foreign investors to renounce any diplomatic protection they had previously enjoyed. One of his major targets was the U.S.-owned oil companies, from which the taxation revenue rose 800 percent during Carranza's five years as president. The government also took over the railways and boosted support for the Compañia Telefónica y Telegrafica Mexicana (CTTM). Although some commentators have seen Carranza as being anti-U.S. and seeking to move against foreign companies, he was actually more focused on promoting Mexican industry.

Facing criticism for being too dictatorial, Carranza was eager to prove that his moves were popular, and in November 1916 he held a constitutional convention in Querétaro, which resulted in the 1917 constitution. Carranza felt that it was too radical but agreed to implement it. It made extensive provisions for education and labor, ensuring that government schools were "free and secular," and limited work to the eight-hour day, with minimum wages, the right to collective bargaining, and the right to strike. In March 1917 special presidential elections were held, and Carranza was reelected.

Carranza became involved in the Plan de San Diego Revolt, whereby Mexican Americans in Texas staged a rebellion that they hoped would bring Texas back under Mexican control. To help, many hundreds of Mexican soldiers, disguised as civilians, crossed into Texas to launch attacks, which ended in October 1915 when the U.S. government recognized Carranza. In 1916, in answer to attacks across the border by Pancho Villa, the U.S. government sent Brigadier General John J. Pershing with 10,000 soldiers, mainly cavalry, to pursue Pancho Villa into Mexican territory with reluctant help from Carranza. Pershing had to withdraw in February 1917 without capturing Villa.

As well as international problems, Carranza had some immediate trouble from revolutionary insurgents. However, he put a bounty on the head of Emiliano Zapata, who was killed soon afterward. He then turned to grooming Ignacio Bonillas as his successor, but this

Carranza's government took control of the railways and boosted support for Mexican-owned business interests.

was to annoy Alvaro Obregón. One of Obregón's men tried to kill Carranza on April 8, 1920, forcing the president to flee Mexico City for Veracruz. He was deposed on May 7, and on his way to Veracruz, on May 21, in Tlaxcalantongo, in the Sierra Norte of Puebla State, he was assassinated by Rodolfo Herrera. He was succeeded as president by Adolfo de la Huerta, who was president until November, when he was replaced by Alvaro Obregón.

See also Mexican constitution (1917).

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Justin Corfield

Casely Hayford, Joseph Ephraim

(1866–1930) *West African lawyer and politician*

J. E. Casely Hayford made enormously important contributions to the theory of Pan-Africanism and organized the National Congress of British West Africa. Casely Hayford became an inspiration for Ghana's independence movement leader and first president, Kwame Nkrumah, though Nkrumah's generation no longer accepted the British presence in the way that Casely Hayford and his colleagues had.

Born in 1866, the man whom many would later describe as the "uncrowned king of West Africa" enjoyed educational opportunities in Africa and in England. He completed his secondary education at a Wesleyan (Methodist) boys' high school in Cape Coast, the major port in the colony known to the British as the Gold Coast. He spent several years as a teacher and principal in Wesleyan schools in both Accra (Nigeria) and Cape Coast. Following an apprenticeship to a European lawyer, he traveled to London in 1893 to become a lawyer himself. He completed legal training in 1896 and soon returned to Cape Coast, where he established an active, admired private practice.

Casely Hayford largely identified himself with other professional, European-educated black Africans, but he did not forget the traditions and worldview characteristic of the Fanti. During his youth Casely Hayford's father had participated in protests against the British erosion of native autonomy and customs, particularly with regard to land distribution and usage. This early exposure to political activism and to debates about the virtues (and flaws) of traditional, as opposed to British, law prepared Casely Hayford to become involved in the activities of the Aboriginal Rights Protection Society (ARPS) that formed at the end of the 19th century. Shortly after the introduction of the 1897 Lands Bill into the British parliament, traditional elites and intellectuals of the Gold Coast joined together in the ARPS to resist this proposed introduction of British property laws. Casely Hayford and John Mensah Sarbah supported the ARPS's effort by authoring pamphlets that explicated the traditional systems and presented cogent arguments against the Lands Bill.

Over the next few decades, he augmented his already strong reputation by publishing several books that revealed his intelligence and his passionate commitment to achieving prosperity in Africa. *Gold Coast Native Institutions,* published in 1903, dealt with the issues at stake in the Lands Bill controversy. He asserted that these societies already possessed democratic institutions and a high degree of civilization. He thought of native institutions as an asset, not a liability, in the quest for progress and modernization.

In his 1911 autobiographical novel, *Ethiopia Unbound: Studies in Race Emancipation*, Casely Hayford provided a fictionalization of Pan-Africanist themes and ideals. By evoking the achievements and influence of the "Ethiopian" (in Pan-Africanist ideology, this signified all Africans and not just the inhabitants of a particular country in Africa), Casely Hayford boasted that the African could feel proud of his heritage despite the various racial theories that cast him as inferior. The goal of activism should be to encourage the expansion of education, the preservation of

indigenous customs where they proved durable and useful, and the unification of Africans both within a single colony and within a region governed by a single imperial power. Eventually, this unity should extend across Africa and would reap tremendous economic, political, and cultural benefits for all Africans as they strived to modernize.

In keeping with his ideology, Casely Hayford worked to organize the National Congress of British West Africa in the years immediately following World War I. The group met for the first time in 1920, and Casely Hayford became its vice president. The congress's agenda of promoting economic development, education, and democratic institutions without seeking complete independence from Britain reflected Casely Hayford's own hopes. He expected that British West Africa would become the continent's leader in the overall effort to modernize.

Future generations might criticize Casely Hayford for his gradualism and willingness to accept British rule. Even when frustrated by British intransigence, he never resorted to violence or other radical tactics that might have gotten results. Despite his relatively few concrete achievements, he became the leader of his generation and urged his fellow citizens to prepare to govern themselves and to take pride in their culture and traditions.

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Melanie A. Bailey

Chennault, Claire Lee

(1890–1958) *U.S. officer and Air Corps organizer*

Claire Lee Chennault grew up in rural northeastern Louisiana. He served as a fighter pilot of the U.S. Army Air Corps during World War I. After the war he served as an instructor in the army air service, organized and led an air corps acrobatic team called Three Men on a Flying Trapeze, and worked on perfecting air combat tactics. Health problems led to his retirement from the military in April 1937.

On July 7, 1937, Japan attacked China, beginning World War II in Asia, whereupon Italy, later Japan's partner in the Axis, withdrew its air force mission from China. Chinese leader Chiang Kai-shek contacted Chennault and his two partners in Three Men on a Flying Trapeze to help China develop an air defense system; all three accepted. Chennault arrived in China in 1938 and was commissioned as a major in the Chinese air force. He developed a close working relationship with Madame Chiang Kai-shek (Mei-ling Soong Chiang), commander of the Chinese air force.

Chennault first developed an effective air raid warning system by training Chinese spotters in Japanese-occupied areas, using radios to report the takeoff and direction of Japanese planes on bombing raids. In October 1940 Chiang sent Chennault to the United States to procure planes and enlist American combat pilots and a support staff to defend China. He secured 100 P-40 Tomahawks originally intended for Great Britain (which received instead a newer model of the plane), funded with $25 million through the Lend-Lease Act passed by Congress. President Franklin D. Roosevelt then signed an executive order that allowed U.S. active and reserve military personnel to resign from their commissions and join the American Volunteer Group (AVG) to serve in China. Over 300 people—pilots, mechanics, and support personnel—signed up, including four women (two nurses and two office workers). They were given fictitious job descriptions and headed for Toungoo, Burma. There Chennault trained them in tactics of aerial combat, with special attention to the planes and techniques used by the Japanese air force. The AVG men liked the shark mouth painted on British Tomahawk planes in Egypt but changed the logo to the "Flying Tiger." The final design was created by Walt Disney. Their flight jackets had a patch called the "blood chit" that read in Chinese: "I am an aviator fighting for China against the Japanese. Please take me to the nearest communication agency." It proved a lifesaver for pilots shot down in Japanese-occupied China.

The AVG's first action took place on December 20, 1941, against 10 Japanese bombers flying out of Hanoi for Kunming in China. Only one returned. Between that day and July 4, 1942, when it was disbanded, the AVG fought and won 50 actions despite overwhelming negative odds. For example, on February 25, 1942, the 166 Japanese planes attacking Rangoon, Burma, met nine Flying Tigers, who downed 23 planes and made another 10 probable kills, losing only one plane themselves. Chennault had the backing of thousands of Chinese workers, who repaired the runways after Japanese raids, and a large network of scouts, who kept him informed of

Japanese movements. The Chinese government paid the AVG salaries and bonuses for downed Japanese planes. In all, the AVG had 299 confirmed kills and damaged 153 planes so badly that they probably could not fly again, in addition to many destroyed on the ground. It also destroyed thousands of tons of Japanese supplies and many trucks. A total of 29 AVG men would become aces for recording five or more enemy kills. It lost 12 planes in combat, 61 planes on the ground, 13 men in action, and 10 in operational accidents. Although the U.S. government could not honor the AVG members, the Chinese government decorated many for heroism, as did the British government for their actions over Rangoon. Many of its men joined the regular U.S. Army Air Corps after the AVG was disbanded. Chennault also continued to serve in China, but for the U.S. armed forces.

The AVG lasted for less than two years and saw action for nine months. Chennault's skill, temperament, and courage were essential for molding its members into a great fighting unit that inflicted heavy damage on the Japanese, boosted Chinese morale, and contributed to Allied victory in World War II.

Following the war Chennault remained in China to assist the Nationalist government against the Communists. During that time he organized an airline called Civil Air Transport (CAT), which would later become a major resource for the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency in South Asia. Chennault died on July 27, 1958, in New Orleans, Louisiana.

See also Sino-Japanese War.

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Jiu-Hwa Lo Upshur

Chiang Kai-shek led the Nationalist forces in the Northern Expedition and was ultimately defeated in the Chinese Civil War.

Chiang Kai-shek

(1887–1975) *Chinese military and political leader*

Chiang's proper name was Chung-cheng, but he is better known by his courtesy name, Kai-shek. The son of gentry parents from Fenghua in Zhejiang (Chekiang) Province, Chiang was raised by a widowed mother, graduated from the first class of Paoting Military Academy, and then studied in a Japanese military school, where he joined Dr. Sun Yat-sen's revolutionary movement, later called the Kuomintang (KMT, or Nationalist Party [Guomindang]), in 1911. It became his lifelong cause. He fought in the wars that overthrew the Manchu Qing (Ch'ing) dynasty in 1911 and with Sun out of power in 1912, became a businessman in Shanghai.

In 1922 Chiang answered Sun's call in Canton. Sun sent him to the Soviet Union in 1923, where he spent three months studying Red Army techniques and in talks with Leon Trotsky (father of the Soviet Red Army). This trip made him deeply suspicious of Soviet intentions in China. Back in China he founded the Whampoa Military Academy, which trained officers in Sun's Three People's Principles and in modern military techniques. In 1926 Chiang led the Northern Expedition to unite China under the Kuomintang. His rapid victories led to the capture of southern China and the Yangzi (Yangtze) River valley by 1927, whereupon he broke with the Soviet Union, expelled its advisers, and purged the KMT of its left-wing elements, led by Wang

Jingwei, and their Chinese Communist Party (CCP) allies. By 1928 Chiang's forces had captured Beijing (Peking). Defeated warlords and those facing defeat promised to obey the KMT, and China was unified, at least nominally.

The KMT-led National Government established its capital at Nanjing (Nanking), where for the next decade Chiang led China's first modern government, whose major nation-building projects included roads and railroads, modern schools, new law codes that made women equal, industries, and the military. Chiang and his government were challenged by three enemies: the remaining warlords and his rival generals in the KMT, whom he partly succeeded in taming; the CCP, which established a Chinese Soviet Republic in Jiangxi (Kiangsi) province in southern China (Chiang defeated but did not eliminate them in the encirclement campaigns and the Long March); and Japan, which sought to seize Chinese territories beginning with the Manchurian incident in 1931 and culminating in the Marco Polo Bridge incident in 1937, which led to eight years of war that became part of World War II. Chiang led China in an exhausting war in which Japan occupied the coast but could not conquer China. China's role in World War II led to its recognition as a leading Allied power. It was a founding member of the United Nations and a permanent member of the Security Council.

However, victory came at a heavy price. China's economy was ruined, tens of millions of refugees awaited resettlement, and Chiang's troops were exhausted. War vastly expanded the CCP's power, from 30,000 troops in 1937 to 3 million in 1945. The CCP refused to participate in a constitutional process initiated by the KMT, and civil war broke out between the KMT and CCP forces in 1946. Chiang resigned as president of China in 1948, and all China came under CCP control in 1949. Remnant KMT forces rallied behind Chiang on Taiwan in 1949, and Chiang resumed his presidency in 1950 and continued to serve until he died in 1975. Chiang's government undertook land reforms and successful economic measures on Taiwan with U.S. economic and military aid. By 1975 it was well on its way to the success that made it one of the "Four Tigers" of Asia.

See also anti-Communist encirclement campaigns in China (1930–1934); Cairo Conference (1943); Chinese Civil War (1946–1949); Sino-Japanese War; Xi'an Incident.

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Jiu-Hwa Lo Upshur

Chinese Civil War (1946–1949)

Japan's unconditional surrender on August 14, 1945, ended World War II. China was Japan's first victim and had suffered eight years (since 1937) of devastating warfare on its soil. In 1945 its economy was in ruins, while about a fifth of its population awaited resettlement. While the Nationalist, or Kuomintang (KMT [Guomindang]), government and its army, led by Chiang Kai-shek, had borne the brunt of the fighting, the war had given the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) unprecedented opportunities for growth, reflected in the explosive expansion of its forces from around 30,000 men in 1937 to 1 million regular troops and 2 million militiamen in 1945.

Mao Zedong (Mao Tse-tung) immediately ordered his troops, called the People's Liberation Army (PLA), to seize land and equipment from surrendered Japanese forces. When Soviet forces evacuated Manchuria (China's Northeastern Provinces, which had been the Japanese puppet state Manchukuo) in 1946, prior notification of the CCP enabled the PLA to seize most of the land and arms left by Japan in that region also. On the other hand, Nationalist forces were scattered along many battlefronts and less favorably disposed to take control of land from the defeated Japanese despite U.S. aid in providing transportation.

To forestall civil war, Chiang invited Mao to negotiate in the wartime capital Chongqing (Chungking) with the mediation of U.S. special ambassador George Marshall. An agreement was signed between the two Chinese leaders in January 1946 that included the calling of a Political Consultative Conference to form a coalition government and to form a national army. However, the two sides' irreconcilable goals led to resumption of a bitter civil war. The CCP also refused to participate in a KMT-convened national assembly to write a constitution. Realizing his failure to mediate a peaceful settlement, President Harry S. Truman recalled Marshall in January 1947 and appointed him secretary of state. The United States then washed its hands of events in China.

Mao Zedong, leader of China's Communists, addresses some of his followers on December 6, 1944.

The Nationalists won most victories in the early phase of the civil war, even capturing the CCP capital Yan'an (Yenan) in March 1947. However, the tide turned in mid-1947, which Chiang's resignation in January 1948 and a change of command to his vice president Li Zongren (Li Tsung-jen) failed to stem. On October 1, 1949, Mao proclaimed the establishment of the People's Republic of China, while the KMT government and remnant KMT forces fled to Taiwan, where the Republic of China remained.

The outcome of the Chinese Civil War was due to Communist military victory and defeat of the KMT forces. However, many factors contributed to the outcome. World War II and China's sufferings, the ruined economy, high inflation, and corruption were blamed on the KMT government. The CCP capitalized on the KMT's problems and won over many people with promises of social and economic reforms. Internationally, the CCP benefited from the support of the Soviet Union. The initial U.S. support and its later abandonment of the KMT contributed to its defeat and collapse. The outcome of the Chinese Civil War was a result of World War II in Asia and contributed to the worldwide cold war.

See also Sino-Japanese War; United Front, first (1923–1927) and second (1937–1941); Yan'an period of the Chinese Communist Party.

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Jiu-Hwa Lo Upshur

Chinese Communist Party (1921–1949)

The Chinese Communist Party (CCP) was formed in 1921. On October 1, 1949, with the founding of the People's Republic of China, it became the ruling party of that country.

The October Revolution in Russia in 1917 and the subsequent success of the Communist Party in the Russian Civil War were the main external influence in the founding of the CCP. Domestically, China's failure at the Paris Peace Conference in 1919 and the subsequent May Fourth Movement/intellectual revolution resulted in some left-wing Chinese, disillusioned with the West, to turn to Marxism. They were led by Chen Duxiu (Ch'en Tu-hsiu) and Li Dazao (Li Ta-chao), dean of the faculty of arts and head librarian, respectively, of the National Beijing (Peking) University, who organized Marxist study groups in several cities across China. In April 1920 Grigorii Voitinsky, an agent of the Third Communist International (Comintern), arrived in China; he conferred with Chen and Li, and they decided to organize a Chinese Communist Party. In 1921, 12 men (neither Chen nor Li could attend, but Mao Zedong [Mao Tse-tung] did) met secretly in the French Concession in Shanghai, formed the Chinese Communist Party, and elected Chen Duxiu general secretary.

Starting in 1921 Russian Communist representatives began to negotiate with the Chinese government to establish formal diplomatic relations; one was Adolf Joffe, who arrived in Beijing in August 1922. Hitting an impasse with the Beijing government, he went to Shanghai in January 1923 to meet Sun Yat-sen, father of the Chinese Republic and leader of the Nationalist Party, or Kuomintang (KMT), then out of power.

The result was a joint communique on January 26, 1923, whereby the Soviets agreed to assist Sun in reorganizing the KMT on the condition that the approximately 300 CCP members would be allowed to join

it. The communique clearly stated that the communist social order and the Soviet system were not suited to China. Despite this many KMT members were opposed to the agreement. The CCP was not consulted about the Sun-Joffe agreement.

Political shifts in 1923 allowed Sun to establish a government in Canton in opposition to the warlord government in Beijing. Many Russian advisers arrived in Canton, headed by Michael Borodin, who became political adviser to both Sun and the KMT. In January 1924 the KMT held its First Party Congress, which reorganized the party on Soviet lines and elected several CCP members, including Li Dazao and Mao, to key KMT committees. Sun's chief lieutenant in military affairs, Chiang Kai-shek, was sent to Russia to study the organization of the Red Army, and General Galen (Blücher) came to China to help him train army officers.

A Sun Yat-sen University was established in Moscow to train Chinese in revolutionary techniques—its first students included Chiang's son Chiang Ching-kuo (later president of the Republic of China on Taiwan) and Deng Xiaoping (Teng Hsiao-p'ing, later general secretary of the CCP). The United Front, however, was a marriage of convenience. Sun needed Soviet help, and the Soviets were willing to aid him in order to give the CCP a chance for rapid growth. Sun died in 1925, but the United Front continued under left-leaning KMT leaders.

In 1926 Chiang Kai-shek was appointed commander in chief of the National Revolutionary Army and began a Northern Expedition to oust the warlords. Chiang was spectacularly successful due to his tactical brilliance, the fighting quality of an ideologically motivated army, an upsurge in nationalistic fervor, and Communist propaganda that won the support of peasants. By early 1927 he had gained control to the Yangzi (Yangtze) River valley. Soviet leader Joseph Stalin intended to use the KMT to nurture the CCP to a point that it could seize power, then to throw out the KMT, in his words, like "squeezed out lemons." But Chiang squeezed first, expelling the Soviet advisers and purging the CCP. Many Communists were killed, but the leaders fled to the hills in the Jiangxi (Kiangsi) province in southeastern China, where they organized the Chinese Soviet Republic with its capital at a little town called Ruijin (Juichin).

The Nationalist government ruled China from the capital city Nanjing (Nanking) between 1928 and 1937. Besides having to deal with several major warlord revolts, it was faced with the twin challenges of Japanese imperialism and the Communist revolt. Chiang launched five campaigns against the CCP in Jiangxi between 1930 and 1934. The first four failed because they were poorly commanded. He took personal command of the fifth campaign in 1934 and through a combination of political and economic reforms and effective military techniques forced the greatly reduced Communists to flee in the Long March. About 100,000 men and a few women fought as they fled through nine provinces from the southwest to northern Sha'anxi (Shensi) province between October 1934 and October 1935, with about 20,000 surviving. During the march the CCP held a conference at Zunyi (Tsunyi), where Mao emerged the most powerful leader.

Japan's attack on China in 1937 and the resulting Sino-Japanese War (1937–45) led to the forming of a Second United Front between the KMT and the CCP. Although Communist guerrilla forces also fought the Japanese, the KMT troops bore the brunt of the war and suffered the most losses. The war years were also the Yan'an period in CCP history, during which Mao and his second in command, Liu Shaoqi (Liu Shaoch'i), wrote extensively on the theory and practice of Marxism and prepared their followers for the postwar struggle with the KMT. The civil war that followed Japan's surrender initially favored the KMT forces, but the tide turned in favor of the CCP in 1948. By the end of 1949 the Nationalist government had been defeated on mainland China. With the establishment of the People's Republic, the CCP became the ruling party of China.

See also anti-Communist encirclement campaigns in China (1930–1934); Russian Revolution and Civil War (1917–1924); Yan'an Period of the Chinese Communist Party.

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Jiu-Hwa Lo Upshur

Churchill, Winston

(1874–1965) *British prime minister*

Sir Winston Leonard Spencer Churchill, one of the greatest prime ministers of Great Britain and Nobel

laureate for literature, was born on November 30, 1874, in Oxfordshire. He studied at Harrow and the Royal Military College at Sandhurst. With intermingling careers in the army and in journalism, he traveled to Cuba, the North-West Frontier in India, SUDAN, and South Africa. His political career began as a member of the House of Commons in 1900. After the electoral victory of the Liberals in 1906, Churchill became the undersecretary of state for the colonies. He also became the president of the Board of Trade and afterward the home secretary, undertaking major social reforms. In 1911 he was appointed lord of the admiralty in the ministry of Herbert Asquith (1852–1928) and undertook modernization of the Royal Navy. An abortive naval attack on the Ottoman Turks and the Allied defeat at Gallipoli led to Churchill's resignation at the time of WORLD WAR I. He was called back and was put in charge of munitions production in the ministry of DAVID LLOYD GEORGE (1863–1945) and was instrumental in deploying tanks on the western front. He returned to the Conservative Party as chancellor of the exchequer in 1924 in the ministry of Stanley Baldwin (1867–1947). He reintroduced the gold standard in his tenure of five years. For about a decade he did not hold any ministerial office and was isolated politically because of his extreme views. Most of the political leaders also did not pay any heed to Churchill's caution against APPEASEMENT policy toward Germany and the German march toward armament.

Winston Churchill led Great Britain through the trials of World War II and stood in opposition to Soviet expansion.

For Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain (1869–1940) the policy of appeasement toward NAZI Germany was not working. There was no relenting of the march of Germany's army under ADOLF HITLER (1889–1945). Churchill became the premier on May 13, 1940, when he also took charge of the Department of Defense. As wartime policy, he initiated measures that enabled the country to withstand the Nazi onslaught and led Great Britain toward victory. However, the bombing of German cities, particularly the firebombing of Dresden, which resulted in the loss of thousands of innocent lives, brought criticism against him. Churchill initiated changes in the war efforts of his government. For the Air Raid Precautions (ARP), half a million volunteers were enlisted. Under the National Services Act, conscription and registration of men between 18 and 41 began. In 1944 the British army had a strength of about 2,700,000. Women's emancipation took another step when they were called upon to work outside the home in the war economy. Agencies like the Women's Transport Service (FANY), the Women's Auxiliary Air Force (WAAF), the Auxiliary Territorial Service (ATS), and the Women's Royal Naval Service were created, by which women contributed to the nation's war efforts.

Churchill, along with the Soviet leader JOSEPH STALIN and FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT, formulated war strategy, peace plans, the reconstruction of Europe, and the fate of the Axis powers. Churchill had met Roosevelt on August 14, 1941, and signed the "Atlantic Charter," which spelled out a plan for international peace and adherence to national sovereignty. The "Grand Alliance" was committed to defeating Nazism and bringing about world peace. The last wartime conference that Churchill attended was the YALTA CONFERENCE in Crimea in the Soviet Union (now in Ukraine) with Roosevelt and Stalin between February 4 and 11, 1945. The differences between the Soviet Union on the one hand and the United States and Great Britain on the other were emerging. Churchill had many rounds of verbal dueling with Stalin over the fate of Poland, the division of Germany, and the occupation of Berlin. Once the war was over and their common enemy was defeated, the cold war began.

WORLD WAR II ended in victory, but Great Britain was no longer the country commanding the most

military and economic clout in the world. It was in debt £4.198 billion, and the cost of living had increased by 50 percent. Churchill's Conservative Party was defeated in the elections of July 1945, and the Labour Party under Clement Attlee (1883–1967) came to power. Disillusionment with the Conservative Party, Churchill's neglect of the health and educational sectors, and economic woes contributed to the Conservative defeat. Churchill was the leader of the opposition in the House of Commons. He was relentless in turning public opinion against international communism. His speech delivered on March 5, 1946, at Westminster College in Fulton, Missouri, was a clarion call to the West to be ultra careful against communism. He called for an alliance of the English-speaking peoples of the world before it was too late. This "iron curtain" speech was regarded as the beginning of the schism between the East and the West and the division of the world into two blocs.

With the return of the Conservative Party to power in Britain, Churchill became the prime minister as well as the minister of defense in October 1951. Great Britain intervened in Iran after its prime minister, Mohammed Mossadegh (1880–1967), nationalized the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company (AIOC). Churchill planned a coup to oust the government with the help of the United States. He dispatched British troops to the colony of Kenya in August 1952 at the time of the Mau Mau Rebellion, which was suppressed. Churchill's administration dealt with the rebellion against British colonial rule in Malaya. Churchill during his first and second premiership was never willing to grant self-government to the colonies. Although high-sounding words like *democracy*, *national sovereignty*, and *self-determination* had been uttered at the time of World War II by Churchill and other Allied leaders, granting independence to the colonies was not in Churchill's agenda. In fact, he had shown an apathetic attitude toward the Indian freedom movement. The Quit India movement of 1942 was suppressed ruthlessly. He had lampooned Mohandas K. Gandhi (1869–1948) as a "naked fakir." He was also indifferent to the devastating famine of 1943 in Bengal, which killed about 3 million people. Churchill resigned in April 1955 due to ill health. He continued as a backbencher in the House of Commons until 1964. Churchill died in London on January 24, 1965.

In his lifetime Churchill was bestowed with many honors. He became Sir Winston Churchill after becoming a Knight of the Garter in 1953. For his contribution to European ideals he was awarded the Karlspreis award by the city of Aachen, Germany, in 1956. The U.S. government made him an honorary citizen in 1963. His writing career began with reports from the battlefield like *The Story of the Malakand Field Force* (1898) and *The River War* (1899). He published a biography of his father, *Life of Lord Randolph Churchill* (1906), and wrote one on his ancestor, *Marlborough: His Life and Times* (four volumes, 1933–38). Churchill's *The World Crisis* (1923–31) was a history of World War I in four volumes. He also wrote *History of the English-Speaking Peoples* in four volumes (1956–58). In 1953 he was awarded the Nobel Prize in literature for his six-volume work *The Second World War* (1948–53).

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Patit Paban Mishra

Clemenceau, Georges
(1841–1929) *French politician*

Georges Clemenceau was one of the most famous political figures in the Third French Republic and a major contributor to the Allied victory in World War I. He was born in 1841 in the small village of Mouilleron-en-Pareds in the Vendée, a region on the western coast of France. Trained as a doctor, he gave up the practice of medicine for a life in politics.

He began his career as mayor of Montmartre and in 1876 was elected to the Chamber of Deputies, where he identified with leftist causes and became a powerful figure in the Radical Party. A brilliant orator and a fiery critic of republicans in the Center and on the Right, he was instrumental in overthrowing many ministries, earning in the process the nickname "The Tiger." Implicated in the Panama Canal scandal, he lost his seat in

the elections of 1893 and for the following nine years earned his living as a journalist.

Clemenceau was elected to the senate in 1902 and in 1906 served as interior minister in the Jean Sarrien cabinet. When Sarrien resigned in October 1906, Clemenceau formed his own cabinet, which endured until 1909. While in office he strengthened ties with Britain and Russia to counter Germany's growing challenge to France. At home he continued his predecessors' anticlerical policies and adopted a hard-line stance toward striking workers, alienating large sections of the political left. A sudden no-confidence vote after a violent debate brought down the government in the summer of 1909. Clemenceau returned to the senate and spent the years prior to 1914 urging the buildup of France's armed forces. In 1913 he founded a newspaper so he could warn the country about the need to rearm.

When World War I broke out in August 1914 Clemenceau was disappointed that he was not recalled to the helm. After the stalemate set in on the western front he assailed the French High Command for its fruitless offensives and for failing to make adequate preparations at Verdun, the target of a German onslaught in 1916. As 1917 wore on, the war was going badly for the Allies with the impending loss of Russia, a disastrous Italian defeat at Caporetto, and defeatism threatening both the military and civilian strength of France. In this particularly dark moment the president, Raymond Poincaré, called on the 76-year-old Clemenceau to form a government after the last one had fallen in November.

On taking office Clemenceau's single purpose was to win the war, subordinating all other considerations. He ended internecine fighting in the cabinet by selecting minor figures on whose loyalty he could depend. With the acquiescence of parliament he established a virtual dictatorship in order to prosecute the war more effectively. He cracked down on pacifists, defeatists, and traitors, anyone he considered uncommitted to total victory. He secured greater control over the military; made frequent visits to the front, where he spoke not only to generals but to ordinary soldiers; and helped bring about a unified command. His unflinching style of waging war revived popular morale and was instrumental in helping the nation withstand the series of German hammer blows in the spring of 1918.

Clemenceau presided over the Paris Peace Conference in 1919, where he sought to punish and disarm Germany. It soon became apparent that Clemenceau's demands for France's security clashed with the postwar aims of Britain and the United States. Clemenceau fought hard to create a buffer state in the Rhineland under permanent French control but reluctantly gave up the idea on receiving an Anglo-American pledge of assistance in case Germany again attacked France. What Clemenceau did not foresee was that the treaties would be repudiated by the U.S. Senate and Britain's parliament. Although the Versailles Treaty imposed harsh terms on Germany, Clemenceau was criticized by a sizable section of the French citizenry who considered it too lenient.

Clemenceau hoped to be elected president, a largely ceremonial post, when Poincaré's term expired in February 1920. Of all the candidates he seemed the most deserving in view of his wartime services. As it happened, the chamber and the senate rejected him in favor of the undistinguished Paul Deschanel. He resigned as premier the day after his defeat and left the senate as well. He died in 1929 and according to his wish was buried near his father at Colombier in his native Vendée.

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George Cassar

Comintern

During its existence (1919–43) the Third International, or Communist International (Comintern), was an umbrella organization of the world's Communist Parties. Its stated mission was to coordinate all Communist activities independent of the Soviet Union. In time, however, the Comintern was made to serve the objectives of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and, thus, the goals of the Soviet Union. Placing its headquarters in Moscow reinforced this process.

The Comintern came into being in March 1919 in response to what Lenin perceived as a critical need. The socialists who had gathered under the framework of what was known as the Second International were undisciplined. Several of the socialist parties in the various nations had supported their nations' entry into World War I and continued to support that effort. These socialist parties were thus seen as supporting bourgeois institutions rather than advancing the socialist cause. Having just completed the first stages of seizing the Russian government and beginning a civil war that would last for another four years, Lenin and the Russian Communists believed that socialists must be

devoted to worldwide revolution with their actions according to a prescribed party line. That line was defined by what were known as the 21 Points. Any Communist Party had to obey all of these directives in order to become part of the Third International.

The 21 Points included the requirements for member organizations to take the name Communist Party while removing members who did not accept the points, to subscribe to the philosophy of liberating colonies, to use the combination of both illegal and legal methods (as required), to change its internal rules to conform to Comintern policy, and to obey all Comintern directives. These points were drafted by Lenin in combination with the Comintern's first head, Gregory Zinoviev.

The Second Congress of the Comintern was held in 1920, with subsequent congresses in 1921, 1922, 1924, 1928, and 1935. Membership included the Communist Parties of Austria, Britain, Bulgaria, Czechsolovakia, France, Germany, Italy, Latvia, Portugal, Spain, the United States, Yugoslavia, and the parties of Japan and various Asian and South American Nations.

The official language of the organization at the beginning was German. Significantly, by the 1930s Russian became the official language. The Comintern was organized into several departments: Cadres (which maintained files on all members and worked very closely with NKVD, the secret police), Propaganda and Mass Organization, Administration of Affairs, Translation, Archives, and Communications. While not stated, one of the most important functions of the Comintern was to gather information that was then sent to Soviet intelligence organizations.

The leaders of the Comintern's national sections were the individuals leading various national parties in the interwar period. Those who survived the purges of the 1930s and World War II became the leaders of the Eastern European states that became Communist in the aftermath of the war. These included George Dimitrov, head of the Comintern from 1935 to 1943 and leader of the Bulgarian Communist Party; László Rajk and Mátyás Rákosi of Hungary; Klement Gottwald of Czechoslovakia; and many in the mid- to higher levels of the new Communist governments.

This international staff were regarded by the Soviets with great suspicion. In the period of the purges (the second half of the 1930s), many Comintern staff disappeared. The most prominent of those arrested was Béla Kun, who had led the Hungarian Soviet in 1919, but many others perished as well. The height of this purge of foreigners was in the years 1937 to 1938, after which it eased significantly. Maintenance of party discipline was extremely important, and directives concerning activities, organization, and other changes were conveyed from this headquarters to all of the Communist Parties. Even when Communist Parties were banned and had to go underground (as happened in Bulgaria, Finland, Germany, Italy, Lithuania, Poland, and Yugoslavia), they still had to report to Moscow. Comintern activities also included funding the parties.

Up until 1935 and the Seventh Comintern Congress the Comintern was opposed to cooperation with other socialist parties. Then the policy shifted with fascism being defined as the enemy. In addition to the Comintern's support of the popular fronts, its most significant effort was creating an army to fight for the republic in the Spanish civil war. The Comintern recruited, transported, and organized (politically as well as militarily) the volunteers who would form the International Brigades. Over 30,000 volunteers would be sent to Spain in this effort.

In 1939 the Soviet Union and Germany signed a nonaggression pact. From the beginning of World War II in September 1939 until the June 1941 invasion of the Soviet Union, the war was referred to as an imperialist conflict, and members of the Comintern were told not to oppose the fascists.

During the interwar period the Comintern (as well as communism and the Soviet Union in general) was feared by nearly all nations. The Comintern was regarded as the international arm of the Soviet Union. It was for this reason that to please his Western allies it was disbanded in 1943 on Stalin's orders. It revived in another form in 1947 as the Communist Bureau of Information (Cominform). Cominform's function was the same as the Comintern: to extend control over all international Communist Parties; it was abolished in 1956.

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Robert Stacy

Communist Party, U.S.

The Communist Party of the United States (CPUSA) is the most prominent communist political party in American history, though its influence has been minimal since the early days of the cold war. In 1919 Vladimir Lenin himself invited the communist faction of the Socialist Party to join the Comintern. Many of the Socialist Party members who broke away and formed CPUSA in response to Lenin's invitation belonged to groups of European immigrants in the United States, bound by a common language and a commitment to socialism. A number of delegates expelled from the Socialist Party convention formed a separate communist party, the Communist Labor Party, but by 1921—at the order of the Comintern—these two parties merged.

After the Russian Revolution and other socialist victories around the world, the United States was coming under the grips of the Red Scare. Many communist groups were explicit about their aims to overthrow existing institutions at the expense of those benefitting from or protected by those institutions. Racial and nationalist issues sometimes played into this anticommunist paranoia; many American communists were part of the waves of eastern European immigration that ended the 19th century—and a significant number of them were Jewish. CPUSA was predominantly eastern European and Jewish and found itself the target of anticommunist and anti-Semitic literature.

The late 1920s saw conflicts with Joseph Stalin, who regarded the success of CPUSA as entirely dependent on its followers' belief that the party was a link to the Comintern and who considered the party dangerously out of step with Soviet communism. CPUSA's goals in the period following this shift were focused principally on labor issues and civil rights, especially after the Great Depression increased the ranks of the working poor and made union issues even more critical. Though antifascist, CPUSA opposed military action against Hitler's Germany until the invasion of the Soviet Union.

In the aftermath of World War II, CPUSA became even more suspect than it had been during the Red Scare, with membership or attendance at one of its meetings grounds for suspicion, firing, and blacklisting. The party continued to support the Civil Rights movements and allied itself with many leftist and liberal political movements throughout the 1950s and 1960s, many of which distanced themselves in response. Over the decades since World War II, this reluctance on the part of liberal interests to ally themselves with the Communist Party has led to a decrease in the party's influence.

Various revelations in the aftermath of the cold war have confirmed that at various periods the Soviet Union supported CPUSA financially, hoping that its survival would weaken the United States from within. In the early days of the cold war, there were several cases of American communists passing secrets to the Soviets, including details related to the design of the atomic bomb. But despite the fears of the McCarthyists and the hopes of the Soviets, CPUSA appears to have had little impact on the American infrastructure.

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Bill Kte'pi

Communist Party of Indochina

The Communist Party of Vietnam was formally founded on February 3, 1930, in Hong Kong by a group of Vietnamese exiles. Its first members included Nguyen Ai Quoc (later better known as Ho Chi Minh). At the urging of the Comintern, the group changed the name to the Communist Party of Indochina (CPI). Despite its name, all of the initial members were Vietnamese.

There was political controversy over the name Communist Party of Indochina. The choice of *Indochina*, which recognized a French-imposed political unit, was anathema to many Vietnamese nationalists. This led many Cambodian nationalists to see it as an attempt by the Vietnamese to try to dominate Cambodia and preserve the French political unit of Indochina after independence. It was not until the late 1940s that any Cambodians or Laotians would join.

With the start of the worldwide Great Depression there was a precipitous decline in the demand for rub-

ber, and French plantations, largely located in southern and central Vietnam, responded by lowering wages or laying off workers.

This led to disputes and riots on these plantations, followed by strikes in factories throughout Cochin China (southern Vietnam). The newly formed Communist Party of Indochina saw an opportunity to agitate against French rule and encouraged the peasants, who in the summer and the fall of 1930 started taking over their villages and establishing "soviets," in which the villagers took over property from unpopular landlords and reduced rents and taxes, cutting off links with provincial governments. This rebellion became known as the Nghe-Tinh Soviet revolt because of the location of the main protests. The revolt was ruthlessly crushed by the French in the spring of 1931, and the CPI regional network was destroyed. Indeed, the headquarters of the Standing Committee of the party in Saigon was raided during a meeting in April 1931.

Although the revolt was disastrous in the short term, it did bring the Communist leadership the realization that they needed to be better organized for the eventual confrontation with the French. A Second Plenum had been held just before the April 1931 arrests, and soon afterward the party had been admitted into the Communist International (Comintern). Ho Chi Minh and the surviving leadership, all in exile, realized that any attempt to eject the French could no longer rely solely on a peasant revolt.

In 1936 the Popular Front government was formed in France, and from then until 1938 the CPI was able to organize again. One of the first actions of the new socialist government in France was to order the release of political prisoners in Indochina, among whom were many CPI members. The party also used this period to gain extra members and became the major political group for those opposed to French rule.

The signing of the Nazi-Soviet Pact in 1939 and France's subsequent declaration of war on the Germans gave French authorities in Indochina an extra reason to crack down on the CPI and isolate it from the people. The Sixth Plenum of the CPI, held in November 1939, called for an armed uprising. France's surrender to the Germans in 1940 destroyed the belief in the invincibility of the French army among Vietnamese. Soon afterward the Japanese were able to move their soldiers into Vietnam. This again caused the CPI to debate its approach to ending French rule. Some wanted to use the Japanese presence to agitate against the French. However, Ho Chi Minh urged caution. In 1941 the central committee of the CPI held a meeting at Pac Bo and declared the formation of the League for the Independence of Vietnam, a grouping that became known as the Vietminh Front.

With the outbreak of the Pacific war in December 1941, Ho Chi Minh sought to establish a friendly relationship with the United States, going as far as meeting General Claire Lee Chennault in March 1945. In that month the Japanese took control of Indochina, rounding up the French and throwing them in jail. On August 13–15, 1945, the CPI finally decided that the time for a national insurrection had come. Japan's surrender on August 14 sealed the matter, and a general uprising in Hanoi took place on August 19, followed by a takeover of the imperial capital, Hue, four days later, and a seizing of much of Saigon two days after that. Although with British help the French were able to regain control of Saigon and later Hanoi, much of the countryside was in the hands of the CPI.

However, Ho Chi Minh realized that in the forthcoming conflict the CPI would be a liability, as the United States was becoming more anticommunist. As a result, on November 11, 1945, the CPI announced that it was dissolving itself and being replaced with the Indochinese Marxist Study Society. This was an attempt to portray the Vietminh as more nationalist than communist, and the communist movement became the Vietnamese Workers' Party. This had the effect of allowing the eventual formation of separate Cambodian and Laotian Communist Parties.

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Justin Corfield

Cristero revolt

Between 1926 and 1929 a localized uprising exploded in Mexico's western states in reaction to the anti-Catholic policies of Mexican president Plutarco Calles, which attacked the privileged position of the Catholic Church.

Many Mexican revolutionaries viewed the church as the enemy and worked toward stripping it of its political power and landholdings. The writers of the constitution of 1917 sought to tip the balance of

power by weakening the church and subordinating it to a strong Mexican state through a variety of provisions. The constitution prohibited the church from owning property and barred clergy members from voting, holding political office, or assembling for political purposes. Calles enforced these constitutional provisions with anticlerical legislation that forbade the wearing of religious clothing in public, placed all primary education under state control, required the registration of clergy, allowed state governors to reduce the number of practicing ecclesiastics, and called for the deportation of foreign-born clerics. In reaction Mexican priests suspended their religious duties in July 1926, refusing to hold Mass, hear confessions, or administer the sacraments.

The attack on the Catholic Church enshrined in the constitution of 1917 had aroused considerable interest and action from many Mexicans. A few priests and several lay leaders encouraged direct action. One group to heed that call was the National League for the Defense of Religious Liberty (LNDLR), a civic organization that formed in May 1925. Responding to the religious strike by the clergy, the LNDLR called on Mexican Catholics to rise up in arms against the Calles government in the name of Christ and as defenders of the faith. The rebels, dubbed *Cristeros* due to their battle cry, "Vivo Cristo Rey," or "Long Live Christ the King," targeted schools in particular, the new symbol of the revolutionary regime in rural Mexico. They burned several to the ground and murdered teachers. Calles's administration listed national education as a priority and viewed the building of 2,000 rural schools as a success; rural residents resented the schools, which placed financial and land burdens on poor communities and challenged traditional Catholic norms.

Full-blown rebellion exploded when Catholic insurgents bombed a government troop train. Sporadic unorganized guerrilla warfare characterized most of the violence, with local leaders recruiting a dozen to a hundred horsemen as a mounted fighting force, supported by groups of peasants serving as the infantry. Few of the leaders had military experience. The LNDLR attempted to direct the rebellion and create national cohesion among the Cristeros, but its members lacked knowledge of military tactics and command. The group named a journalist living in the United States, René Capistrán Garza, as the head of the Catholic revolution. Garza never assumed military command of the rebellion and worked unsuccessfully toward gaining the support of U.S. Catholics against the anticlericalism of the Mexican government. Conversely, many of the rebel leaders in the field simply ignored the leadership of the LNDLR or were disenchanted with the organization's inabilities to send supplies or reinforcements. Although many Cristeros fought courageously and mounted a significant challenge to the federal army, in the end they did little to threaten the stability of the Calles government.

The diplomatic work of U.S. ambassador Dwight Morrow brought the Cristero rebellion to an end. Morrow worked diligently to convince Calles to create peace in Mexico with the Catholic Church, and in 1929 negotiations between the government and the church resulted in a truce. The church agreed to operate within the law and resumed services, but it would never again command the prominent place in Mexican social and political life it had enjoyed for over two centuries. Although a minority of Catholics participated in the rebellion and it was centered in the western states of Jalisco, Michoacán, Oaxaca, Zacatecas, and Colima, by the end of the violence over 50,000 Mexicans had died, and many others had fled the country.

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Kathleen Legg

Cunha, Euclides da

(1866–1909) *Brazilian engineer and historian*

Euclides da Cunha was born on January 20, 1866, at Santa Rita do Rio Negro, near Cantagalo, close to Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, the eldest son of Manuel Rodrigues Pimenta da Cunha and Eudóxia Moreira. When the boy was three years old his mother died, and the family moved to Teresópolis and then went to stay with relatives in Rio de Janeiro. He attended Aquino College, where he studied under Benjamin Constant, an important republican historian. In 1886 he attended the Escola Militar da Praia Vermelha, a military school in Rio de Janeiro, then the capital of the country. Two years later he took part in a protest during a visit by Tomás Coelho, the minister of war in the last conservative cabinet under the Brazilian monarchy, which ended in the following year.

On December 11, 1888, for his role in the protest, he was expelled. Through the efforts of Major Solon Ribeiro, a prominent republican, and others, there was an amnesty for those who had protested against the emperor, and da Cunha was readmitted to the military school. He graduated in the following year and was commissioned second lieutenant. In that year he also married Ana, the daughter of Ribeiro.

In 1891 da Cunha went to the Escola de Guerra (War School) and was quickly promoted to first lieutenant. He then worked as a military engineer in the Brazilian army but left to study civil engineering, although he was soon working as a journalist. In 1896–97 he went, on behalf of the magazine *O Estado de São Paulo*, with the army to Canudos, a village in Bahia state in east-central Brazil, where Antônio Vicente Mendes Maciel "Conselheiro" ("the Counselor") and his supporters had established their own "empire." Some 30,000 people moved to Canudos with the promise of freedom for escaped slaves and impoverished Indians. The Conselheiro also promised the return of the Portuguese late medieval king, Sebastian.

There were five army expeditions over three years to Bahia in what became known as the War of Canudos. It took three generals, 19 guns, and 10,000 men to conquer the place, with the rebels fighting to the death for their messianic leader. Da Cunha's first article on the rebellion had been published in March 1897 as "A Nossa Vendéis"; this led to his becoming a reporter attached to the general staff.

He spent the period from August 7 to October 1, 1897, writing about what he saw in the rebellion and the subsequent reprisals. This was to form the basis of his historical narrative, *Os Sertões* (1902), the first major work that championed the rights of Brazil's Indians. On September 21, 1903, da Cunha was elected to the Academia Brasileira de Letras (Brazilian Academy of Letters). On December 13 of the same year he established the Instituto Histórico e Geográfico (Historical and Geographic Institute). In 1907 da Cunha was appointed to head a commission to deal with problems in Amazonia, and he spent December 1904 and much of 1905 traveling down the Amazon. In early 1909 da Cunha was appointed chairman and professor of logic at the Colégio Pedro II, a public secondary school in Rio de Janeiro.

Euclides da Cunha was a keen amateur geographer and geologist and spent the last years of his life visiting remote parts of Brazil and writing about the Indian tribal people he met. He also was influenced by the Darwinian aspects of naturalism. He was the author of *Contrastes e confrontos* (Contrasts and confrontations, 1907), and *Peru versus Bolívia* (1907).

On August 15, 1909, da Cunha was killed in a duel by a young army lieutenant, Dilermando de Assis, who was having an affair with his wife. He died at Piedade, Rio de Janeiro. He is commemorated by the Brazilian education department, and in August each year they observe a Semana Euclideana (Euclides Week) in his honor. The Euclides da Cunha Foundation in Brazil commemorates the historian and the role he played in the education system.

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Justin Corfield

D

D-day

Although it is a general military term, *D-day* has become synonymous with the Allied invasion of Normandy, France—code-named "Operation Overlord"—on June 6, 1944, during World War II. Following the German invasion of the Soviet Union in 1941, Soviet premier Joseph Stalin called on the Allies to open a second front in western Europe. By May 1943 such a plan had become the Allies' number one priority. At a meeting held in Quebec, Canada, Lieutenant General Frederick Morgan, chief of staff to the Supreme Allied Command, presented a preliminary plan to the Allied leadership. With input from Lord Louis Mountbatten, chief of the British War Department's Combined Operations Division, Field Marshal Bernard L. Montgomery, and numerous others the invasion plan began to take shape; by D-day close to 30,000 civilian and military personnel had worked on the plan in some capacity.

Officially, "Overlord" was the overall designation for the Allied offensive that would run from June to August 1944; the naval and beach assault operations on the day of June 6 were code-named "Operation Neptune," with various related operations, such as airborne drops, given their own code names. To gain a foothold on mainland Europe and liberate it from Nazi occupation, "Neptune" involved a strategy of coordinated attack from the air, sea, and land that culminated in an amphibious assault by Allied forces—composed of U.S., British, and Canadian troops—upon the German-held beaches of Normandy in northern France. In December 1943 American general Dwight D. Eisenhower was chosen as supreme Allied commander, with three British commanders in charge, respectively, of air, sea, and land forces: Air Chief Marshal Sir Trafford Leigh-Mallory, Admiral Sir Bertram H. Ramsay, and Field Marshal Montgomery. Likewise, Air Chief Marshal Sir Arthur Tedder, the deputy supreme Allied commander, and General Walter Bedell Smith, Eisenhower's chief of staff, supervised the massive logistical task of coordinating the men and materials needed for the invasion.

Before settling on Normandy, Allied commanders had considered the Pas de Calais, the narrowest point in the English Channel between England and France. However, Mountbatten felt that although Normandy was farther away, it offered an ideal location for two main reasons: long, sheltered beaches that would be less defensible, theoretically, than Calais and two large ports vital to the invasion fleet, Cherbourg and Le Havre, which could be captured by land. As commander of all ground forces, Montgomery pushed for five beachheads, which Eisenhower endorsed—"Utah" and "Omaha," assigned to the American-led Western Task Force, and "Gold," "Juno," and "Sword," assigned to the British-led Eastern Task Force. Both task forces comprised the 21st Army Group, consisting of the British Second Army, commanded by Lieutenant General Sir Miles Dempsey; the Canadian First Army, commanded by General Henry D. G. Crerar; and the U.S. First Army, commanded by Lieutenant General Omar N. Bradley.

For the Germans, Field Marshal Gerd von Rundstedt commanded all forces in western Europe

Troops land on the beaches of Normandy, June 6, 1944. Code-named Operation Overlord, the amphibious landing by American, British, and Canadian troops led to the liberation of France and the eventual surrender of German forces in World War II.

(Oberbefehlshaber West), consisting of Army Groups (Heeresgruppen) B and G; Field Marshal Erwin Rommel commanded Group B, which was given the task of defending the channel coast. Because of the fight with the Soviet Union that reduced troop strength in the west, Adolf Hitler charged Rommel with shoring up gaps in the coastal defenses that exposed Germany's western flank to invasion. Coined the "Atlantic Wall"—consisting of concrete bunkers, gun emplacements, and varied obstacles on land and in the sea that extended along the English Channel, the Atlantic, and the French Mediterranean—by May 1944 the Germans had poured close to 18 million cubic meters of concrete and placed over half a million obstacles. Rundstedt and Rommel disagreed, however, on how to defend against an Allied threat. Rundstedt pushed for a central reserve farther inland that could counterattack once Allied intentions were known; Rommel, on the other hand, advocated confrontation at the point of invasion, with the strongest units readied to "push them back into the sea." With neither willing to concede, a plan developed that encompassed both ideas—which would prove ineffective in the end.

THE CALAIS DECEPTION

Despite the Allies' choice of Normandy, Calais still played an integral part in their plan. Many in the German High Command, most notably Hitler himself, believed Calais to be the genuine target of any Allied offensive against the mainland. Through a deception

operation known as Operation Fortitude, the Allies broadcast fake radio traffic and invented nonexistent armies that pointed toward an invasion at Calais. Hitler and the High Command, headed by Field Marshal Wilhelm Keitel, believed that any actions by the Allies against the mainland would simply be a diversionary tactic to draw away from the real target of Calais. Consequently, the Germans concentrated a majority of their best reserves, including the powerful 15th Army (Armee Oberkommando), in the Pas de Calais region, with the weaker 7th Army stationed at Normandy—a maneuver that would prove costly when D-day arrived.

Originally planned for May 1, 1944, the invasion date was set for dawn on one of three days—June 4, 5, or 6. Imperative that a combination of moonlight and high tide coincide in order to aid, respectively, the airborne and beach landings, Allied commanders chose June 5. However, unfavorable weather conditions caused Eisenhower to delay for 24 hours. The next optimal window of opportunity not until late July, Eisenhower made the decision to proceed with the invasion.

Just after midnight on June 6, the American 82nd and 101st and British 6th Airborne Divisions landed by parachute and glider on the Cotentin Peninsula behind German lines in support of the amphibious landings only a few hours away. Throughout the previous month the Allies had conducted a bombing campaign against key areas of northern France to destroy German communications. In addition, French resistance, having received word of the impending invasion, sabotaged communication lines and railroads to delay German mobilization even more. The three airborne units, tasked with the further disruption of German capabilities, were to secure the flanks of the beaches, capture strategic bridges and causeways for Allied use, and destroy other key bridges that the German counterattack could utilize.

For the British 6th, assigned to capture the bridges spanning the Orne River and Caen Canal and protect the left flank of Sword Beach, mission execution was near flawless. Commanded by General Richard Gale, the division quickly completed its objectives within hours of landing in France and with very little mishap. They had only to hold their position to await relief from the main attack force and keep German reinforcements—specifically the armored tank units—from advancing on the beaches. Unfortunately, the same could not be said for American paratroopers. Due to poor visibility, German antiaircraft fire, and inexperienced pilots who had not flown in such conditions, both the 82nd and the 101st found themselves scattered across the peninsula. Nevertheless, per their training, units that failed to reach their designated zone were to carry out the missions assigned to the area in which they found themselves. As a result, mixed units were able to assemble, organize, and achieve objectives on a limited scale. Ironically, German commanders became confused as to the Allies' intended target due to this situation, thus failing further to mobilize against the impending invasion.

As the airborne units carried out their missions, an Allied armada—the largest ever in history, which included close to 1,000 warships and 4,000 transport ships—made its way from assembly areas in southern England toward the Normandy coast. Having cancelled coastal patrols, the Germans were unaware of the Allied advance across the English Channel.

Around 5:00 A.M. a sustained Allied naval bombardment and assaults by bomber aircraft commenced against the German defenses on Normandy. The seaborne troops then began their approach to the five beaches by transport ships. The first ashore were elements of the U.S. 4th Division, landing at approximately 6:30 A.M. on Utah under intense German fire. South of their target zone they faced lighter resistance than anticipated, thus minimizing expected casualties, and advanced rapidly up the beach to gain their objective. Only a few minutes later elements of the U.S. 1st and 29th Divisions landed at Omaha, where intact obstacles and fierce opposition bogged down subsequent waves of soldiers and equipment. The congestion made the Americans easy targets for German gunners, resulting in the worst casualty rates of the entire invasion force—estimated at close to 95 percent for the first wave alone. Pinned by enemy positions atop the high bluffs that dominated the beach, many units suffered losses close to 60 percent and higher, which threatened the assault's success.

On the three other beaches the results were just as mixed. Landing around 7:30 A.M. on, respectively, Sword and Juno, the British 3rd Division, which also included French commandos, and the Canadian 3rd Division met typical conditions—obstacles that hindered their progress and strong opposition as well as the capacity to advance rapidly onward. Thanks to continued naval bombardments that suppressed German defensive fire, both divisions were able to move inland by early afternoon. However, the British 50th Division, landing on Gold only a few minutes before, encountered an almost identical situation to what

the Americans found on Omaha. Despite continual deployment of troops, the division could not secure the beach until after nightfall.

By the end of the day, close to 150,000 Allied troops had landed in France. In spite of heavy losses, although lower than expected, and the day's slow advance, which did not push inland as far as planned, the invasion was a dramatic success for the Allies.

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Steve Sagarra

Debs, Eugene V.

(1855–1926) *U.S. labor leader and socialist*

Born in Terre Haute, Indiana, Eugene Victor Debs was a homegrown socialist at a time when most people in the United States reviled socialism as a European import. Debs ran five times for president, winning his largest vote total when he campaigned in 1920 from an Atlanta prison cell. A central figure in two railroad unions, Debs led an 1894–95 strike against Chicago's Pullman Car Company and later spoke out against U.S. participation in World War I.

Debs, the son of Alsatian immigrants, dropped out of school at 14 to help support his family. By 1870 he was a railroad fireman, and in 1875 he helped organize a Terre Haute lodge of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen, a national craft union founded in New York in 1873. A skilled and forceful writer, Debs was soon editing the union's national magazine. He would continue as editor even after he resigned from the brotherhood in 1891.

Meanwhile, Debs was also active in local politics. As a Democrat he served two terms as Terre Haute city clerk and was elected in 1885 to the Indiana general assembly. He was a supporter of women's suffrage, inviting controversial suffragist Susan B. Anthony to speak in Terre Haute and, as city clerk, declining to fine prostitutes as long as their customers went free.

In 1893 Debs organized the new American Railway Union (ARU). Unlike the brotherhood, the ARU would be less a fraternity than a mass worker organization, making it an important departure from Samuel Gompers's craft-based American Federation of Labor (AFL). With the U.S. economy sinking into depression, Debs in April 1894 engineered a successful strike against the Great Northern Railway. The union's 18-day stoppage ended with an ARU victory and a membership upsurge.

A month later Debs and his new union found themselves in a much more difficult situation. George Pullman, a Chicago entrepreneur who had made a fortune building luxurious private train cars for elite travelers, had also built a beautiful but paternalistic workers' town just outside the city. The sagging economy caused Pullman to slash wages, but rents and prices at Town of Pullman company stores stayed the same while laid-off workers lost their homes as well as their jobs. Reluctantly, Debs mounted a boycott on behalf of striking Pullman workers. It was crushed by federal troops because other unions, notably the AFL, withheld their support. When Debs and the ARU defied a back-to-work injunction, lawyer Clarence Darrow, later famous for the Scopes trial, defended them, but Debs was jailed for six months in 1895.

The Pullman strike ended Debs's formal union leadership but made him a national figure and five-time presidential candidate who campaigned as a Socialist in 1900, 1904, 1908, 1912, and 1920. Whistle-stopping across the United States in a "Red Special Train," Debs attracted enthusiastic crowds, but his third party garnered few votes. He achieved a 6 percent vote share in the 1912 election; in 1920, as "Federal Prisoner 9653," Debs won almost 914,000 votes.

In June 1918 in Canton, Ohio, Justice Department agents listened as Debs spoke against the war, blaming Wall Street's "master class." Convicted under Woodrow Wilson's wartime Espionage Act, Debs was sentenced to 10 years. His health failing, Debs was released in December 1921 by President Warren G. Harding. One of Debs's final acts was to donate his prison release money to the Sacco and Vanzetti Defense Fund.

See also Sacco-Vanzetti trial.

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Marsha E. Ackermann

Diagne, Blaise

(1872–1934) *Senegalese politician*

Gaiaye M'Baye Diagne was born on the island of Gorée, the old slave trade base, in 1872. His energy and intelligence attracted the attention of wealthy mulattoes (people of mixed race), who sponsored his education at a religious school, where he was baptized as Blaise. Diagne was educated in Senegal and France and entered the French colonial administrative service in 1891. He served in a number of administrative posts in parts of the French West African empire. In 1909 he married a Frenchwoman.

A proponent of assimilation and African rights as equal participants in French political and cultural life, Diagne became the first black African member of the French parliament in 1914. He became the first African member of the French government when he was appointed commissioner of the republic in West Africa in 1918; in the 1930s he became undersecretary of state for the colonies. During World War I he was particularly active in recruiting Africans to serve in the French army. Large numbers of Africans from throughout the huge French West African empire served with distinction during the war, but many were disappointed by their subsequent treatment as inferiors once the war was over. Diagne's vision of assimilation was not realized, and many former African soldiers in the French army consequently became active supporters and leaders of the nationalist movements that struggled to secure independence from the French in the first half of the 20th century.

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Janice J. Terry

dollar diplomacy

During the 30 years before the Great Depression, the United States used a policy of loan-for-supervision, also called dollar diplomacy, with countries that it perceived as unstable. Dollar diplomacy was the U.S. policy encouraging private loans to countries in exchange for those countries' accepting financial advisers. This became a way for the government to advance its policies in the face of fiscal and institutional constraints such as Congress. It was believed that the professional advisers would help the targeted countries (China, many in Latin America, Persia, and Poland) reorganize their finances and create an infrastructure that would bring stability and allow for a large volume of trade. Along with the increase in trade would come a rise in the standard of living of the people in the targeted country and in the process increase the markets for U.S. goods.

In the aftermath of the Spanish-American War and the control the United States gained over the Philippines, Cuba, and Puerto Rico, opposition grew to the point that policy makers assumed that the United States could not make any more territorial gains by force. Yet many people, including anti-imperialists, believed that the United States had an obligation to create commercial ties to developing countries. Even after World War I, when U.S. policy was viewed as isolationist, the United States did not try to avoid foreign entanglements.

At first policy makers tried to tie in commitments from the U.S. government to secure the loans, but this required the approval of Congress. Therefore, to avoid Congress the policy was changed to use financial experts to help stabilize a given country, and the U.S. government's involvement was reduced. It was the job of the experts to introduce reforms to the host country's financial structures. These included putting the country on a gold standard, creating a central bank, and using strict accounting practices. These reforms were seen as being modern and scientific.

Unfortunately, not all the countries receiving this help found it to their liking. In a number of cases dollar diplomacy was viewed as just another form of imperialism. In most cases the advisers did not speak the language of the countries they were assigned to, nor did they know the cultures of the countries. There was also the issue of the advisers' salaries. They expected to be paid based on U.S. standards of pay, which meant they were lavishly paid by local standards. To the locals these men seemed more interested in their own well-being than in that of the local population.

There was also disagreement in the United States about dollar diplomacy. As the years passed more people saw it as imperialism and exploitation in a different guise. Antibanking factions saw the policy as nothing more than a way for bankers to make more money for themselves and that the U.S. policy was being held

hostage to these profits. As the arguments against dollar diplomacy grew sharper and the quality of the loans deteriorated, the government tried to extract itself from the financial entanglements, which in turn reduced the confidence in the loans. By the early 1930s the government was working hard to detach itself from international economic affairs. It did not want to accept any of the responsibility for either international economic stability or losses of the bondholders.

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Dallace W. Unger, Jr.

DuBois, W. E. B.

(1868–1963) *African-American activist*

In a life spanning nearly a century William Edward Burghardt DuBois was one of the most brilliant, contentious, and significant leaders in the post-slavery United States. A sociologist and the founder of the NAACP (National Association for the Advancement of Colored People), DuBois wrote extensively on issues of race—the "problem of the color line"—and worked to achieve equality for African Americans weighed down by poverty and prejudice. Disillusioned with U.S. racial politics, DuBois late in life became a communist and left the United States for Africa, where he died a citizen of Ghana at age 95.

DuBois was born in Massachusetts just after the Civil War. As part of a tiny black minority, he suffered occasional racism, but not until he attended Fisk College in Nashville, Tennessee, did he see firsthand how emancipated slaves and other people of color were treated in the former Confederacy. By 1895 DuBois had become Harvard University's first black Ph.D.

DuBois's most influential book was published in 1903. *The Souls of Black Folk* is a meditation on history and race that lyrically describes what both whites and blacks need to do to overcome the "two-ness" that keeps African Americans from equal participation in U.S. society. More controversially, the book launched a stinging attack on Booker T. Washington, a former slave who as head of Alabama's Tuskegee Institute encouraged blacks to (temporarily) accept inferior status. Soon DuBois's critique of the nation's best-known black leader turned him from academic to activist.

In 1905 DuBois and 28 other opponents of Washington's accommodationist policies met secretly in Buffalo, New York, once a stop on the underground railroad, to assert new roles for African Americans. Their public meeting in Fort Erie, Canada, soon followed. A year later members of this Niagara Movement met at Harper's Ferry, the site of John Brown's 1859 raid. Although the "Niagarites" failed to attract a large membership, they signaled a new militancy. In 1909 DuBois's group joined with liberal whites who were shocked by rising racial violence to form the NAACP.

For 25 years DuBois served the NAACP as editor of *The Crisis*, using the magazine to focus attention on racism and African-American demands. His scorching editorials often offended other black leaders and white supporters, but circulation and membership soared. Unlike many others, DuBois encouraged blacks to fight in World War I, later acknowledging that soldiers' sacrifices had not translated into white respect or greater equality. During the 1920s DuBois helped to publicize the Harlem Renaissance but feuded with Jamaican Marcus Garvey, whose populist Universal Negro Improvement Association had very different goals and methods for racial uplift.

By the 1930s DuBois, who had once encouraged racial integration, was developing a separatist ideology similar to what in the 1960s would become the Black Power Movement. Leaving the NAACP in 1933, he returned to academia. From Atlanta he questioned the desirability of school integration and espoused Pan-Africanism for black people around the world. He also saw in the Russian Revolution an ideology that might overcome racism, although he did not officially become a communist until age 95.

A foe of imperialism and nuclear weapons, DuBois was deemed a subversive by the U.S. Justice Department during the cold war. Although acquitted, DuBois soon after expatriated himself to Ghana. He died there a day before Martin Luther King, Jr., led the Civil Rights March on Washington.

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Marsha E. Ackermann

dust bowl

Dust bowl is a term coined by an Associated Press correspondent when he described the drought conditions that affected the residents of 27 states as they struggled to grow wheat in the unforgiving weather conditions of the "dirty thirties." The American South, primarily the plains of Kansas, western Colorado, northwestern New Mexico, and the panhandles of Texas and Oklahoma, was the most affected area as a cyclical meteorological phenomenon dropped Pacific Ocean air far to the south, preventing the normal introduction of moist weather from the Atlantic Ocean into the Plains.

The national and international demand for wheat, a less drought resistant crop, was high during and immediately after World War I; Plains farmers, eager to reap high profits, began the "great plow-up" using poor farming techniques that led to soil erosion. Grasses and native plants that had served as windbreaks were overplowed in the quest to produce more wheat; farmers believed that "rain follows the plow."

But the rain did not follow these farmers' plows; instead, it stopped. Amid record high temperatures, dust storms increased in number and intensity, carrying away millions of tons of topsoil and depositing the dust as far away as the East Coast. Before a storm, residents blocked their windows and doors with wet cloths but still shoveled dust out of their homes with wheat scoops afterward.

Drought and overfarming led to the dust bowl in the American heartland through the 1930s. Millions of acres of topsoil were swept away. The drought led to significant changes in agricultural practices.

The American Red Cross issued calls for facemasks for children who were contracting "dust pneumonia," dead cattle were found with three inches of dirt in their stomachs, people spit up what looked like chewing tobacco, and starving jackrabbits came down from the hills to menace the land and devastate small gardens. Frustrated and overwhelmed, one of four families left the area, earning the nickname "Exodusters." John Steinbeck's novel *The Grapes of Wrath* chronicles the Joad family as it migrated toward the West Coast in search of employment picking crops.

After Black Sunday, April 14, 1935, the date of the worst dust storm, a day many believed was the end of the world, the New Deal created programs that determined the farmers were responsible for soil and water erosion, and Congress established the Soil Conservation Service under the direction of Hugh Bennet. New plowing techniques were initiated, lands were allowed to lay fallow, crops were rotated, plantings that retained topsoil were introduced, and a 100-mile-wide tree belt from Canada to Texas was proposed; these methods reduced blowing soil by 65 percent.

In the fall of 1939 the rains returned, and with the onset of World War II and the end of the Great Depression the Plains were once again flush with wheat.

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John Mayernik

E

Edison, Thomas

(1847–1931) *American inventor*

The Wizard of Menlo Park, as journalists called him in reference to his New Jersey research laboratory, Thomas Edison was the quintessential American innovator. While many inventors are a century later remembered for one principal invention (Bell's telephone, Whitney's cotton gin), Edison is responsible for or associated with the phonograph, lightbulb, the microphone used in telephones until the end of the 20th century, and direct current—along with more than 1,000 patents for lesser-known creations. Only the more fanciful Nikola Tesla, his rival in the "war of the currents," approached the breadth and variety of his work.

The seventh son of an Ohio family, Edison had less than a year of formal schooling and was largely educated by his mother, a retired schoolteacher. For the rest of his life, he praised her for encouraging him to read as a child and to experiment on what intrigued him. For some years he worked as a telegraph operator but at the age of 30 became famous for his invention of the phonograph, a device that recorded sound on tinfoil, later wax cylinders, then vinyl; though the sound quality was poor, the mere fact of its existence in 1877 was held as a marvel and captured the public attention, helping to create the fascination the public would have with inventors and cutting-edge technology.

More inventions followed, as well as refinements of earlier work; his incandescent lightbulb was not the first of its kind but was the first to be a success, efficient and bright enough to be used on a wide scale. His Edison Electric Light Company provided not only electric lamps but the power needed to use them.

Thomas Edison, pictured with a phonograph. Edison was the quintessential American innovator.

Though Nikola Tesla had also developed a lightbulb, it was the "war of the currents" that made rivals of Edison and Tesla. While Edison had developed direct current (DC) for power distribution, Tesla developed alternating

current (AC), which could be carried by cheaper wires at higher voltages. Edison's famous tactic was to promote AC power for the use of the electric chair in order to demonstrate the dangers of the method; his employees publicly electrocuted animals as a scare tactic. The effort was in vain. AC slowly replaced DC as the power distribution method of choice and remains so today.

By the time of Edison's death in 1931, his inventions had helped lead to a world lit by incandescent lights and powered by electricity; entertained by radio plays, records, and motion pictures; connected by telephone and telegraph; and home to such works as James Joyce's *Finnegan's Wake* and Marcel Duchamp's "Nude Descending a Staircase," both of them inspired by and possible only in the Edisonian world.

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Bill Kte'pi

Egyptian Revolution (1919)

The revolution in Egypt broke out in March 1919 after the British arrested Sa'd Zaghlul, the leader of the Wafd Party, the main Egyptian nationalist party, and several other Wafdists. They were then deported to Malta. The exile of these popular leaders led to student demonstrations that soon escalated into massive strikes by students, government officials, professionals, women, and transport workers. Nationalist discontent had been fueled by the protectorate established by the British at the beginning of the war, wartime shortages of basic goods, increased prices, the forced conscription of peasants as laborers for the military, and the presence of huge numbers of Western soldiers in Egypt.

Within a week all of Egypt was paralyzed by general strikes and rioting. Violence resulted, with many Egyptians and Europeans killed or injured when the British attempted to crush the demonstrations. European quarters and citizens were attacked by angry crowds who hated the special privileges and economic benefits given to foreigners. Rail and telegraph lines were cut, and students refused to attend classes. Zaghlul had worked hard in the weeks prior to his arrest to mold the Wafd into an efficient political party. He traveled around the countryside gathering support and collecting money. In spite of martial law, which was imposed by the British at the beginning of the war, large-scale public meetings were held. In his absence Zaghlul's wife, Safia, played a key role in party politics. Led by Safia and Huda Shaarawi, upper-class Egyptian women staged a political march through the streets of Cairo, throwing off their veils, waving banners, and shouting nationalist slogans.

Wafdist cells throughout the country coordinated the demonstrations and strikes through a central committee chain of command. Religious leaders, especially the sheikhs at al-Azhar, the premier Muslim university, also participated. Propaganda leaflets, posters, and postcards with pictures of Sa'd and Safia Zaghlul were distributed throughout the country. The Wafd's central committee maintained an active role within unions, student groups, and professional organizations.

Determined to maintain control over Egypt, the British government replaced High Commissioner Reginald Wingate, who was considered weak and too moderate, with General Edmund Allenby, the greatest British hero from World War I. Allenby promptly met with leading Egyptians, who convinced him that the only way to restore order was to release the Wafd leaders. A realist, Allenby complied and permitted Zaghlul and others to travel to Paris. The Wafd kept up the pressure in Egypt, organizing boycotts of British goods and refusing to meet with the Milner Mission that had been sent out from London to investigate the situation. Steps were taken for more economic independence, and Talat Harb established an Egyptian bank in 1920.

Negotiations were held between the Wafd and the British in London in 1920, but the Wafd failed to secure a withdrawal of British troops, the end of the protectorate or the capitulations (favored status granted to foreign residents), or full independence. Nevertheless, the Wafd leaders were greeted as heroes when they returned home. When Zaghlul was again arrested and deported in 1921, a new wave of nationalist demonstrations erupted.

In light of the determined nationalist movement, Allenby forced a reluctant foreign office to end the protectorate, and in 1922 the British unilaterally declared Egyptian independence under a constitutional monarchy led by King Fu'ad. However, Britain retained widespread powers, including the stationing of troops in Egypt and a role in determining Egyptian foreign affairs as well as control over the Sudan. Consequently,

Egyptian nationalists continued in opposition to Britain throughout the interwar years.

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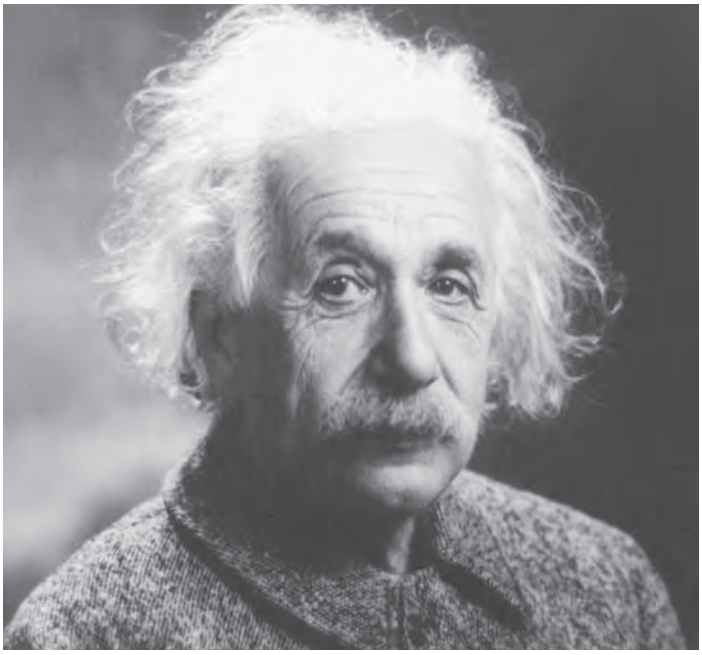
Janice J. Terry

Einstein, Albert
(1879–1955) *scientist*

Perhaps the most significant individual of the 20th century, Albert Einstein's contributions to science reshaped physics in ways that continue to be explored and led to the development of atomic energy and the atomic bomb. A nonobservant German Jew, he was a late bloomer as a student, showing slow language development. Although folklore claims Einstein was a poor math student, he had a knack for mechanics and geometry at an early age, teaching himself geometry and calculus from a copy of Euclid's *Elements*. Any reputation he may have had as a poor student came from his dissatisfaction with the curriculum at the German gymnasiums; at age 16 he left school, failed his university entrance exam for the Federal Polytechnic Institute (FPI), and took steps toward formulating his theories of relativity.

He was accepted at the FPI the following year and four years after that was granted a teaching position. His first published paper, "Consequences on the Observations of Capillarity Phenomena," hinted at his hopes for universal physical laws, binding principles that would govern all of physics. When he graduated FPI, he took a job as a patent clerk and continued to work on scientific papers in his spare time. Four such papers were published in the *Annalen der Physik* journal in 1905, each of them major contributions to the shape of modern physics. Today they are called the "Annus Mirabilis" ("Extraordinary Year") papers.

The Annus Mirabilis papers concerned the photoelectric effect; Brownian motion, Einstein's treatment of which helped provide more evidence for the existence of atoms; matter and energy equivalence, the paper that included Einstein's equation $E=mc^2$; and special relativity, which contradicted Newtonian physics by stipulating the speed of light as a constant. The importance of these papers cannot be overstated—they continue to be relevant to physicists today, and the photoelectric effect paper had a huge effect on the development of quantum mechanics and earned Einstein a Nobel Prize.



Albert Einstein's contributions to science reshaped physics in ways that continue to be explored.

It was during the war years that Einstein introduced his theory of general relativity, more radical than his special relativity. The general relativity theory replaces that most basic and intuitive of concepts from Enlightenment physics, Newtonian gravity, with the Einstein field equation. Under general relativity there is no ether or constant frame of reference, and gravity is reduced simply to an effect of curving space-time. Because of World War I, Einstein's writings were not readily available to the rest of the world, but by war's end general relativity became a controversial topic. Einstein's importance to the scientific field of his day was assured when journals reported that experiments conducted during a 1919 solar eclipse confirmed general relativity's predictions about the bending of starlight in contradiction to the effects demanded by Newtonian models.

Throughout the next two decades Einstein sparred in papers and debates with other scientists, particularly about quantum theory, which he viewed as an inherently incomplete model of physical reality and hence an incorrect one. When the Nazis came to power, he was working at Princeton University in the United States, where he remained after renouncing his German citizenship. Fearing the Germans would develop nuclear weapons, Einstein wrote to President

Franklin Delano Roosevelt advising the research and testing of fission bombs, a suggestion that led to the United States's Manhattan Project, the outcome of which was the development of the first atomic bomb and its use to end the war in the Pacific.

Einstein continued to search for a "unified field theory" that would describe all physical laws in one theory, the quest that had driven everything from his capillarity paper to his theory of general relativity. He lived a quiet life, refusing the request of the government of Israel that he serve as its president, and died in 1955 of an aneurysm.

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Bill Kte'pi

El Alamein

El Alamein is railway station west of the Egyptian port of Alexandria where a series of three battles were fought in 1942. The result was the end of German and Italian aspirations of conquering Egypt and advancing into the Middle East. El Alamein was one of the most decisive battles of World War II not only because of its strategic results but also because of how it altered perceptions about who could win the war.

British troops, under the command of General Montgomery, march back from the battlefield after the victory at El Alamein.

In 1940 Libya was an Italian colony that bordered on Egypt, where British troops were stationed in force. When the Italians joined the war in June 1940 on Germany's side, they expected that they would be able to attack France and gain some quick and easy concessions. They did not expect that the British, outnumbered by the Italians, would attack. Yet under the direction of Generals O'Connor and Wavell, that is exactly what they did. The British captured the port city of Benghazi. They were well on their way toward capturing all of Libya when they were counterattacked by the Germans, reinforcing the Italians. The Germans took the city of Benghazi back from the British and then advanced to Egypt and the Suez Canal. The German commander Erwin Rommel next attacked the city of Tobruk, was in turn attacked by the British, and was forced to retreat. The British managed to force him back deep into Libya.

In the next year Rommel counterattacked, retaking Benghazi and capturing Tobruk. From there he again advanced and crossed the border into Egypt. He was stopped at the First Battle of El Alamein in July 1942. Both sides waited for a time. The British solidified their positions, while Rommel gathered his increasingly small amount of supplies, including fuel for his vehicles. In the first week of September, Rommel felt he had to attack and so launched an assault on the British positions at a place called Alam Halfa in what became known as the Second Battle of El Alamein. Repulsed by the British, Rommel now began efforts to fortify his positions, creating obstacles through the use of minefields. He had no realistic expectation of attacking again and so had to remain in place. Although he had advanced so far into Egypt, the situation now favored the British.

The troops under the British commander Montgomery outnumbered Rommel's nearly two to one and had at least twice as many tanks. In all aspects the British supply situation was much better. Rommel had so little fuel that his ability to move was severely limited. At the same time, the British gasoline was more plentiful than water. That logistical superiority was to translate into immense tactical superiority on the night of October 23, 1942. That night the British opened with a massive artillery barrage using over 600 guns.

This extensive artillery preparation lasted several hours and moved its focal point up and down the German line. Then it moved forward to allow the combat engineers with supporting tanks to disarm the extensive minefields that formed the backbone of Rommel's defenses. The process of attacking by the 8th British

Army was slow and methodical and would concentrate first on one part of the German line and then on another. Montgomery referred to this process as "crumbling" the enemy's defenses. The Germans counterattacked but failed in their attempt to drive the British back. Finally, on November 2 the British broke through the last belt of minefields, and the attack could begin. By November 4 Rommel decided to retreat to the west.

From the west, in French North Africa, the Americans landed an army of over 400,000 men, who advanced eastward. Caught between the British and the Americans, Rommel's army surrendered in Tunisia in May 1943. The war in Africa was over.

At El Alamein Rommel was at his farthest point from his base of supplies. He had one route that followed the coastline; everything had to come to him that way from the Italians in Libya. Their bases were supplied by ship from Italy. This supply route was under constant attack by British submarines and aircraft. Italian and German ships were sunk, and much of what was supposed to go to Rommel never reached him. Supply superiority translated into tangible benefits: more tanks and cannon as well as massive air superiority. That also translated into intangibles such as better morale helped by ample stores of food and other supplies.

If the British had lost at El Alamein, they could have lost all of Egypt, which would have been catastrophic. The Germans had hoped to link up with their soldiers in Russia by this route. The Germans could have captured the Suez Canal and controlled the Mediterranean. A push further would have brought them into Palestine. There was no oil there, but a pipeline from Iraq built in the 1930s would have given them access to it. Considering that the government in Iraq was pro-Nazi, that would have solved Germany's oil problems. Further, the loss would have damaged British prestige and credibility.

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Robert N. Stacy

El Salvador/*La Matanza*

La Matanza, a Spanish phrase translated as "the massacre" or "the slaughter," refers to the aftermath of an indigenous, communist-inspired uprising in El Salvador in 1932. Although precise figures of the dead are difficult to discern, it is estimated that between 8,000 and 30,000 Salvadoran Indians were killed in the state-sponsored violence.

The roots of the insurrection lay in the appropriation of communal lands for coffee production by the elites and the resulting dislocation of a large number of peasants, many of them indigenous. In the 1880s the Salvadoran government passed laws outlawing Indian communal landholdings and passed vagrancy laws that forced the landless peasants to work on the large coffee plantations owned by the elites. In response peasants in El Salvador launched four unsuccessful uprisings in the late 19th century.

Coffee production expanded into the 20th century, as the country was ruled by a coalition of the coffee-growing oligarchy, foreign investors, military officers, and church officials. In the 1920s land used to grow coffee had expanded by more than 50 percent, causing the Salvadoran economy to be heavily dependent on the international price of coffee. This expansion also created a number of peasants with vivid memories of their recent displacement.

The Great Depression in 1929 resulted in a dramatic decline in coffee prices. By 1930 prices were at half of their peak levels, and by 1932 they were at one-third of the peak levels of the mid-1920s. In response the coffee producers cut the already low wages of their laborers up to 50 percent in some places, in addition to cutting employment.

Meanwhile, the country was experiencing a period of democratic reform unusual in Salvadoran history. In 1930 President Pío Romero Bosque announced that the 1931 election would be a free and open election. This democratic opening allowed Arturo Araujo to win the presidency with the support of students, peasants, and workers. Araujo was distrusted by much of the elite, whose distrust grew with his attempted implementation of a modest reform program. Araujo's presidency would be marked by increasing social and political unrest and a deepening economic crisis, accompanied by the growth of leftist unions and political groups. On May Day 1930, 80,000 farm workers marched, demanding better conditions and the right to organize.

On December 2, 1931, Araujo was deposed in a military coup, and his vice president, General Maximiliano

Hernández Martínez, assumed the presidency. Martínez quickly ended Araujo's program of social reform and also ended the democratic opening.

In early 1932 Salvadoran Communist Party (PCS) members led by Augustín Farabundo Martí planned a revolt against the landowning elite. The insurrection was to be accompanied by a revolt in the military. Before the revolt could begin Martí was captured, and the rebels in the army were disarmed and arrested. Martí would be executed in the aftermath of the failed revolt.

Despite these setbacks Indian peasants heeded the call of the PCS and revolted in western El Salvador. On the night of January 22 farmers and agricultural workers armed with machetes and hoes launched attacks against various targets in western El Salvador, occupying Juayúa, Izalco, and Nahuizalco in Sonsonate and Tacuba in Ahuachapán.

The military counteroffensive quickly defeated the rebels and retook towns that had fallen to the rebels. While an estimated 20 to 30 civilians were killed in the initial revolt, thousands would die in its aftermath. The military along with members of the elite organized into a civic guard and carried out reprisals singling out Indian peasants, those who wore Indian dress, and those with Indian features. In the town of Izalco groups of 50, including women and children, were shot by firing squads on the outskirts of town. These reprisals would last for about a month after the insurrection. It is estimated that between 8,000 and 30,000 Salvadoran Indians were killed in the aftermath of the insurrection.

In addition to the loss of life suffered by the indigenous community, *La Matanza* would have other long-term effects. The massacre influenced many Indians to abandon traditional Indian dress, language, and other identifiable cultural traits in many communities in western El Salvador, although recent research has suggested that Indian identity was not completely destroyed.

For the Salvadoran elites the revolt would combine their strong fears of Indian rebellion and communist revolution. When the violence of *La Matanza* subsided, a combination of racism and anticommunism became the leading ideology of the elite. This ideology served to block social change and to justify repression. Politically, El Salvador would have a series of military juntas until the El Salvador civil war in the 1980s.

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Michael A. Ridge, Jr.

Ellis Island

Ellis Island was the chief port through which immigrants came to the United States from 1892 to 1954. Located at the mouth of the Hudson River in New York Harbor, Ellis Island witnessed the arrival of more than 12 million immigrants into the United States, most of whom were European. Of the millions who came through Ellis Island, nearly 2 percent were denied entrance to the United States for one reason or another.

Immigrants coming into the United States were classified according to the manner in which they arrived. Those who came in first- and second-class accomodations were presumed to be of good enough social standing that they would not prove to be a burden on American society. First- and second-class passengers came to Ellis Island only if they had particular legal or medical problems that could deny them entry into the country.

Third-class, or steerage, passengers were not so lucky. The accomodations of their crossing were substandard, located on the bottom of the ship, often in cramped quarters near the ship's supplies. The conditions in steerage were often unsanitary, crowded, and uncomfortable. Unaccompanied women were often in danger of sexual assualt from the other passengers. The trials of third-class passage did not stop with the arrival of the ship to the United States. Because of the low cost of their passage, steerage passengers carried the risk of becoming a financial burden to the country. Hence, steerage passengers were sent to Ellis Island to gain entry. On Ellis Island these immigrants underwent legal and medical inspections that could last as long as five hours. Immigrants with debilitating medical conditions or significant legal problems were denied entrance.

These inspections were performed by the U.S. Public Health Service and the Bureau of Immigration, who referred to manifest logs from the ships at the time of the inspection. These manifests included personal information about the passengers such as name, date of birth, country of origin, current amount of avail-

able funds, and an address to which the person was traveling—generally that of a relative. All passengers needed a destination and could be denied entrance if they did not have a specific place to which they were going. Examiners asked questions that were used to determine the general health of immigrants, to detect chronic disease and mental health concerns, and to highlight legal problems. Those who did not possess the basic skills to work or had chronically poor health were sent back to their country of origin. Others were quarantined to prevent the spread of infectious disease. More than 3,000 immigrants died in the hospital on the island.

Once through the inspection, many of the new immigrants changed their names. Sometimes this was strictly for convenience, but often it was because both the immigrants and inspectors tended to be uneducated. Names were often spelled incorrectly, made more American, shortened, or spelled phonetically. Frequently, passengers came to Ellis Island without papers. These passengers, called "WOPs" by the examiners, were generally allowed to enter the country. Passengers traveling without papers tended to be Italian, and the term *WOP* quickly became an epithet for all Italian immigrants.

While the immigration process was long and often frustrating, many underwent the process multiple times. Men frequently traveled back and forth between Europe and the United States as seasonal workers. Because of this, the immigration figures from Ellis Island are skewed. At the time there was no technology to accurately count people as repeat immigrants.

In 1897 a fire destroyed many of the Ellis Island facilities, causing them to close for a substantial renovation. During this time the Barge Office in Battery Park served as a temporary immigration station until the Ellis Island facilities could be reopened on December 17, 1900. After the renovation the processing of immigrants became more efficient. The facility expanded by 10 acres, and the island was capable of processing thousands of immigrants per day at a much faster pace than had been previously possible. Additionally, the facilities expanded to encompass a nearby island that included an administration building and hospital wards; 10 years later, a third island was added, housing additional hospitals for use as quarantine zones.

Ellis Island acted as the staging point for more than 12 million European immigrants to America. The island operated between the years of 1892 and 1954 and was for many the final stop on their journey between the continents.

Throughout much of its history, corruption was one of Ellis Island's biggest problems. In 1901 President Theodore Roosevelt fired several high-ranking officials including the commissioner of immigration and the head of the Bureau of Immigration. Investigation found frequent instances of immigrants being pressured into bribing inspectors, with many being detained if the immigrants questioned the need for the bribe or did not (or were not able to) produce the money. Attractive young women, having survived the passage in steerage, were forced to grant sexual favors to inspectors to guarantee admittance to the country. Inspectors sold items such as lunches and railroad tickets at exhorbitant prices, forcing the new immigrants to pay, with the officials and inspectors taking the additional revenue for themselves. Workers frequently lied about the exchange rate, pocketing the extra money, while other inspectors sold fake immigration citizenship certificates, giving a cut of the proceeds to ship officers. To Roosevelt's mind such corruption could not stand and needed to be stopped.

Roosevelt appointed William Williams, a New York lawyer, as commissioner in April 1902. Williams created an environment in which the immigrants were treated with respect, consideration, and kindness. Signs were posted throughout the island promoting kindness and respect and serving as a constant reminder to workers on how to conduct themselves. Williams's duty was to undo the damage caused by corruption.

Many European immigrants came to the United States during World War I, but passage was eventually prohibited. Many immigrants stayed on Ellis Island because they could not be sent back to their home countries, and the island served as a confinement center for 1,500 German sailors and 2,200 secret agents and foreigners. Travel by ship was hazardous because of the frequency of submarine attacks, and many European nations shut down their borders. Additionally, the navy took over the island's large hospital during the war in order to care for injured naval soldiers and sailors. As a result, from 1918 to 1919 many immigrants and suspected subversives were taken off the island and sent elsewhere. During the Red Scare immigrants suspected of involvement with radical organizations or under suspicion of fomenting revolution were deported from Ellis Island.

Such views were enhanced by the sabotage inflicted on Ellis Island on July 30, 1916. The Black Tom Wharf on the New Jersey shore was located about 300 yards from Ellis Island. Here there was a railroad yard and a place for barges to load cargo. On July 30 several railroad cars and as many as 14 barges were loaded with dynamite, ready to have their cargoes transferred to waiting freighters. The cargoes exploded early that morning, causing extensive damage to Ellis Island and creating a blast that was felt as far away as Pennsylvania. The damage to Ellis Island was estimated at $400,000—broken windows, jammed doors, and demolished roofs. During the chaos 125 workers transferred nearly 500 immigrants to the eastern part of the island and ferried them over to the Manhattan Barge Office. Ellis Island reopened in 1920.

Throughout the history of Ellis Island, laws and regulations were enacted to decrease the number of immigrants entering the United states. For instance, the Immigration Restriction League and other similar organizations created the Exclusion Act of 1882, prohibiting Chinese immigration for 10 years. This act continued to be reassessed and passed until 1943. In 1917 the Alien Contract Labor Law came into effect, further reducing immigration, while mandatory literacy tests in the same year allowed for the exclusion of more and more potential immigrants. While these acts did limit the number of new people entering the United States, more than half a million passed through Ellis Island in 1921 alone. In 1924 quota laws and the National Origins Act were passed through Congress; these laws allowed for limited numbers of specific ethnic groups to be given entry into the country as determined by the 1890 and 1910 censuses. Some 33 different classes of immigrants to be denied entrance were named in the legislation. In effect, the laws differentiated between northern European settlers and what were at the time immigrants from predominantly southern and eastern European countries.

Adding an additional layer of bureaucracy for potential immigrants, following World War I it became necessary to apply for visas in one's home country before being allowed to enter the United States. This increased the complexity of the immigration process, as it required a great deal of paperwork and medical inspection before arrival to the United States.

Following 1924 Ellis Island stayed in use, but as more of a quarantine and detention center than a center for the processing of immigrants. Those who stayed on Ellis Island tended to be those with complications in their medical records or those who had been displaced. Immigrants in general entered the United States through other locations. Proposals were made as early as 1924 to close down the island, but this did not occur until 1954. Before that, Ellis Island was used as a place to confine enemy foreign nationals during World War II. In 1986 the island underwent a significant restoration

to the main building, and Ellis Island reopened in 1990 as a museum. Here visitors can access the records of family members who came to or passed through Ellis Island during its tenure as the largest entry point for immigrants into the United States.

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Nicole DeCarlo

environmentalism/ conserving nature

New conceptions of how humans should interact with the natural world put down roots in 19th-century America. Aristocratic Europe's pastoral perspective valued neatly kept farms and artfully landscaped vistas. Some Americans had different views. Mid-19th-century Massachusetts transcendentalist Henry David Thoreau studied natural processes and experimented with a new kind of natural simplicity at Walden Pond, bemoaning the noisy incursion of trains. Gaining influence after his death in 1862, Thoreau fathered what eventually became an environmental movement.

By the first half of the 20th century, a growing U.S. conservation movement had saved some of the nation's most spectacular natural landscapes. In 1872 President Ulysses S. Grant and Congress created Yellowstone National Park in Montana and Wyoming, officially described as "a pleasuring-ground for the benefit and enjoyment of the people." Grant was first in a series of presidents to protect certain lands from most kinds of human exploitation. Many individual states mounted smaller parks projects.

By 1890, when the U.S. census revealed that America's frontier—its stock of unclaimed land—had virtually disappeared, rescuing remaining natural treasures took on new urgency. California's Yosemite became a national park in 1890. Taking office in 1901, Theodore Roosevelt, an outdoorsman himself, initiated conservation programs that truly reshaped the nation. During his progressive presidency, Arizona's Grand Canyon and four other national parks were established. Advised by forester Gifford Pinchot, Roosevelt set aside more than 231,000 square miles of forested land and established the National Forest Service. His 1906 Antiquities Act helped to identify and preserve prehistoric and historic sites of special significance, including some Indian structures and major Civil War battlefields.

President William Howard Taft in 1910 created Montana's 1,600-square-mile Glacier National Park, long the dream of *Forest and Stream* editor George Bird Grinnell. But later that year a controversy between Taft and Pinchot over the proper use of forest set-asides led to Pinchot's firing and became a factor in Roosevelt's "Bull Moose" campaign against Taft in 1912. Their political feud revealed some of the difficulties and ironies of a nation legislating "wilderness" and scenic beauty. Especially in the American West, where the federal government owned a large percentage of the land, many interests clamored for greater commercial and personal access. Was providing seemingly untouched natural beauty to awed urban visitors really more important than a rancher, miner, or farmer making a decent living? Conservationists were often a minority in these local and regional arguments, although railroad interests often supported conservation projects that enhanced tourist travel by train.

Additionally, although this would hardly have bothered most white people at that time, many conservation, preservation, and set-aside programs effectively severed Native American tribes from their traditional uses of Yellowstone, Yosemite, Glacier, and other new American shrines. What conservationists worshipped as "virgin land" or "wilderness" had in many cases been used by Indians for centuries as habitat and hunting and fishing grounds.

Conservation leaders like Scots-born John Muir, a founder in 1892 of the Sierra Club, and Iowa native Aldo Leopold, cofounder in 1935 of the Wilderness Society, were naturalists who were primarily interested in protecting the natural environment as much as possible from human disturbance. Although they and their many allies worked closely with government agencies, there was a constant struggle over how protected lands could be used. Mining, grazing, farming, and timbering rights in park reserves were clearly a source of tension. So too was the very purpose of a growing national parks system—to expose large numbers of human visitors to "nature."

Tourism also could, and certainly would, endanger truly wild places.

Teddy Roosevelt once spent four days in Yosemite with Muir camping and hiking, but that did not mean that conservationists always had the ear of politicians. President Woodrow Wilson, who in 1916 authorized creation of the National Park Service, had three years earlier accepted congressional approval of the Hetch-Hetchy dam that flooded part of Yosemite in order to provide San Francisco with drinking water. It was a bitter defeat for the Sierra Club and Muir's last great wilderness crusade.

In 1907 Pinchot had defined conservation as "the use of the Earth for the good of Man." By the 1930s the New Deal was siting and building huge dams for travel, irrigation, and hydroelectric power across the American landscape. Especially in Appalachia, site of the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA) and along the Columbia River in the Pacific Northwest, these dams permanently reshaped ancient landscapes and affected fish and wildlife, usually for the worse. In this same era President Franklin D. Roosevelt's young men's work initiative, the Civilian Conservation Corps, was a boon for neglected or underfunded national parks. Trails were cut, scenic overlooks created, and benches and tourist facilities provided or improved. But when the economy recovered, this meant that even more people could easily leave their own imprint on the landscape.

Starting his career with the Forest Service in 1909, Aldo Leopold came to believe that managing forested areas was not the same as protecting trees and their ecosystem. Leopold and others began to believe that nature's "rights" should and sometimes must trump human needs and desires. In his influential 1949 book, *A Sand County Almanac*, published after his death in a fire near his Wisconsin home, Leopold called for a "land ethic" that would encompass respect for "soils, waters, plants and animals." It was an early intimation of what emerged in the 1960s as a new environmental, or "Green," movement that looked beyond scenery and natural magnificence to the fundamental health of "soils, waters, plants and animals" and humans worldwide.

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Marsha E. Ackermann

Espionage and Sedition Acts

On June 17, 1917, little over two months after the United States entered World War I as an associated power of the Allies, Congress passed the Espionage Act, which criminalized the provision to any party by any party of any information when the intent was to interfere with the success of the American armed forces.

The wording of the law was general rather than enumerating specific potential instances, and a year after its passing socialist Eugene Debs was arrested for obstructing military recruiting with an antiwar speech delivered in Canton, Ohio. He ran for president from prison as a way to draw public attention to his fate and was pardoned by President Harding after serving a third of his sentence.

Dozens of socialist and antiwar newspapers and magazines were forced to avoid coverage of the war, suspend publication, or risk having the Postmaster General revoke their right to use the mails. The law was challenged in *Schenck v. United States*, when Charles Schenck was arrested for circulating a pamphlet calling for resistance to the draft; the Supreme Court upheld the law, and its decision introduced two common phrases of American legal language. Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes, the author of the decision, said first that the guarantee of free speech did not protect words that presented a "clear and present danger," and that "the most stringent protection of free speech would not protect a man falsely shouting fire in a theater."

In 1918 the Sedition Act extended the bounds of the Espionage Act, outlawing various instances of speech against the government. Most of the laws associated with the two acts were repealed in 1921.

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Bill Kte'pi

Estrada Cabrera, Manuel

(1857–1923) *Guatemalan president*

Manuel José Estrada Cabrera was president of Guatemala from 1898 to 1920 and established a tradition of Guatemalan strongmen that was to be revived by Jorge Ubico and later presidents. Estrada Cabrera is

also credited with running the longest one-man dictatorship in Central American history.

Born on November 21, 1857, in Quezaltenango in the southwest of Guatemala, the nation's second-largest city, Estrada Cabrera was educated in Roman Catholic schools, training as a lawyer. After many years practicing in Quezaltenango and then in Guatemala City, he became a judge of the Guatemalan supreme court before entering politics. Elected to congress, he became minister of public instruction, minister of justice, and then minister of the interior during the presidency of José María Reina Barrios. On February 8, 1898, the president was assassinated, and Estrada Cabrera, who was in Costa Rica, returned to Guatemala City. He was the second in line to the presidency. Estrada Cabrera was said to have burst in on the cabinet meeting where the politicians were discussing the succession. Charging in unannounced, he walked around the cabinet ministers and then drew a revolver from his pocket. Placing it on the table, he then announced: "Gentlemen, you are looking at the new president of Guatemala."

Estrada Cabrera was sworn in as the provisional president, elected soon afterward, and officially inaugurated on October 2, 1898. During his first term in office he respected the constitution, which forbade presidents' serving more than one term. Before this first term was over Estrada Cabrera changed the constitution to allow himself to be reelected in 1904, again in 1910, and on a third occasion in 1916, remaining president until April 15, 1920. Political commentators do not credit him with any personal popularity or any plan of action or change except anything that might keep him in office.

During his time as president of the country, Estrada Cabrera certainly gave Guatemala internal peace, and this was welcomed by the landowners and the Guatemalan middle class, although the latter gradually tired of his rule. There had been a financial crisis just before he came to power, and he managed to steer the country through it. He also encouraged investment by the United Fruit Company, which during his presidency started to take over the economic life of the country. Minor Keith of the United Fruit Company was also granted the rights to establish a railway across Guatemala in 1906. When it was completed, the company took ownership not only of the railway but also of 170,000 acres of agricultural land. The actions of the United Fruit Company led to increased control of the Guatemalan economy by U.S. business interests, in contrast to the situation faced by U.S. companies in Nicaragua, where the reformist president, José Santos Zelaya, was trying to replace U.S. businesses with European ones.

In 1910 the *Chicago Tribune* sent Frederic Palmer to visit Guatemala and other parts of Central America. He found that the president was living not in the presidential palace but in a nearby building that was easier to secure. In a meeting with the president, the journalist was told that the Guatemalan army numbered 15,000 to 16,000, but that in a time of war 60,000 could be fielded, which meant that Guatemala had one of the largest, relative to its population, standing armies in the world. Certainly Estrada Cabrera used the army and, more importantly, his secret police, controlled by Justo Rufino Barrios, to ensure he had no opposition, removing any liberal moves that had been introduced just before he came to power. He also used the presidency to loot the treasury and make himself a large fortune.

Estrada Cabrera was also responsible for building a few schools; improving sanitation, especially in Guatemala City, the nation's capital; and raising the level of agricultural production. However, he kept the Indians in a terrible state, marginalizing them politically and economically. One of Estrada Cabrera's eccentricities was to establish a cult to Minerva in Guatemala, with Greek-style "Temples of Minerva" built in many cities throughout Guatemala.

In 1906 rebels supported by other governments in Central America threatened to push him from office. However, Estrada Cabrera managed to get help from neighboring dictator Porfirio Díaz of Mexico. The Mexicans later became worried by Estrada Cabrera's power, and after the Mexican Revolution he was to face bitter political opponents on Guatemala's northern borders, although internal strife in Mexico prevented them from intervening in Guatemala.

In April 1920 an armed revolt overthrew Estrada Cabrera, and the former dictator was thrown into jail. On April 15 the congress declared Estrada Cabrera to be medically unfit to hold office. He was replaced by Carlos Herrera and then by José María Orellana. This change ushered in a period of liberal political laws and a new reform government, which recognized opposition parties. Estrada Cabrera had hoped for U.S. intervention to save him, but the U.S. president, Woodrow Wilson, decided not to intervene. In fact, the conspirators who overthrew Estrada Cabrera moved only when they had information that Wilson would not act. Manuel Estrada Cabrera died on September 24, 1924, in jail in Guatemala City.

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Justin Corfield

Ethiopia (Abyssinia) and Italian aggression

In October 1935 Italian armies invaded Abyssinia (Ethiopia), beginning an eight-month war and a six-year occupation. Starting purely as an Italian colonial venture to expand Italy's control as well as to impress European nations, it came to have a significance all out of proportion to its original objectives.

Italy, as a unified nation, did not come into existence until the Risorgimento of 1870. For that reason, it was very late in developing an overseas empire; most of the colonial pickings had been taken by France and Britain. Italy had managed in the closing years of the 19th century to establish itself in eastern Africa (Eritrea), although a sound beating by the Abyssinians in 1896 at the Battle of Adowa stopped their progress there. Although Adowa was to be the most severe defeat ever suffered by Europeans in Africa, Italy managed to not only keep its Eritrean possessions but gain a bit more as well. In 1908 Somalia was declared to be an Italian colony, and the border between Somalia and Ethiopia was agreed on. Additionally, in 1911–12 Italy had managed to seize the Ottoman possessions in Libya. None of this, however, managed to satisfy a nation that as part of its mythic past looked back on the Roman Empire. Compounding that sense of unfulfilled entitlement, Italy, although an ally in World War I, had not gained the territory it believed was its due. The sense of injury and historic destiny was given an added impetus in the 1920s and 1930s with the rise of the Fascists.

In the interim several events occurred. Although Abyssinia was an independent nation, it was not altogether considered to be the equal of other nations; when it applied for membership in the League of Nations, there were several delegates who were opposed to its entry. At first Italy opposed Abyssinia's application but then supported it. Abyssinia became a full member of the league in 1923. That fact would have later consequences, as membership meant that Italy could not attack Abyssinia without the threat of action of the entire league.

Italy and Abyssinia signed a treaty of friendship in 1928, but the Italians would maintain a very strong military presence on their borders and on occasion send military detachments across the borders to see how far they could push without starting a war. By 1932 Benito Mussolini was committed to an eventual war of conquest in the area, and military planning began at about this time. Finally, in 1934 the Italians engineered a border incident that would eventually become the official cause of the war, which would start in October 1935.

The extent of military planning and the allocation of Italy's resources for this war would become a major effort. While in retrospect the campaign was one of tanks, aircraft, and machine guns against a primitively armed native population, there was no assumption of an easy military victory. Adowa, less than 40 years before, had been a serious and sobering defeat. Even new weapons, as the British, Spanish, and French had learned, did not guarantee victory in colonial wars. The Abyssinians, with their population of an estimated 12 million living in a rugged and wide-ranging homeland, could not be counted on to surrender at the first sight of an Italian tank or airplane.

On October 3, 1935, Italian forces attacking from Eritrea in the north and Italian Somaliland in the south invaded Abyssinia, meeting with substantial opposition from the very beginning. Mechanized and motorized forces and aircraft overpowered organized resistance. By May 5, 1936, the Italians had managed to defeat the Abyssinian army and entered the capital of Addis Ababa. Italian forces suffered about 5,000 casualties; most of these were natives serving as part of the Italian force.

With the capture of Abyssinia's capital, the Italians believed their mission accomplished and organized their African possessions into one large colony, Africa Orientale Italia (AOI), which they divided into six governorships. Occupying the territory and controlling all of it turned out to be a different matter: They never succeeded in holding more than half of the country. There was widespread opposition throughout the countryside that grew in severity. In 1937 an attempted assassination of Marshall Badoglio, the commander of the region, spurred extensive reprisals. This opposition kept up until the Italians were finally driven out in 1941 by the British.

Aside from the military aspects of the campaign, which showed how new technology could be effectively applied against native armies, the war had a political significance on an international scale. The conflict showed very quickly the ineffectiveness of the League of Nations. Further, it demonstrated both splits between

what were supposed to be solid allies and the lack of internal resolution of those allies.

On October 10, 1935, the league agreed to impose economic sanctions against Italy as punishment for its unprovoked invasion in direct defiance of the league's rules. The sanctions were not enthusiastically endorsed, although Canada suggested additional oil sanctions be applied. Part of the problem was that the league's standing did not support strong measures. Another factor was that despite the fact that Abyssinia was a member, many other members considered it to be little more than a very backward region. In their view, despite the unanimous declaration of 1923, Abyssinia should not be thought of as an independent nation. Also, sanctions were useless unless they were supported by everyone. The United States, which was not a member of the league, increased its exports of oil to Italy at this time.

There were attempts to resolve the crisis by diplomacy of individual nations, but these were not only ineffective but did not reflect well of the proposing nations. In negotiations with the Italians, the British and French offered to let Italy have large parts of the country. Britain would then donate part of British Somaliland, one of its ports, to Abyssinia. Neither Haile Selassie nor any member of his government was brought into these talks. These negotiations were not looked on well by several members of the league who rightly thought it was rewarding aggression. Thus, the plan died, and Italy continued its war.

Abyssinian emperor Haile Selassie went to the League of Nations for assistance in June 1936. He got nothing for his efforts. Italian claims of atrocities partially undermined Ethiopia's case, although it was clear that the league would not have supported Ethiopia in any event.

The occupation of Abyssinia was not a quiet experience for occupiers or occupied. The Italians brought in the machinery and infrastructure of a colonial government, but nothing went exactly as it had been planned. For one thing, there was the active opposition of the natives, which never decreased from the day Addis Ababa fell until the British liberated the country. In 1935 Italians opened a concentration camp in Somalia. Eventually, more than 6,000 people from all over the AOI, but principally Abyssinia, were processed there. Its peak operating period was from the major repression of 1937 until the British arrived in 1941. In 1937 some opponents of the regime were sent to Eritrea and from there on to Italy. In a reversal, political detention camps were opened in the AOI that were used to house Italian political dissidents. There were reported to be mass executions as well.

There were some positive developments. The Italians did bring an improvement in health care. Also, they stopped much of the intertribal fighting that had always plagued Abyssinia. These advantages must be seen, however, against the larger issue of Italy forcefully occupying a nation and repressing its people. One of the major reforms was a negative one that had to do with education. Italy feared the educated elite in Abyssinia, which they correctly saw as the backbone of opposition. The Italians repressed this elite and also ensured that there would be no schooling beyond the most basic for the general population.

Finally, the area was liberated in 1941 and administered by the British until after the war. Then Italy returned but only as a mandatory power for Eritrea and Somaliland. These countries eventually gained their independence. Abyssinia, more commonly referred to now as Ethiopia, regained its independence with the return of its emperor.

For what started as a colonial venture, the war between Italy and Abyssinia had far-reaching consequences. It demonstrated what military force could do against civilian populations and how far international bullying could go as well as improving the chances for a war in Europe.

Mussolini's popularity and political strength in Italy were improved by the war. In the minds of many, the victory and acquisition of land removed some of the perceived disgrace that came from the consequences of World War I. Mussolini, who often ruled by the creation and management of crises, mobilized a great deal of support for the prosecution of the war. In addition, the threat of league sanctions helped strengthen popular resolve because the Italian government managed to stir the population into a feeling that it was united against the league, improving the degree of political cohesion, at least for a while. Even the Catholic Church, which sometimes opposed Mussolini's policies, came down publicly in favor of the Italian effort in Africa.

Another development of great significance was the deployment of the technology of destruction. The Italians used their air force extensively in this war. Pioneers in the use of aircraft against ground targets, they had used aircraft in Libya against the Ottomans and later used them against the Libyan natives from 1921 to 1931. Now, after also leading the world in developing the theory of air power, they showed themselves to be expert practitioners. The latest in modern weaponry was used more widely and ruthlessly than ever against

not only combatants but against the civilian population. The Italians also bombed Red Cross stations, hospitals, ambulances, and civilian targets. In a way, the air attacks on the Abyssinians prefigured not only Guernica but later Warsaw, Rotterdam, and London.

On the continental scale, the war accelerated the political decisions and rivalries in Europe. It destroyed the good will that had existed between Britain and Mussolini's Fascist government. The crisis surrounding the war highlighted and increased the mutual suspicion between France and Britain. That impression was reinforced at Munich in 1938, leading Adolf Hitler and Mussolini into assumptions that would lead them to war in 1939 and 1940. The alienation of Italy from its former allies and Europe at large brought it closer to Hitler's Germany. At the same time it deepened the contempt that Hitler and Mussolini had for the western powers, in large part because of their inability to do anything constructive.

Finally, it signaled the effective end of the League of Nations as a body capable of protecting small nations from aggression and preventing aggressive war. There had been defections from the league at least as far back as the 1920s based on smaller nations stating that the league was useless in protecting them. The Japanese invasion of Manchuria in 1931 and the invasion of Abyssinia only demonstrated and reinforced the perceived weaknesses of the league. While the league could point to accomplishments in areas such as improving health of people in poorer nations, it could not stop a war.

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Robert Stacy

eugenics

Sir Francis Galton, a cousin of Charles Darwin, coined the term and concept of eugenics in 1883. Eugenics, often defined as "well-born," was an effort to apply Darwinian evolution and Gregor Mendel's recently recognized genetic discoveries to the physical, mental, and moral improvement of human beings. Eugenics gained many supporters in the progressive-era United States, Canada, and much of Europe. But the concept was riddled with class and racial biases that inflicted harm on thousands of supposedly "inferior" humans. When the excesses of Adolf Hitler's World War II eugenics programs became known, this effort at human engineering fell into disrepute.

Galton was a respected scientist and statistician, but his eugenics notions were based less on evolution than on Social Darwinism, a philosophy that conveniently justified growing inequities in industrializing societies. Nations could no longer wait for evolution to weed out the weak and stupid; rather, experts would facilitate the process of improving the race, by which most eugenicists meant white northern Europeans. Positive eugenics tried to encourage "superior" men and women to produce superior offspring. (The Galtons were childless.) Negative eugenics went much further. It proposed to discourage "defective" humans from reproducing at all.

Soon, eugenics agencies and research facilities were springing up. A eugenics laboratory, later named in Galton's honor, was founded at London's University College in 1904. In the United States Charles Davenport created a Eugenics Record Office on Long Island. U.S. president Theodore Roosevelt, fearing "race suicide," heartily approved of this burgeoning movement to weed out the "unfit." The state of Indiana in 1907 was the first to pass a eugenics sterilization law.

Buck v. Bell, a eugenics sterilization case from Virginia, came before the U.S. Supreme Court in 1927. Speaking for eight of the nine justices, Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr., ruled in favor of the state. Carrie Buck, he noted, "is a feeble-minded white woman . . . the daughter of a feeble-minded mother . . . and the mother of an illegitimate feeble-minded child," adding, "Three generations of imbeciles are enough." By 1933 28 states had sterilized more than 16,000 unconsenting women, men, and children.

In Canada interest in eugenics peaked among English speakers during the Great Depression, when the poor and sick seemed an impossible burden. The Soviet Union and many European nations also promoted fitter families while trying to minimize the "unfit." Everywhere the poor and uneducated, racial and ethnic minorities, and criminals were overwhelmingly beneficiaries of "genetic cleansing." But none took eugenics as far as Nazi

Germany, where Hitler copied many aspects of U.S. eugenics practices and passed laws in the 1930s that foreshadowed the elimination of millions of Jews, Gypsies, gays, and others considered unfit. In the wake of these atrocities, most eugenics organizations disbanded or rethought their goals. In 1942 the Supreme Court struck down involuntary sterilization of criminals; in 2001 Virginia apologized for *Buck* and other eugenics interventions.

As genetic science has expanded dramatically, the ethics of genetic improvement remains a very touchy topic. Birth control pioneers Margaret Sanger of the United States and Marie Stopes in Britain were both ardent eugenicists, leading today's abortion foes to distrust the underlying aims of family planning. New technologies raise the specter of prenatal engineering for "perfect" babies—a concept Galton did not precisely foresee but would probably have applauded.

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Marsha E. Ackermann

existentialism

Existentialism is a chiefly philosophical and literary movement that became popular after 1930 and that provides a distinctive interpretation of human existence. The question of the meaning of human existence is of supreme importance to existentialism, which advocates that people should create value for themselves through action and living each moment to its fullest.

Existentialism serves as a protest against academic philosophy and possesses an antiestablishment sensibility. It contrasts both the rationalist tradition, which defines humanity in terms of rational capacity, and positivism, which describes humanity in terms of observable behavior. Existential philosophy teaches that human beings exist in an indifferent, objective, ambiguous, and absurd context in which individual meaning is created through action and interpretation.

Although there is a diversity of thought in the movement, its thinkers agree that all individuals possess the freedom and responsibility to make the most of life. Existentialists maintain the principle that "existence precedes essence," an observation made by Jean-Paul Sartre (1905–80), atheist humanist and the only self-proclaimed "existentialist." This principle advocates that there is no predefined essence of the human being and that essence is what a human makes for itself.

Each of the existentialist thinkers, however, worked out their own interpretations of existence. Søren Kierkegaard (1813–55), a religious Danish philosopher known as the "father of existentialism," possessed a belief in the Christian God. He attacked abstract Hegelian metaphysics and the worldly complacency of the Danish Church. Kierkegaard believed that individual existence indicates being withdrawn from the world, which causes individual self-awareness. Individuals despair when confronted with the truth that their finite existence emerged detached from God. This despair, thus, gives rise to faith, despite the absurdity of that faith. Other philosophical precursors who are believed to have influenced modern existentialist philosophy include St. Thomas Aquinas (1224–74), Blaise Pascal (1623–62), Fyodor Dostoyevsky (1821–81), and Friedrich Nietzsche (1844–1900).

German philosopher Martin Heideger (1889–1976) believed that the starting place for philosophy should be studying the nature of the existence of the human being. In his book *Being and Time* (1962), he intended to provoke people to ask questions about the nature of human existence. He intended that such questioning would have the result of causing people to live a desirable life and "possess an authentic way of being."

Several French authors possessed existentialist beliefs. Parisian-born Gabriel Marcel (1889–1973) advocated that the purpose of philosophy was to elevate human thinking to the point of being able to accept divine revelation. He coined the term *existentialism* in order to characterize the thought of Sartre and his lifelong friend and associate Simone de Beauvoir (1908–86). De Beauvoir, a Parisian existentialist author and feminist, penned *She Came to Stay* (1943) and *The Blood of Others* (1945). These works suggested that the viewpoint of someone else is necessary for an individual to have a self or be a subject. Jean-Paul Sartre, also a Paris native, popularized existentialism in his widely known 1946 lecture "Existentialism and Humanism." The lecture set out the main tenets of the movement. Taking Sartre's lead, existentialists rejected the pursuit of happiness, as it was believed to be nothing but a fantasy of the middle class. Sartre's existential thought can best be observed in his novels *Nausea* (1938), credited as the manifesto of existentialism, and *No Exit* (1943).

Existential thought became further disseminated through Sartre's colleagues, who included Maurice Merleau-Ponty (1908–61) and Albert Camus (1913–60). Merleau-Ponty sought to provide a new understanding of sensory phenomena and a redefinition of the relationship between subject and object and between the self and the world. Perhaps the most influential and well-known 20th-century existential writers, Sartre and Camus, also took part in the French Resistance, having been galvanized by the atrocities of World War II. Although the only self-professed existentialist was Sartre, the other thinkers associated with the movement are associated with it because of their similar beliefs. Camus wrote novels concerned with the existential problem of finding meaning in an otherwise meaningless world and taking responsibility for creating human meaning. He advocated that the chief virtue of humanity was the ability to rebel against the corrupt and philosophically undesirable status quo.

From the 1940s on, the movement influenced a diversity of other disciplines, including theology, and thinkers such as Rudolf Bultmann (1884–1976), Paul Tillich (1886–1965), and Karl Barth (1886–1968), whose 1933 biblical commentary on the Epistle to the Romans inspired the "Kierkegaard revival" in theology. The principles of existentialism entered psychology through the 1965 work of Karl Jaspers (1883–1969), *General Psychopathology,* and influenced other psychologists such as Ludwig Binswanger (1881–1966), Otto Rank (1884–1939), R. D. Laing (1927–89), and Viktor Frankl (1905–97). Other writers who expressed existentialist themes included the marquis de Sade (1740–1814), Henrik Ibsen (1828–1906), Hermann Hesse (1877–1962), Franz Kafka (1883–1924), Samuel Beckett (1906–89), Ralph Ellison (1914–94), Marguerite Duras (1914–96), and Jack Kerouac (1922–69). The work of artists Alberto Giacometti (1901–66), Jackson Pollock (1912–56), Arshile Gorky (1904–48), and Willem de Kooning (1904–97) and filmmakers Jean-Luc Godard (b. 1930) and Ingmar Bergman (1918–2007) also became understood in existential terms.

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Christopher M. Cook

expatriates, U.S.

Since the beginning of the U.S. republic, artists and writers have felt the need to study, paint, and write in Europe while maintaining their U.S. citizenship. For these artists, insecure about their young nation's rawness, Europe long represented true civilization, steeped in aristocratic traditions. Before 1850 some U.S. painters trained in Europe, but few stayed beyond their apprenticeships.

By the middle of the 19th century, some found it more advantageous to their careers to stay. John Singer Sargent and Mary Cassatt spent major parts of their painting careers in Europe; James McNeill Whistler, who left for Europe at age 21, never returned home. By 1904 the California impressionist Guy Rose observed that Giverny, where Claude Monet lived and painted, was overrun by American artists.

Affluent writers like Henry James and Edith Wharton began to establish residences in Europe during the late 19th century. By 1900 Ezra Pound had installed himself in London, and shortly afterward Gertrude and Leo Stein left Baltimore for Paris, where they became important patrons of modern art.

U.S. artists understood that they could only keep up with trends in modern art (cubism, fauvism) by going to Paris, and in 1913 two of them, Stanton Macdonald-Wright and Morgan Russell, created a movement called synchromism, which applied methods of musical composition to painting by using a color wheel. It was the only school of modern painting up to that time founded by Americans.

St. Louis–born poet T. S. Eliot made his home in London after 1914. By the 1920s artists including Man Ray and Thomas Hart Benton and musicians George Gershwin and Virgil Thompson were living in Europe for extended periods. The flow of writers accelerated greatly as politically committed writers came to Europe to assist the British in World War I, and others, who had been too young for military service, arrived once the war ended.

Many gravitated to the salon led by Gertrude Stein, who coined the phrase *the lost generation* to describe them. This was a generation disgusted with U.S. materialism and prudery, including Prohibition;

Gertrude Stein was the preeminent host to expatriate American writers and artists in Paris in the 1920s.

they included Ernest Hemingway, F. Scott Fitzgerald, John Dos Passos, E.E. Cummings, Djuna Barnes, and Thornton Wilder.

Expatriates even had a meeting place in Paris at Shakespeare and Company, a bookstore run by the American Sylvia Beach. The literary critic Malcolm Cowley described expatriation during the 1920s as a rite of passage based on the idea that "the creative artist is . . . independent of all localities, nations and classes."

African Americans particularly found Europe to be a refuge from racial discrimination. HARLEM RENAISSANCE writers Langston Hughes, Claude McKay, and Countee Cullen lived in Europe during the 1920s, as did dancer Josephine Baker. Many expatriates were forced home by the GREAT DEPRESSION; scandalous writer Henry Miller was an exception, spending the decade in France.

After WORLD WAR II writers continued to expatriate. African Americans Richard Wright and James Baldwin traveled to avoid continuing bigotry; others such as Irwin Shaw, William Styron, and several beat writers left to avoid the excesses of the U.S. RED SCARE. Writers, trying like many other Americans to avoid the military draft, sat out the Vietnam War in Canada and Europe. Now, as historian Michel Fabre notes, expatriation has come to refer to "living abroad" and has none of the characteristics of exile.

See also ART AND ARCHITECTURE; LITERATURE.

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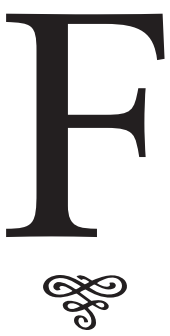
DAVID MILLER PARKER



fascism

Fascism was a major political belief in the early 20th century, and the word was used officially by a number of political parties, notably the Italian Fascist Party. The name itself was derived from the *fasces*, the axe in a bundle of rods that represented the power and authority of ancient Rome. In 1922 the Fascist Party came to power in Italy, and the Nazi Party became a part of the German government in 1933. During World War II a large number of Fascist movements were installed either by Nazi Germany or with its support. Outside Europe and after World War II, some pseudo-Fascist groups also operated, mainly on the political fringes, with some mainstream political parties and politicians often accused of fascist tendencies by their enemies.

Fascist movements have tended to be formulated around four major ideas: totalitarianism, economic socialism, extreme nationalism, and xenophobia. Most successful fascist movements have tended to be formed around charismatic leaders who preside over a totalitarian state wherein people are indoctrinated into believing in the leader and trusting in his judgment—fascist leaders have invariably been male. On an economic level, fascist movements have tended to adopt socialist policies and have generally been both antiliberal and anticonservative in their views. On the issue of nationalism fascist movements surround themselves with symbols of national identity such as flags, badges, and the adoption of certain historical characters and events as important in the creation of national identity. The extreme xenophobia of fascist movements has often led to racism, racist ideas, and racist violence.

Although many historians see fascism as a reaction to an existing political situation, others see it as a historical trend, possibly with its origins from the Jacobins at the time of the French Revolution. Certainly Benito Mussolini, Adolf Hitler, and other fascists dated many of their ideas from the late 19th century. There had been a development of racist ideas by the French diplomat Joseph-Arthur, comte de Gobineau (1816–82), who is credited with the modern concept of racism. This gained greater impetus with the ideas of Social Darwinism, in which evolution made the white or Aryan the most developed form of human. This was to be an influence on Friedrich Nietzsche, composer Richard Wagner, and the early fascists in Europe.

Although certain elements of the beliefs of the Jacobins were similar to the policies of some fascists, the mainstream European fascist movement has its origins in the reaction against the events of 1789 and the revolutions in 1830 and especially 1848 as well as the fear of the spread of ideas from the Paris Commune of 1870. Some commentators felt that the people who were rising to power were not as worthy as the old aristocracy, and Darwinism was used to argue that they were at a lower stage of biological evolution. In spite of this many fascists saw themselves as "revolutionary" in a noncommunist manner. More mainstream fascism viewed the revolutionary movements as tending to have their origins in the cities, and the peasants in the countryside, viewed as more racially pure, should be the true

inheritors of the new society. By the late 19th century and the rise of anti-Semitism, it was clear that many protofascists were becoming increasingly anti-Jewish, although a few certainly rejected such ideas. These disagreements can be seen in the eventual implementation of fascist policies. Although Nazi Germany had an avowed policy of anti-Semitism, which led to the Holocaust, Fascist Italy did not introduce anti-Jewish measures until 1938, and this may have been as much to ensure an Italian-German military alliance as for ideological reasons.

FASCIST GOVERNMENTS

The first fascist party to come to power was the National Fascist Party (Partito Nazionale Fascista) in Italy. It was led by Benito Mussolini, who became the prime minister of Italy after his March on Rome in 1922. The actions of Mussolini inspired those of some other politicians in Europe, and during the 1920s, especially the last years of the decade, a number of mainstream political figures announced their support for Mussolini. In Germany the Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei (National Socialist German Workers' Party, which became the Nazi Party) of Adolf Hitler began to emerge as a political force in the late 1920s. It had links with Mussolini, and Hitler usually flattered his Italian counterpart, even though he secretly had little time for him. Supporters in France were grouped in the Faisceau of Georges Valois, which operated from 1925 until 1928.

However, it was the onset of the Great Depression in 1929 that was to provide the fascist movements in Europe and elsewhere with their greatest number of recruits. The failure of mainstream political parties to deal with the social legacy of World War I, rising unemployment, and the growing despair of many people throughout the world led to support for extremist political viewpoints, from the left and the right. This terminology persisted with right-wing politicians often denounced by their opponents as "fascists." Several political figures, worried about the rising influence of communism, sought out a fascist alternative.

On January 30, 1933, mainstream German political parties invited Hitler to become chancellor of the country. He rapidly used his position to take over the government, which was confirmed when new elections to the Reichstag on March 3 led to the Nazis' dominating the new parliament and expelling the communists. Over succeeding months the Nazis took more and more power, leading to the banning of other political parties on July 14. On December 1 the Nazi "revolution," as it was called, saw the Nazi Party and the German state merged.

Other fascist parties were emerging at the same time. Those who came to run their countries included the Vaterländische Front (Fatherland Front) of Engelbert Dollfuss in Austria; the União Nacional (National Union) of António de Oliveira Salazar in Portugal; and the Elefterofronoi (Party of Free Believers) of Ioannis Metaxas in Greece. The Nasjonal Samling (National Union) of Vidkun Quisling in Norway had much support in the early 1930s, although its membership dwindled in the late 1930s. Quisling himself was to collaborate with the Germans in World War II. In Spain in 1933 the Falange (Phalanx) was founded by the young and charismatic José Antonio Primo de Rivera. Although it never came to power in its own right—indeed, Primo de Rivera was killed at the start of the Spanish civil war in 1936—its members did ally themselves to Francisco Franco, and many of them served in the Spanish governments during the 1940s, 1950s, and 1960s.

OTHER EUROPEAN FASCIST MOVEMENTS

With many of the early fascist thinkers being French, there was a major fascist movement in France. Much of it centered on the writings of Charles Maurras (1868–1952). He believed that a union of the monarchy and the church could save Europe from anarchy and formed his movement, Action Française (French Action). The Croix de Feu (Cross of Fire), later renamed the Parti Social Français (French Social Party), was led by Colonel François de La Rocque and became one of the major right-wing parties in 1936–38, with a membership between 700,000 and 1.2 million. By 1939 these included 3,000 mayors, 1,000 municipal councilors, and 12 parliamentary deputies. In neighboring Belgium the Rexist Party of Léon Degrelle won 10 percent of the parliamentary seats in the 1936 elections.

In eastern Europe the violently anti-Semitic Falanga of Bolesław Piasecki in Poland was an important political party but did not manage to dislodge the government of Józef Piłsudski. In Hungary the Nyilaskeresztes Párt (Arrow Cross Party) of Ferenc Szálasi was largely ineffectual until 1944, when Szálasi was appointed puppet prime minister of Hungary by Admiral Miklós Horthy. Romania also had its own fascist movement, known as the Garda de Fier (Iron Guard), which also operated under the names the League of Christian Defense, the Legion of the Archangel Michael, and All for the Fatherland. These groups, led by Corneliu Codreanu, were disbanded in 1938, with Codreanu himself arrest-

ed in the following year. There were also fascist groups in the Baltic, with Viktor Arajs in Latvia and Vihtori Kosola, whose Lapua Movement tried to stage a coup d'état in Finland in 1932.

As well as fascist movements within countries, there were also groups that recruited from exiles. The Ustaša (Insurgence) movement was led by Ante Pavelić from Croatia, who fled Yugoslavia in 1929 and only returned after the German invasion in 1941. Similarly, there were many Russian fascist groups whose recruits were White Russian exiles. Some of these operated from China, with branches in Manchuria and in Shanghai. Others had support from Russians in the United States. The largest of these were the Russian Fascist Party (VFP) of Konstantin Rodzaevsky and the All Russian Fascist Organization (VFO) of Anastasy Vonsiatsky.

NON-EUROPEAN FASCISM

Outside Europe several fascist groups were founded in the Middle East and in South Africa. The Syrian People's Party, the Syrian National Socialist Party, the "Phalange" youth movement in Lebanon, the Futuwa movement of Iraq, and the Young Egypt movement also had fascist sympathies. In South Africa fascists found ready recruits among the Afrikaner community, which had become particularly politically active with the 100th anniversary of the Great Trek.

The military dictatorship of Admiral Tojo Hideki in Japan was also regarded as fascist, and many secret societies, pressure groups, and the like were fascist in their views and their organization. These included the Anti-Red Corps, the Great Japan Youth Party, the Greater Japan National Essence Association, the Imperial Way Faction, the New Japan League, and the Taisho Sincerity League. In China the Blue Shirts certainly absorbed some fascist ideas.

In the United States the Ku Klux Klan and the Black Legion were important mass movements that attracted many fascists. There were also the supporters of Father Charles Coughlin, whose radio broadcasts attracted widespread attention throughout the country. He became increasingly pro-Nazi and anti-Semitic and had the support of those members of the German communities in the United States who were members of the German-American Bund, which organized youth camps and mass rallies until 1941. In Latin America there were several indigenous fascist movements such as the Unión Revolucionaria (Revolutionary Union), which came to power when Luis Sánchez Cerro became president of Peru in 1930–31. Other groups included the Ação Integralista Brasileira (Brazilian Integralist Action Party), which had up to 200,000 members until it was suppressed in 1938; the Nacis of Jorge González von Mareés in Chile; and the Gold Shirts of Nicolás Rodríguez in Mexico. In addition, there were people from of the German community who were members of local branches of the Nazi Party.

FASCISM DURING WORLD WAR II

When the German army and its allies conquered much of Europe during the first part of World War II, there was a flourishing of fascist movements, and many prewar fascists held government positions. Quisling became prime minister of Norway in 1940, and from 1942 to 1945 his name became the byword for collaborators, although there is much evidence that Quisling himself was not averse to challenging German "orders." In France the regime of Marshal Pétain incorporated many prewar fascists, and there was also a resurgence in fascism in Belgium and the Netherlands. In Denmark a very small group of fascists formed themselves into the Danmarks Nationalsocialistiske Arbejderparti (Danish National Socialist Workers' Party). Members of the German minority in eastern Europe were prominent in their support for the Nazi Party. In Latvia Viktor Arajs gave his name to the "Arajs Commando," a militia group that had been involved in the murder of several thousand Jews.

In contrast, in Allied countries World War II saw the internment of fascists. Senior members of the British Union of Fascists were arrested when war broke out, and the movement was banned in 1940. In South Africa some members of pro-German organizations were also imprisoned. Pressure from Britain and also the United States after 1941 led to crackdowns on Nazi and fascist movements throughout South America.

After World War II fascism was largely discredited in Europe, and it was many years before neofascist groups started emerging in Britain, France, Italy, and Austria, with small gatherings of neofascists in Germany. After the collapse of communism in eastern Europe fascist groups started organizing in the former East Germany, Romania, and Russia. In Austria, France, and Italy they had electoral success, but they remained on the fringe in most other countries. Outside Europe movements such as that of Juan Perón in Argentina had obvious similarities with European fascist parties, as did the military governments in other parts of Latin America, particularly in Stroessner's Paraguay and Augusto Pinochet's Chile. Fascist groups also continued to operate in South Africa until the establishment of black majority rule in 1994.

FASCISM TRENDS

The strength of fascist movements relied heavily on unquestioning support for a specific leader. Hitler's title, "Führer," and Mussolini's title, "Duce," led to Franco's resurrecting the old Spanish title *caudillo*. This lack of internal opposition, on account of total ruthlessness in suprressing it, clearly helped them form relatively successful totalitarian regimes. Oswald Mosley led the British fascist movement unchallenged during the 1930s and again after World War II. However, when he moved to France British fascists were left without a strong leader, and their movement fragmented.

Some fascist leaders, such as José Antonio Primo de Rivera in Spain and Oswald Mosley in Britain, were aristocrats who were well connected. However, many other fascist leaders were the children of government employees. Hitler's father was a customs official, Franco's father was a naval paymaster, Himmler's father was a schoolmaster, and Ferenc Szálasi's father was a soldier. Of the self-employed, Goebbels's father was an accountant, Mussolini's father was a blacksmith, and Salazar was the only one from a very poor background.

In economic terms many fascists had conservative economic programs, getting support from small businessmen, especially small farmers and shopkeepers. However, most fascist groups introduced economic policies that tended to benefit the wealthier people rather than their working-class supporters. Their support for big businesses, many of which had supported the fascist groups before they came to power, was shown by lavish government contracts, especially war contracts, making wealthy industrialists even richer. Hitler regarded much of his economic policy as being socialist, and he practiced widespread corporatism by organizing the major sectors of the economy into corporations. By contrast, the working class was hurt often with falls in real wages and reduction in the power of trade unions.

On the issue of nationalism, Primo de Rivera wrote, "Spain is not a territory, neither is it an aggregate of men and women—Spain is, above all, an indivisible destiny." This echoes Hitler's slogan "Ein Reich, Ein Volk, Ein Führer." Certainly one of the major traditions in fascism involves invoking the identity of one's own country, often idolizing a particular historical period when the country in question dominated its neighbors. Fascist Italy took on much of the symbolism and indeed some of the terminology of ancient Rome. The invasion of Albania in April 1939 was, as far as many Italians were concerned, Italy taking back a territory it had controlled in ancient and indeed in medieval times, when much of it was a part of the Venetian Empire.

In Germany Hitler harked back to the power of medieval Germany, with the "Third Reich" being seen as a logical successor to the "First Reich"—the medieval Holy Roman Empire—and the "Second Reich"—the German Empire built by Bismarck. Nazi Germany adopted as its heroes men like Charlemagne, Goethe, and Frederick the Great. The nationalist symbolism adopted by French fascists tended to involve an almost cult worshipping of Joan of Arc and Bertrand du Guesclin, who both fought the English during the Hundred Years' War. It is no accident that most of the fascist heroes from history were military leaders, and most fascist groups adopted the trappings of paramilitary organizations, such as the adoption of the Blackshirt uniform in Britain. The Germans used brown shirts, and most other fascist groups adopted blue shirts. All developed a clear, simple party symbol: the fasces, the swastika, the flash of lightning, an arrow, or a variation on the standard cross.

The last characteristic of many fascist groups was xenophobia and in many cases racism. Jean Renaud from French Solidarity wanted to prevent foreign migrants' turning France into what he called "a depository for trash." Others adopted similar policies, especially against Jews and Gypsies (Roma), who were the targets of Nazis and fascists from many other countries. Nazis also regarded Slavs as racially inferior, as Croatian fascists did the Serbs. Before World War II there was organized repression by the Nazis of Jews, Gypsies, and other groups. During the war itself the Nazis began a systematic extermination of these people in the Holocaust. Nazi propaganda also made frequent derogatory mentions of African Americans, and many fascists, especially postwar ones, have been antiblack. Some of the anti-Jewish beliefs were encapsulated in the views of Christianity of the period, viewing the Jews as the murderers of Jesus. In this regard it is curious that although many fascist ideologists tended to be agnostic or atheist in their views on religion, most European fascists and the vast majority of their Latin American counterparts were Christians and appealed to Christianity to justify many of their views.

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Justin Corfield

The Federal Reserve building in Washington, D.C. Woodrow Wilson signed the Federal Reserve Act into law in 1913. According to many historians the Federal Reserve became the most significant economic legislation between the Civil War and the New Deal.

Federal Reserve banking system, U.S.

The Federal Reserve is the system of banking used since 1913 in the United States. Until the Federal Reserve Act of 1913, the U.S. banking system fell under the domain of the Civil War United States Banking Act. Historically, the United States used a central banking system. Federal statute legislated the First Bank of the United States in 1791 and the Second Bank in 1816. A free banking era without a central bank reigned from 1837 to 1862, followed by the 1863 National Banking Act.

The panic of 1907, however, revealed the weaknesses of the Civil War legislation and, mixed with the national impetus to improve government that came with the progressive era, a push began to organize a more appropriate institutional structure for a national bank.

The panic of 1907 illustrated the inflexibility of monetary policy under the Civil War–era structure. Monetary reserves were located in New York City and a handful of other larger cities. The location of reserves made it difficult to mobilize and distribute funds in geographically appropriate locations. The progressive response, familiar in many other areas of governance, gained momentum in the banking system, and a demand for a more responsive and organized way of dealing with monetary issues blossomed. In 1913 Democrats and Republicans disagreed over the institutional structure necessary to address the difficulties revealed by the Panic of 1907. Republicans preferred a third national bank of the United States. The bank would be owned and run by the commercial banking community, who would issue a central currency. On the other hand, the Democratic solution emerged from the Pujo Committee. Arsène P. Pujo argued that the power of financial monopolies rested in the hidden vaults of Wall Street. Hence, Democrats called for a system that was more decentralized, privately owned, and free from the control of the bankers of Wall Street.

Woodrow Wilson signed the Federal Reserve Act into law in 1913. According to many historians, the Federal Reserve became the most significant economic legislation between the Civil War and the New Deal. The Federal Reserve system that resulted carried the United States through World War I and heralded progress of the United States toward the modern economic age. At the end of the day, however, the legislation failed in its primary purpose—preventing economic depression.

Out of the legislation of 1913 came a Federal Reserve Board. The board members were appointed by the president and oversaw a nationwide network of 12 regional reserve districts—each serviced by its own central bank: Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Cleveland, Richmond, Atlanta, Chicago, St. Louis, Minneapolis, Kansas City, Dallas, and San Francisco. In turn the regional banks were owned by member financial institutions. The Federal Reserve Board assured a great degree of public control over the regional centers. Finally, the Federal Reserve Act empowered the board to issue "Federal Reserve Notes" as legal tender in the United States.

The Federal Reserve (Fed) also engages in a number of responsibilities necessary for economic well-being. It supervises all member banks and creates the mechanisms needed to control monetary policy. The Fed also controls the amount of currency produced and destroyed in close partnership with the Mint and Bureau of Engraving and Printing.

An important final point with regard to the Federal Reserve is its status as an independent agency. The Second Bank of the United States, during the 1830s, evolved into a political weapon used by Jackson and his Democratic supporters against the Whig Party. The intent and result of the 1913 legislation was to make the Federal Reserve independent of the executive branch.

The decisions of the Federal Reserve are subject to the guidelines of the Freedom of Information Act, but the actions taken by the Fed need not be ratified by the president or anyone else in the executive branch. The result has been an independence that allows the chair of the Fed and the Federal Reserve Board the latitude to implement far-reaching policies instead of the knee-jerk reactions common to partisan politics. Oversight of each Federal Reserve Bank is provided by the overall Board of Governors, who are appointed by the president and confirmed by the Senate. Members of the board are limited to one 14-year term and can only be removed by the president of the United States for cause.

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Matthew H. Wahlert

Flint sit-down strike (1936–1937)

During the Great Depression rapid advances in industrial technology allowed employers to reduce their workforces while demanding increased production; layoffs, speed-ups, and reduced pay burdened destitute auto workers who were overworked, underpaid, harassed, and threatened with unjustified termination. At 10:00 p.m. on December 30, 1936, workers at Fisher Body Plant Number One in Flint, Michigan, noticed rail men loading machine dies into railcars, an indication that General Motors planned to move their jobs to nonunion plants.

In response the employees began a nonviolent, legal work stoppage by sitting down near valuable equipment, a relatively new organizing tactic. They then refused to leave the plant. Previously, protesters who had chosen the picket line as a means of demonstration were beaten by local police, the Black Legion, or National Guardsmen in corporate violation of New Deal legislation; by remaining inside and blocking doors and windows, the strikers were assured a high degree of safety. Shortly thereafter workers shut down Plant Number Two.

On January 11, 1937, the Women's Emergency Brigade, consisting of wives and supporters of the men locked inside Plant Number Two, delivered food to the strikers. The Flint police, at the urging of General Motors, attempted to storm the plant; tear gas and bullets were answered with a hail of auto door hinges, bolts, and streams of cold water from fire hoses. The ensuing retreat came to be known as the "Battle of Bull's Run," for police were commonly referred to as "bulls."

By January 29, 1937, strike strategists floated a rumor that the union would try to take over Plant Number Six while feigning an attack on Plant Number Nine. Company spies reported this plan, but guards and security personnel were unprepared for the union's real objective—Plant Number Four, General Motors'

largest producer of Chevrolet engines. Both diversions were successful, and on February 1, 1937, union men easily took control of Plant Number Four, paralyzing national production.

Frank Murphy, Michigan's prolabor governor, refused General Motors' request to break the strike with the intervention of National Guardsmen, and on February 11, 1937, day 44 of the sit-down, the company signed a contract with the United Auto Workers, recognizing the union as the sole bargaining agent for all members in all plants. Within two months of the "Strike Heard Around the World," the Wagner Act was passed, guaranteeing workers the right to bargain collectively.

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John Mayernik

Flores Magón, Ricardo

(1874–1922) *Mexican journalist*

Ricardo Flores Magón was an influential Mexican anarchist writer. He was born on September 16, 1874—the 64th anniversary of the proclamation of Mexico's independence from Spain—in San Antonio Eloxochitlán, Oaxaca, Mexico. His father was Teodoro Flores, a Zapotec Indian, and his mother was Margarita Magón, half Indian and half Spanish. Teodoro was a strong believer in the communal ownership of land, and his ideas influenced his sons Ricardo, Jesús, and Enrique.

When he was nine Ricardo started attending the Escuela Nacional Primaria in Mexico City. He proceeded to the Escuela Nacional Preparatora and on May 16, 1892, took part in a large demonstration against the Mexican president, Porfirio Díaz. The crowd of 15,000 demanded the end of the Díaz dictatorship, and many were arrested, with Ricardo Flores sentenced to five months in prison for sedition.

On his release, Ricardo started working as a proofreader for the *El Democrata* newspaper. In April 1893 the newspaper office was raided, and although most of the staff members were arrested, Ricardo managed to escape. In hiding for three months, he emerged to complete his law degree and become a lawyer. On August 7, 1900, he published the newspaper *Regeneracion* with the support of his brother Enrique. It was an overtly anarchist newspaper and was directly critical of the Diaz dictatorship. Ricardo Flores was hugely affected by his reading of the works of the Russian anarchist Peter Kropotkin. Some of his ideas can also be traced to Karl Marx and the Norwegian playwright Henrik Ibsen.

In 1901 Ricardo Flores got in trouble with the government by calling for the resignation of Mexican president Porfirio Díaz. Ricardo and his older brother, Jesus, were arrested on May 22 and sentenced to 12 months in prison for "insulting the president." They spent the next 11 months in jail, during which time their mother died. Both sons were refused permission to leave Belem Prison to see her before she died. *Regeneracion* was still being printed while the two brothers were in prison, but publication was finally suspended in October, when Díaz threatened to shoot Ricardo if it did not.

Released on April 30, 1902, Ricardo and his younger brother, Enrique, were both arrested on September 12 and sentenced by a military tribunal to four months in prison for "insulting the army." They were released on January 23, 1903. By this time, Díaz was tired of dealing with the Flores brothers and offered Ricardo a government position. However, he declined and started running the newspaper *El Hijo del Ahuizote,* which gained a circulation of 24,000. On April 16 Ricardo was again arrested and jailed until October. On June 9 the supreme court of Mexico banned the publication of any article by Ricardo Flores.

On their release in October 1904, Ricardo and Enrique decided to move to the United States and settled in San Antonio, Texas, to avoid being arrested again. There they issued a second version of *Regeneracion,* and in December 1904 a man forced his way into the Flores house and tried to stab Ricardo. Enrique saved his brother's life but was fined for assaulting the hired assassin, who was freed. Then came pressure on the local government from San Antonio businessmen, causing Flores to move to St. Louis, Missouri, where he issued a third version of the newspaper, with circulation rising to as high as 30,000. In 1905 he joined with others to form the organising junta of the Mexican Liberal Party.

Ricardo Flores had influenced many U.S. anarchists and on March 21, 1918, he was arrested under the Sedition Act for "obstructing the war effort." On August 15, after a trial held in camera, Ricardo was sentenced to 20 years in prison, and his colleague

Librado was sentenced to 15 years. They were then taken to McNeil Island Penitentiary. In the following year Ricardo was moved to Leavenworth Penitentiary in Kansas, with Librado also being transferred there in the following year. The 1920 U.S. federal census lists Ricardo Flores as aged 25 and eight months (rather than 45 and eight months), and his occupation is listed as "writer." Back in Mexico the president, Alvaro Obregón, had awarded the two men a pension, and in the following year the Mexican embassy in Washington, D.C., was instructed to intervene to gain the two men's release. This led to a strike in Mexico for Ricardo's release. On November 21, 1922, Ricardo's dead body was found in his cell. His death was suspicious, and there were bruise marks around his throat indicating that he may well have been strangled—many anarchists claim that he was murdered.

On the following day the Mexican chamber of deputies voted to pay all the costs for his burial in Mexico. His body was buried at the Rotonda de los Hombres Ilustres in Mexico City.

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Justin Corfield

Ford, Henry

(1863–1947) *automotive entrepreneur*

Henry Ford, the founder of the Ford Motor Company and the man who developed modern factory assembly lines for the mass production of his cars, was born on July 30, 1863, on a farm west of Detroit, Michigan. His father, William Ford, was born in Ireland, and his mother was born in Michigan, her parents having emigrated from Belgium.

As a teenager Ford became fascinated by mechanics, and by the time he was 15 he was well known for his ability to fix watches. His father had expected him to take over the family farm, but he left home to become an apprentice machinist, later returning to the farm, to which he brought some of his new-found skills using a Westinghouse portable steam engine. He then started working for Westinghouse. In 1891 Ford began as an engineer for the Edison Illuminating Company and two years later was appointed their chief engineer. In 1896 he developed the Quadricycle, a self-propelled vehicle that he test-drove.

In 1903 Ford and 11 others incorporated the Ford Motor Company, which led to the test-driving and then the production of the Model T Ford. It first appeared on October 1, 1908, and had the entire engine and transmission enclosed, as well as having the steering wheel on the left. They were offered for sale at $825, with the price dropping each year. Anxious to get skilled workers and retain them, he paid a wage of $5 per day from January 5, 1914, doubling the pay of many of his workers (who had previously received $2.34 per day). Previously, staff turnover was such that he had employed 300 men to fill 100 positions. He also reduced the working day from nine hours to eight, gaining himself great loyalty from his staff. The moving assembly belts in his factories had been introduced in the previous year, and Ford's factories in Detroit and then gradually elsewhere were producing cars so quickly and efficiently that sales passed 250,000 in 1914. Four years later it was reported that half of all cars in the United States were Model T Fords. Although the initial cars were available in several colors, they were soon all black in color, with the black paint being the quickest to dry, thereby again reducing costs. Ford was later to write that a customer could "have a car painted any color that he wants so long as it is black." By 1927 some 15,007,034 Model T Ford cars had been produced.

At the request of U.S. president Woodrow Wilson, in 1918 Ford contested the Senate seat for Michigan as a Democrat. He supported interventionism and proclaimed himself a strong supporter of the Ford Motor Company. Soon afterward he turned over the presidency of the Ford Motor Company to Edsel Ford, his son. However, he continued to take part in the running of the company, intervening from time to time. Ford had high moral values and frowned on heavy drinking and gambling by his workforce. He also was opposed to trade unions operating in his factories. This regularly led to battles between his private security guards and union organizers and their supporters.

With Ford's factories at River Rouge, Detroit, forming the world's largest industrial complex, he also started selling cars overseas and established assembly plants in the 1920s in Germany, Australia, India, and France. By 1929 there were dealerships on all six continents and even a factory constructed in the city of Gorky (modern-day Nizhny Novgorod) in the Soviet Union in 1929. The depression of the 1930s hurt the Ford Motor Company badly, but the Ford family managed to keep it going. He had a stroke in 1938, when

A row of completed "Tin Lizzies," or Model T automobiles, comes off the Ford assembly line in Detroit, Michigan, in 1917. Henry Ford's mass-production techniques brought about a revolution in transportation.

he once again turned the running of the company over to Edsel, and died on April 7, 1947. One of his most famous sayings was "History is bunk."

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Justin Corfield

Franco, Francisco

(1892–1975) *Spanish dictator*

The man who led the nationalists to victory during the Spanish civil war and governed Spain until his death in 1975, Francisco Franco Bahamonde was the longest-serving dictator in Europe in the 20th century, narrowly eclipsing the record set by his neighbor, Portuguese dictator António de Oliveira Salazar.

Francisco Franco Bahamonde was born in 1892 in El Ferrol, near Corunna on the Atlantic coast of Spain. It was the country's most important naval base, and his father, Nicolas, worked in the pay corps in the naval arsenal, as had his father before him. Franco's father was

a gambler and drinker, so the upbringing of Francisco Franco and his four siblings was left to their mother, María, who raised the children as devout Roman Catholics. Franco was six when the Spanish-American War broke out, and it was not long before he saw what was left of the once-proud Spanish navy limp back into El Ferrol following the loss of the Philippines, Cuba, and Puerto Rico. Franco's application to the naval academy was rejected, so he went to the Infantry Training College at the Alcazar in Toledo, near Madrid.

There Franco was initially the smallest boy in his class, but he completed his time there in 1910, the youngest in his graduation year. Commissioned as a lieutenant, he went to Morocco, where he served in the Regulares. This unit, a forerunner of the Spanish foreign legion, was involved in some of the toughest combat against Abd el-Krim. Promoted to major at the age of 23, Franco was badly wounded in the stomach but miraculously survived. A later account had him threatening to shoot the doctor when the medic decided not to evacuate him because his wound was regarded as too serious.

Returning to Morocco in 1921, Franco led a brilliant action near Melilla, a Spanish-held town on the Mediterranean coast, and was promoted to lieutenant-colonel and then gazetted full colonel soon afterward. In October 1923 Franco was asked by King Afonso XIII to escort him when the royal party toured Spanish Morocco. Three years later Franco was promoted by a special decree to the rank of brigadier general, making him, at the age of 33, not only the youngest general in Spain but also the youngest general in Europe since Napoleon.

In 1927 the Spanish finally announced the defeat of Abd el-Krim, and Franco was appointed to head the General Military Academy in Saragossa. The aim of the academy was to create a new Spanish army, and this enabled Franco to inspect a training school at Leipzig. Franco was courted by the politician Primo de Rivera to stage a coup against King Alfonso XIII, but Franco declined. Primo de Rivera died soon afterward, and when the king visited the academy at Saragossa he publicly embraced Franco and gave the school the right to fly the royal standard. In April 1931 he abdicated the throne, and Spain became a republic.

The first elections during the republic saw a left-wing government come to power. The new government wanted to reduce the influence of the army, and one of the leaders of the republic, Manuel Azana, ordered the closure of the Saragossa Academy. In 1932 there was a plan to stage a military coup, but it never happened. In the following year's elections, a right-wing coalition government was elected. By now Franco's brother-in-law, Ramón Serrano Súñer, was a rising politician, and he helped Franco in his next assignment. Opposing the conservative government, 40,000 miners in Asturias in the north of Spain went on strike, and Franco was sent to put down this revolt. He used Moorish soldiers and brutally crushed the miners' revolt—over 1,000 people died, and many more were thrown into prison.

Many Spaniards were worried by the treatment of the miners and also by the rise of Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany. In February 1936 the elections saw a new left-wing government elected, and the military prepared to stage a coup to bring down this Popular Front government. The new republican government, worried about Franco, posted him to the Canary Islands. On July 18 Franco was flown to Spanish Morocco, and the army there rose to support him as the generals openly proclaimed their aim to bring down the Spanish government.

With the outbreak of the Spanish civil war the republicans tried to prevent Franco and his men from reaching the Spanish mainland, but an airlift was organized by the Italians and Germans. Franco then marched his men and their mainland supporters toward Madrid. By the end of July Franco's supporters, the nationalists, controlled a large swath of territory in northern Spain, a pocket around Cádiz, Seville, and Córdoba in the south, and Spanish Morocco. Franco nearly reached Madrid but diverted his attack to rescue the besieged nationalists at the Alcazar in Toledo. Although this action was highlighted as an "honorable" action in the foreign press, it did allow the republicans to reinforce Madrid and thus prolong the war for another three years.

In October 1936 Franco, by then one of the leading commanders of the rebellion, was proclaimed the supreme commander of the nationalist forces and the chief of state of a nationalist government with its capital at Burgos in northern Spain. The original leader, General Sanjurjo, had been killed in a plane crash some months earlier. Over the next three years of the war, Franco emerged as a political figure who united his forces into a unified command structure. The Falange (Spanish fascists), monarchists, Carlists, moderate Catholics, and conservatives put aside their not inconsiderable differences to face the republicans, whose divisions and factional disputes became legendary.

With support from Germany and Italy, Franco's soldiers gradually captured more and more territory from the republicans. Adopting the title *caudillo*, he portrayed the war as a crusade by which he was to save Spain from Soviet communism, anarchists, and Freemasons. Franco remained a conservative military commander and avoided taking risks. As a result, he was

accused by his own supporters of holding back from delivering a decisive military thrust to allow his men to totally destroy the republicans by attrition. On May 18, 1939, Franco issued his last communiqué of the war, and on the following day he presided over a victory parade through Madrid.

Less than four months after the end of the Spanish civil war, World War II broke out, and with the early German victories it was expected that Franco would declare Spanish support for the Axis. Even after Italy's entering the war and the defeat of France, Spain remained neutral. On October 12, 1940, Adolf Hitler traveled to the French-Spanish frontier to meet Franco. Franco left San Sebastian for the 30-minute train journey, which took three hours. Later Franco was to use this to illustrate his reluctance, but it seems more probable that it was to do with the dilapidated state of the railway stock. The meeting went badly. Apparently, Franco wanted control of the French North African colonies as his price for involvement in the war. Franco also opposed the Germans' establishing bases in Spain, but he did allow submarines to refuel. He also allowed Spanish volunteers to serve on the Russian front and allowed the formation of the "Blue Division," as they were known.

Franco's caution meant that he did not attack Gibraltar, which he could probably have easily captured and which the Germans wanted him to take. However, he did take control of the international city of Tangier—which was returned to international rule at the conclusion of the war. Although Franco had remained neutral in 1945, Franco's government was treated as a pariah. In December 1946 the United Nations General Assembly condemned Spain and urged its members to withdraw their ambassadors from Madrid. It was not until 1955 that Spain was admitted to the United Nations, and it did not join the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) until 1982.

Gradually, Franco changed the overt nature of his regime. Although Franco dominated the political scene, the Spanish economy was devastated, and unemployment and underemployment were widespread. Franco was anxious to get economic aid from the United States and softened his stance in 1947 by holding a referendum on the "Law of Succession" that established Franco as a dictator acting as a regent of the Kingdom of Spain. It was, however, the first time the Spanish people had voted in 11 years.

Franco also started courting Argentina, which was the only country that had flouted the United Nations, request to withdraw ambassadors in 1946. Argentina at that time had not had an ambassador in Madrid, but after the UN vote it hastily filled the vacancy. Soon afterward it was announced that Juan Perón, president of Argentina, and his wife, Eva, would visit Madrid. Eventually, it was Eva who made the state visit, and this signaled the end of Spain's international isolation.

In 1969 Franco finally named his successor as Prince Juan Carlos de Borbón, with the title prince of Spain. Technically, the father of Juan Carlos had a greater claim, but this also annoyed Carlists, who had supported Franco in the civil war. Four years later Franco gave up the post of head of government but remained head of state and commander in chief of the armed forces. He died on November 20, 1975, and was buried behind the high altar at the basilica at the Valle de los Caidos (Valley of the Fallen), a church carved into a mountain that officially serves as a memorial for the dead of both sides of the civil war but has long symbolized the nationalist cause.

See also Rif rebellion.

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Justin Corfield

French mandate in Syria and Lebanon

Following the defeat and the subsequent collapse of the Ottoman Empire in 1918, the geographic area of greater Syria came under French mandate rule as stipulated by the League of Nations in 1920. Under French rule, the mandate authority, in addition to expanding the Ottoman Wilayat of Lebanon at the expense of Syria, divided Syria into four new separate districts: Aleppo, Latikia, Damascus, and Jebel Druze. French rule in Syria faced violence, rebellions, and political opposition by the Syrians, who never accepted French domination

The country now known as Lebanon was created on September 1, 1920, by enlarging the Ottoman Wilayat of Lebanon to include previously Syrian-held territory north and south of its borders. The entity of greater Lebanon (1920–26), as the new state was called, was fashioned after French republican ideals with a constitution and an executive president elected by a

parliament. In 1932 a census was conducted that resulted in the confirmation of 18 religious sects in the country. In an attempt to provide better representation in the government, the results of the 1932 census were incorporated in Article 95 of the constitution, establishing a confessional system.

The Kingdom of Syria (1918–20) was declared soon after the Ottoman army had been defeated in 1918. Headed by the Hashemite king Faysal (also Feisal) I, the kingdom rejected the French mandate. The opposition to French rule did not end with the demise of the Hashemite Kingdom of Syria. On the contrary, it was fortified by a strong nationalist sentiment, and rebellions periodically erupted throughout the mandate years; these culminated in the Great Arab Rebellion of 1936, which resulted in the French bombardment of Damascus.

In 1940 during World War II, the French overseas territories were controlled by the pro-Nazi Vichy French government. In 1941 British and Free French forces overthrew the Vichy forces and granted Syria and Lebanon nominal independence. In 1942 parliamentary elections in Syria brought the nationalist National Bloc to power; it began negotiating for independence with the French government. In Lebanon the political elite agreed on a formula to distribute power under the National Pact of 1943. With U.S. and Soviet recognition, Syrian independence was granted in 1943. Lebanon was also granted independence the same year, but French troops remained stationed in both countries until 1946. Syria celebrated its independence day on April 17, 1946, while Lebanon celebrated independence day on November 22, 1943, and marked withdrawal day on April 17, 1946.

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Ramziabou Zeineddine

French West Africa (Afrique occidentale française)

French West Africa came into being in 1895 when France decided to consolidate its African holdings. Initially, French West Africa was a temporary combination of Senegal, French Guinea (now Guinea), French Sudan (now Mali), and Côte d'Ivoire. In 1904 it became permanent, with territories including Dahomey (now Benin), French Guinea, French Sudan, Côte d'Ivoire, Mauretania, Niger, Senegal, and Upper Volta (now Burkina Faso). The federation was ruled by a governor-general first from Saint-Louis and then, after 1902, from Dakar, both in Senegal. The federation supported Vichy France during World War II before accepting the Free French in November 1942.

The federation occupied an area of 4,689,000 square kilometers, most of which was desert or semidesert in the interior of Niger, Sudan, and Mauretania. One of the largest colonial possessions in Africa, the federation reached from westernmost Africa at Cape Verde to deep within the Sahara. Population at its creation was over 10 million. When the federation dissolved, its population was about 25 million.

West Africa was not a primitive area when the Europeans arrived. Precolonial empires and states included Ghana, Mali, Songhai, and Hausa. The precolonial era was also a time when Islam expanded into West Africa. The Europeans entered and disrupted a highly complex society.

The slave trade in West Africa expanded greatly beginning in the late 16th century and continued to grow into the mid-19th century. By the 18th century the slave trade was an important ingredient in the European interest in Africa, especially for providing slaves to New World plantation economies. The increasing New World demand coincided with Islamic jihads and rivalries between the precolonial states. The capture and transfer of Africans into slavery became the dominant commerce for the Portuguese, then the Dutch, then the British and French. The British, Dutch, and Portuguese controlled the major slave ports between Ghana and the Cameroons. Africans also facilitated the slave trade.

The French early on regarded their African possessions as overseas provinces. The early efforts to colonize were unsuccessful, though, and in the mid-19th century interest shifted from colonization to mercantile prospects. Trade with the savanna of the interior coincided with the race for Africa of the late 19th century.

The Berlin Act of 1885 formalized the partition of Africa, including West Africa. By 1890 the French had signed treaties with African leaders that in theory authorized their annexation of much of western Sudan. Military superiority allowed the French to acquire large territories, most of it desert or otherwise worthless. The French did not turn to commercial development until early in the 20th century.

In the early 1890s France conquered Dahomey, made Côte d'Ivoire a formal colony, and obtained territory in Upper Volta. French Africa ran from Algeria to the Gulf of Guinea. The administrative unit known as French West Africa included the coastal colonies—Senegal, French Guinea, and Côte d'Ivoire—as well as the French Sudan, the large interior territory that included present-day Mali, Niger, and Burkina Faso. Dahomey became part of French West Africa in 1899. French Sudan became Haut Senegal-Niger in 1904. Mauretania became a protectorate in 1905. Upper Volta separated from Haut Sénégal–Niger in 1919, and the remaining Haut Sénégal–Niger became French Sudan once more. Mauretania became a colony and part of French West Africa in 1920. Niger separated from French Sudan in 1922.

Senegal was the only part of French West Africa with even token assimilation, and participation by Africans in French affairs was confined to Saint-Louis. Elsewhere in French West Africa, inhabitants were subjects, not citizens. The European French were increasingly skeptical about the ability of the Africans to become "suitable" French citizens. The assimilationist philosophy of the original exploration was gone by the time of the French West African Federation in 1895. Rather than allow local authority, the French established direct rule in the form of a governor-general taking his orders directly from the minister of colonies and the government in Paris. The governor-general relayed orders and financing to his lieutenant governors in the territories. Senegal had representative government as a residue of the original assimilationist impulse—citizens could represent the Senegalese in France.

The French effort to make the colony pay its own way led to their pushing the productivity of groundnuts and cotton where suitable. Extraction of valuable resources was also emphasized. Taxes forced the population into the cash economy. Inhabitants of areas where cash crops were impractical were encouraged to migrate to wage-earning areas. Servitude nearing slavery was tolerated in the interest of profitability. The French did provide at least a small amount of missionary effort as well as minimal educational and health services. The economic benefit accrued to the French only.

After World War I France relaxed its rule somewhat. Occasional revolts as well as a rediscovery of African tradition encouraged the easing of the slavery and aristocratic rule that had characterized the decades from the mid-1890s until the war. Tribal leaders were more respected after France reinstated them.

Initially loyal to Vichy France during World War II, French West Africa shifted to the Allies after the U.S. invasion of North Africa and the occupation of Dakar, Senegal, by the Allies. The Free French under General Charles de Gaulle took control of French West Africa.

When World War II was over, the Europeans were worn out, unwilling politically, and unable economically to resist demands for political reform in colonies that were increasingly an intolerable financial burden. The Europeans living in Africa were an issue. Also, the colonies provided valuable resources. But the benefits were far from matching the costs. And independence came in the 1960s. France also had an ego at stake in the postwar era. Defeat and occupation were not preconditions for an easy abandonment of the empire.

After World War II France's overseas colonies in Africa became overseas territories. Their inhabitants became eligible for French citizenship. They also received the right to organize political parties and have representation in the French legislature. When given the choice of complete independence or self-governance as members of the new French Community (France and its former colonies), which was intended for common defense, foreign policy, education, and other common matters, all elected to join the community except French Guinea, which became independent Guinea in October 1958. With the establishment of the French Community, French West Africa was no more.

The autonomous states of French Sudan, Senegal, Upper Volta, and Dahomey united into the Federation of Mali, named for the ancient African Mali Empire, in 1958. Upper Volta and Dahomey withdrew before the federation became operational in January 1960. By August 1960, when Senegal withdrew, the federation was defunct.

Postwar nationalism and the example of the newly independent English colonies, led by Ghana in 1957, produced a strong impulse toward independence in French West Africa. Between August and November 1960, Dahomey, Niger, Upper Volta, Côte d'Ivoire, Senegal, Mali, and Mauretania gained their independence.

See also Senghor, Leopold Sèdar.

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John H. Barnhill

Freud, Sigmund

(1856–1939) *founder of psychoanalysis*

Freud's theories had and still have great effects on psychiatry, psychology, and related fields. For many, Freud is the most influential intellectual of his age because his theories provided a completely new interpretation of culture, society, and history.

Freud was born into a Jewish family in Freiberg (today Príbor), Moravia, in the Austrian Empire (now the Czech Republic). His large family had only limited finances but made every effort to foster his intellect, which was apparent from an early age. In 1873 Freud entered the University of Vienna as a medical student, and in 1881 he received a doctorate. Beginning in 1882, he worked as a clinical assistant at the Central Hospital of Vienna. In 1885 Freud was appointed lecturer of neuropathology. At this time he also developed an interest in the pharmaceutical benefits of cocaine, which he pursued for several years. Despite some limited successes, the general outcome of this research was disastrous and tarnished Freud's medical reputation for some time.

In late 1885 Freud left Vienna and traveled to Paris to continue his studies under the guidance of the famous neurologist Jean-Martin Charcot. Charcot's work with patients classified as hysterics confronted Freud with the possibility that some, if not all, mental disorders might be caused by psychological factors rather than by organic diseases. This insight proved to be a turning point in Freud's career. Having been confronted with the use of hypnosis in therapy, Freud returned to Vienna in February 1886 with the seed of his revolutionary method implanted.

Several months after his return, Freud married the daughter of a prominent Jewish family, Martha Bernays. She was to bear him six children, one of whom, Anna Freud, was later to become a distinguished psychoanalyst in her own right. Freud then turned to a clinical practice in neuropsychology.

Shortly after his marriage Freud entered into a fruitful partnership with his fellow physician Josef Breuer. Their main cowritten work was *Studies in Hysteria,* published in 1895. This book contains a presentation of Freud's psychoanalytical method of free association. This pioneering method of psychoanalysis—a term Freud created in 1896—allowed him to arrive at numerous insights. Freud and Breuer discovered that for many of their patients the very act of verbalization of their problems seemed to provide some relief. Such a "talking cure" resulted in an abreaction.

Freud subsequently developed a theory of the human mind and clinical techniques for helping neurotics. The goal of Freudian therapy is to bring to consciousness repressed feelings. Typically, this is achieved by encouraging the patient to talk in free association and to repeat his or her dreams. Another important element of psychoanalysis is a lack of involvement by the analyst, which is meant to encourage the patient to project emotions onto the analyst. Through this transference the patient can resolve repressed conflicts. Freud also observed the power of what he called the patient's defenses against any expression of unconscious thoughts and feelings. He looked for a method to overcome such blockages. Freud was the first one to believe that the most insistent source of resisted material was sexual.

Perhaps the most significant contribution Freud made to modern interpretations of human nature is his conception of the dynamic unconscious. He suggested that we are not entirely aware of what we think and often act for reasons that have little to do with our conscious thoughts. On the contrary, Freud proposed that there were thoughts occurring below the surface. His basic assumption was that all dreams, even nightmares manifesting apparent anxiety, are the fulfillment of imaginary wishes. One could also regard dreams to be the disguised expression of wish fulfillments. Many commentators consider *The Interpretation of Dreams* Freud's masterwork because it provides a hermeneutic for the unmasking of the dream's disguise.

Crucial to the operation of the unconscious is repression. Because of the incompatibility of the unconscious with conscious thoughts, these feelings are normally hidden, forgotten, or unavailable to conscious reflection. Such thoughts and feelings cannot, Freud argued, be banished from the mind, but they can be banished from consciousness. Freud observed that the process of repression is itself a nonconscious act. He supposed that what people repressed was determined by their unconscious.

Freud sought to explain how the unconscious operates by proposing that it has a particular structure divided into three parts: id, ego, and superego. The unconscious id represents primary process thinking, our primitive need-gratification thoughts. The superego represents our socially induced conscience and counteracts the id with moral and ethical thoughts. The largely conscious ego stands in between both to balance our primitive needs and our moral beliefs. A healthy ego provides the ability to adapt to reality and interact with the outside world in a way that accommodates both id and superego. Freud was especially concerned with

the dynamic relationship between these three parts of the mind. According to Freud, the defense mechanisms are the method by which the ego can solve the conflicts between the superego and the id. The overuse of defense mechanisms can lead to either anxiety or guilt, which may result in psychological disorders.

In 1905 Freud published *Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality.* The book established its author as a pioneer in the serious study of sexology. Sexuality, Freud concluded, is the prime mover in a great deal of human activities and behavior. Freud believed that humans were motivated by two drives, libidinal energy/Eros and the death drive/Thanatos. Freud's description of Eros/libido included all creative, life-producing drives. The death drive represented an urge inherent in all living things to return to a state of calm or of nonexistence.

According to Freud, children pass through a stage where they fixate on the parent of the opposite sex and think of the same-sexed parent as a rival. Every male child has the desire to sleep with his mother and remove his father, who is the obstacle to the realization of that wish. Turning, as he often did, to evidence from literary and mythical texts, Freud named his theory the Oedipus complex after the Greek tragedy by Sophocles.

Freud expressed highly influential and controversial views on the psychology of women. He was an early champion of both sexual freedom and education for women. Some feminists, however, have argued that Freud's views of women's sexual development set the progress of women back decades. Believing as Freud did that women are a kind of mutilated male who must learn to accept her deformity (the lack of a penis), he contributed to the vocabulary of misogyny. Terms such as *penis envy* and *castrating* discouraged women from entering any field dominated by men.

Psychoanalysis today maintains the same ambivalent relationship with medicine and academia that Freud experienced during his life. His psychological theories are still hotly disputed. Although Freud has been long regarded as a genius, psychiatry and psychology have been recast as scientific disciplines. Freud examined the rationality to be found even in material regarded as thoroughly irrational and meaningless, such as dreams, verbal slips, neurotic symptoms, and the verbal productions of psychotics. Conversely, he discovered irrationality even in material that is manifestly rational. Freud introduced a novel discursive technique in the talking cure. Psychoanalysis enables people to mitigate distress through the indirect revelation of unconscious content. The other schools of psychology have produced alternative methods of psychotherapy.

In 1909 Freud, together with Carl Gustav Jung and Sándor Ferenczi, visited the United States and lectured there. Generally, Freud had little tolerance for colleagues who diverged from his psychoanalytic doctrines. He attempted to expel those who disagreed with the movement or even refused to accept certain aspects of his theory that he considered central. The most widely noted schisms occurred with Adler in 1911 and Jung in 1913. These clashes were followed by later breaks with Ferenczi and Wilhelm Reich in the 1920s.

Freud lived and worked in Vienna for nearly 78 years, deeply inspired by the town's intellectual atmosphere. Following Nazi Germany's annexation of Austria in March 1938, Freud fled Austria with his family. On June 4, 1938, they were allowed across the border into France, and then they traveled to London. Freud died there three weeks after the first shots of World War II had been fired.

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Martin Moll

Freyre, Gilberto

(1900–1987) *Brazilian ethnologist and politician*

Gilberto de Melo Freyre was the author of many books that traced the cultural heritage of Brazilians from Indians, Portuguese, and African slaves. He was born on March 15, 1900, at Apipucos, near Recife, and after being educated at home attended the American Baptist School, the Colégio Americano Gilreath de Pernambuco. From a wealthy plantation family, he traveled to the United States to complete his education, attending Baylor University at Waco, Texas, where he graduated with a bachelor of arts. He then went to Columbia University, where he graduated with a master of arts in Latin American history in 1923. At Columbia he was greatly influenced by lecturers Franz Boas, J. H. Hayes, and Edwin R. A. Seligman. Freyre then journeyed to Europe, visiting anthropology museums in Britain, France, Germany, and Portugal.

Returning to Brazil, Freyre, who started teaching sociology, organized in 1926 the first northeastern regionalist congress to be held in Recife, which saw the publication of his "Regionalist Manifesto." His political activity in Brazil meant that after 1930 and the collapse of the Third Republic, Freyre had to leave Brazil. He left in October, going to Bahia and then to Portugal via Portuguese Africa, which he felt was a historic opportunity to experience the Portuguese diaspora. In Lisbon Freyre studied at the National Library, and in February 1931 he was offered a position in the United States working as a visiting professor at Stanford University. This allowed him to spend time researching the nature of slavery in the United States. Freyre returned to Brazil a few years later and helped found sociology departments at the University of Rio de Janeiro and the University of São Paulo. In 1934 he was to organize the first Congress of Afro-Brazilian Studies, which was held at Recife and achieved notoriety in political circles because of its emphasis on establishing the causes of Afro-Brazilian poverty as environmental.

Freyre spent most of his life studying the socioeconomic development of the area around Recife—the northeastern part of Brazil. He documented the many links between that part of Latin America and the Portuguese colonies in Africa, particularly Portuguese Guinea (modern-day Guinea-Bissau), São Tomé and Príncipe, and Angola. His studies of Portuguese colonialism made him believe that since the Portuguese had, before they found Brazil, extensive colonial experiences in Africa, they were better equipped to deal with the problems in the Americas than the Spanish were. This, in turn, Freyre argued, led to a more successful multiracial and multicultural society.

The author of many books, his best known was *Casa-grande e senzala* (The big house and the slave quarters, published in 1933), which was translated into English as *The Masters and the Slaves*. It was a detailed sociological thesis that described the relationships between the Portuguese colonial masters and their African slaves. It also includes plans of the Noruega Plantation in Recife, which was used as the basis for a section of the book. He compares and contrasts at length the Brazilian plantation society with that in the southern United States, noting that the planters in both areas were keen on "the rocking chair, good cooking, women, horses and gambling."

Although early detractors called Freyre a communist and a pornographer, he was socially conservative and had worked as secretary to his cousin, Estácio de Albuquerque Coimbra, who was governor of Pernambuco from 1926 to 1927 and from 1929 to 1930. In 1946, with the reintroduction of democracy to Brazil, Freyre was elected to the national constituent assembly and was a member of the chamber of deputies from 1946 until 1950. In 1949 Freyre represented Brazil at the United Nations General Assembly with the rank of ambassador. He welcomed the right-wing military government of Humberto de Alencar Castelo Branco in 1964. He rapidly became closely identified as a supporter of the government, and his sociological work was increasingly criticized for its highlighting of "benign" aspects of Brazilian slavery. In 1968 he was awarded an honorary doctorate from the University of Münster, in Germany. Repeatedly nominated for the Nobel Prize, he was never invited to join the Brazilian Academy of Letters. He died on July 18, 1987, at Recife.

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Justin Corfield

Galveston flood

In 1900 Galveston, located on an island in the Gulf of Mexico about 50 miles southeast of Houston, was Texas's fourth-largest city and a bustling port. On September 8 a presumed Category 4 hurricane, accompanied by ferocious tidal surges, smashed into Galveston, killing at least 6,000 of its 38,000 residents and possibly twice as many. Some 10,000 lost their homes. These fatalities make it still the worst single disaster in U.S. history.

Although the storm had wiped out Galveston's rail link to the mainland, recovery began almost immediately, spearheaded by city officials, who appointed a relief committee on September 9, and the American Red Cross, under the leadership of 78-year-old Clara Barton, who arrived September 17. Restoring water and telegraph services was the first priority. By the third week saloons and the port had reopened, even as dead bodies continued to wash up on the island for at least a month after the disaster.

Armed with federal, state, and private donations, the people of Galveston mounted a hugely expensive project to protect the low-lying 27-mile-long island from future hurricanes. A 17-foot-high seawall was built along the island's Gulf Coast. (By the 1960s its length had grown to more than 10 miles.) In 1902 Galveston launched an even more ambitious project designed to boost the island's overall elevation above sea level. In eight years some 500 city blocks were raised. Some 16 million cubic yards of sand were dredged from the Gulf of Mexico and pumped onto the island, where workers used jacks to raise structures, including utilities, and then shoveled the sand underneath. Most of the city is now 15 feet higher than its preflood level. A major hurricane in 1915 flooded much of the city, but that time Galveston survived.

The catastrophe had mixed effects on Galveston residents as they struggled to restore their way of life. In 1901 Galveston replaced its city government with five commissioners appointed by Texas's governor. Soon known as the Galveston Plan, this progressive municipal reform was seen as a way to supplant local cronyism with expertise and was widely imitated. Although the Red Cross tried to deal fairly with African-American flood survivors, many of them homeless, bogus stories of black violence, thievery, and refusal to join in recovery efforts circulated in the smitten city. As the city recovered, Jim Crow restrictions intensified, and African-American political power was further weakened. Galveston would never again compete with archrival Houston or any other major city. Remade as a resort town, Galveston for years wooed tourists with night spots, big-name entertainment, and illegal gambling.

By 1904 the disaster at Galveston had been turned into an entertainment attraction, both at the St. Louis World's Fair and at Brooklyn's Coney Island amusement park, where paying patrons could view a simulation of the destruction. In 1960 folk musician Tom Rush published and later recorded "Wasn't It a Mighty Storm," a song that sensitively portrayed the horror of

the September day "when death come howling on the ocean/death calls, you gotta go."

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Marsha E. Ackermann

Gandhi, Mohandas K.

(1869–1948) *Indian nationalist leader*

The Indian leader Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, who dominated the Indian political scene for three decades, became an internationally acclaimed person for his nonviolent path of struggle to achieve Indian independence from British colonial rule. Through *ahimsa* (nonviolence) and *satyagraha* (true force, nonviolent protest), he led one of the largest mass movements in world history. Gandhi dedicated his life to the quest for truth and justice. He was called the *mahatma* (noble soul). In his varied career he led the struggle against apartheid in South Africa, conducted passive resistance against the British, and dedicated his life to the uplift of millions of Indians. Gandhi had been criticized and vilified but remained true to his convictions and led a life of austerity and simplicity. He was born in Porbandar, Gujarat, India, on October 2, 1869, to Karamchand and Putlibai. Gandhi was greatly influenced by the honesty and integrity of his father, who served as prime minister in the state of Rajkot. Putlibai's religious nature created a lasting impression on Gandhi. He married at the age of 13 to Kasturbai, a noble lady of high moral character. Gandhi was also deeply moved by the saga of honesty, sacrifice, and dedication in Hindu mythology. After finishing his schooling he went to the Inner Temple in London in November 1888. He came back to India after three years and left for South Africa in 1893 to take up a legal career.

Gandhi's 20-year stay in South Africa was instrumental in the blossoming of his philosophy and his course of action against injustice. Humiliating experiences and the racial arrogance of the whites there made him determined to fight against apartheid. The official discrimination against nonwhites caused him to help the minority community of Indians. His creed was one of peaceful coexistence of all communities, regardless of color or religion.

Gandhi charted out a course of action of passive resistance against the government by demonstrations. He was deeply influenced by the Hindu scripture the Bhagavad Gita, Jainism, the teachings of Jesus Christ, and the literature of U.S. author Henry David Thoreau (1817–62), English writer John Ruskin (1819–1900), and Russian Leo Tolstoy (1828–1910). In a campaign of passive resistance, nonviolence was the driving force, and noncooperation was the action itself. Gandhi organized campaigns and demonstrations against humiliating laws applied to nonwhites. He set up the Natal Indian Congress in 1894 to redress the grievances of Indian immigrants. Gandhi became a prominent figure and was engaged in civil rights issues. He was in India twice for short visits and acquainted the editors of newspapers and Indian National Congress (INC) leaders with the conditions in South Africa. Gandhi journeyed on trains and was appalled by the condition of common Indians.

On his return to South Africa he changed his lifestyle to one of utter simplicity and also undertook to fast. Gandhi did not see the British as the enemy and was prepared to help them in case of need. At the time of the Boer War, he organized the Indian ambulance corps. Gandhi was a prolific writer, and he wrote *Hind Sawraj* (Self-government of India) and published a journal, *Indian Opinion*, in 1904. He began to experiment with many novel ideas in the community firm that he set up in Phoenix. In 1910 he established another cooperative colony (Tolstoy Farm) for Indians near Durban. Gandhi organized a satyagraha against the obnoxious laws of the Transvaal government, which required the registration of Indians. Gandhi was jailed several times during the agitation. General Jan Christiaan Smuts at last conceded to many of Gandhi's demands and brought about reforms. Gandhi decided to return to India.

Great Britain declared war on Germany on August 4, 1914, two days before Gandhi reached London. He organized a medical corps in August 1914. After his return to India the next year, he urged the people to support the British in their time of crisis. The colonial government rewarded him with a medal, and he earned the sobriquet "recruiting agent of the government." Gandhi traveled the length and breadth of India. He took up the cause of indigo cultivators in Champaran and workers in Ahmedabad mills. He was emerging as a mass leader and gave a new direction to the Indian freedom movement under the congress. It became an umbrella organization that drew support from all classes of the population. The Congress Party underwent a thorough revamping due to Gandhi's organizational skill. The

Gandhian era in the Indian nationalist struggle began in 1919. After the draconian Rowlatt Act, which empowered the authorities to arrest and detain without trial, was passed, Gandhi called for a general strike in April 1919. The government suppressed the agitation, and the brutality of colonial masters was evident after the Jallianwalla Bagh massacre of April 13. A large number of Muslims joined the congress after Gandhi's support of the KHILAFAT MOVEMENT, which fought to preserve the authority of the Ottoman sultan.

With the noncooperation movement under Gandhi's leadership, a new phase of struggle against the British Raj began. A special session of the AICC met in Calcutta in September 1920 to start the movement with a boycott of educational institutions, law courts, elections, and legislatures. There was to be the promotion of Hindu-Muslim unity, along with use of homespun garments of khaddar. The goal was the attainment of *swaraj,* or self-government. The December annual session held in Nagpur endorsed the idea. A large number of students, women, peasants, and workers from different parts of the country participated. Demonstrations and strikes greeted the November 1921 visit of the prince of Wales. Noncooperation and Khilafat went hand in hand under Gandhi, who had renounced the title of *kaiser-i-hind* that had been conferred on him by the British. Following a policy of repression, the government banned the Khilafat and congress.

After police fired on demonstrations on February 5, 1922, at Chauri Chaura in the Gorakhpur district of Uttar Pradesh, the police station was attacked, resulting in the death of 22 police personnel. Gandhi was stunned by this path of violence and suspended the noncooperation movement. He was steadfast in his commitment to nonviolent methods. Freedom through violence was not on his agenda. People in general and INC leaders like Jawaharlal Nehru (1889–1964) and SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE (1897–1945) were annoyed by the decision, and some congressmen, like MOTILAL NEHRU (1861–1931), launched a program of council entry through the newly formed Swaraj Party of 1923. Gandhi was arrested in March 1922 and given six years' imprisonment for treason in an Ahmedabad court.

Gandhi was not only interested in swaraj, but also in the social and economic emancipation of the people. He was a crusader for economic and social reforms. His emphasis on *swadeshi* meant the use of hand-made goods from his home country rather than foreign machine-made goods. People were mobilized to boycott foreign goods. Handicraft was emphasized in education also. The hand weaving of dresses and the development of handicrafts, Gandhi hoped, would be a panacea for India's poverty, economic backwardness, and unemployment. Gandhi's economic philosophy was also part of his strategy against colonial rule, as the boycott of foreign goods would adversely affect British industry. Gandhi was not opposed to industrial revolution per se, but he desired to create a framework, keeping in mind the economic condition of India under alien rule.

Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi dominated the Indian political scene for three decades.

Gandhi was back on the political scene in 1930 with his movement of civil disobedience. He launched the salt *satyagraha* with his famous Dandi March in March 1930. He and his followers covered a distance of 241 miles to the Arabian Sea to make salt. These civil disobedience movements witnessed participation in large numbers by tribal people, peasants, and women. Gandhi was arrested in May, but the British government agreed to negotiations. The movement was suspended by the pact signed between Gandhi and Viceroy of India Lord Irwin (1881–1959) in March 1931. He also was the INC delegate to the Second Round Table held in London, but the British government refused to grant self-government to the Indians. Gandhi was jailed again,

and the civil disobedience movement was withdrawn by him in May 1934.

Gandhi devoted himself to social and economic reconstruction work. Indian politics began to change at the time of World War II. Gandhi had a difference of opinion with Subhas Bose, who parted from the congress. The British were not in a mood to give independence, and Gandhi launched another movement. With the call of "Do or Die," the Quit India Movement was launched on August 8, 1942, and spread throughout the country. The British could not hold to the empire after the war due to domestic difficulties and offered India independence. India experienced unprecedented communal violence, and Gandhi toured the riot-affected area in support of Hindu-Muslim unity. The demand for the creation of Pakistan had been raised, and Mohammed Ali Jinnah (1876–1948) was relentless in his pursuit of the two-nation theory. Talks between Jinnah and Gandhi failed. Partition was inevitable. Gandhi's insistence that Pakistan should get its due share of monetary assets angered Hindu fundamentalists. A fanatic named Nathuram Godse (1910–49) assassinated him on January 30, 1948, while he was on his way to evening prayers.

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Patit Paban Mishra

Garvey, Marcus

(1887–1940) *Jamaican writer*

The list of players involved in the 20th-century social empowerment and civil rights movements for blacks could not be complete without the story of Marcus Garvey and the movement for separatist black nationalism started by him early in the century and known as the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA). The tenets of the UNIA as an organization and the "Garveyites" as adherents to both were a complex mixture of race, class, politics, nationalism, and ideological conflicts surrounding the issue of blacks and their position in the world. Even today Garvey's ideologies have some black leaders praising him for raising social consciousness in the 1910s and 1920s and others condemning him as a counterproductive obstacle to efforts for civil rights.

Marcus Mosiah Garvey was born on August 17, 1887, in St. Ann's Bay, Jamaica, at a time when blacks in Jamaica were largely landless, poor, and wanting

Marcus Garvey fought for the idea of a separate, unified black culture and a sovereign black nation.

better conditions. By the time Garvey was a teenager he had become cognizant of the lines dividing blacks and whites.

Garvey supplemented his schooling with time spent reading from his father's library, fueling his own curiosities about the outside world. At 15 he began to learn the printer's trade, and in 1905 he moved to Kingston, Jamaica's capital city, where he eventually became a master printer. This knowledge of the printing business proved invaluable when he started his own newspapers and journals as a part of the organizations he founded.

By 1909 when he was 22, Garvey had learned that residents of Kingston liked to argue the sociopolitical ideas of the time. He found himself getting involved in these political and intellectual debates that dealt with the betterment of blacks in Jamaica and addressed the problems associated with imperialistic colonial rule. Seeking other work in 1910, Garvey traveled to Costa Rica to work for the giant American-owned United Fruit Company. He was arrested for agitating for better working conditions, left Costa Rica, and began traveling around Latin America, noticing the generally oppressed state of black workers.

In 1912 Garvey went to England hoping to address Britain's colonial rule and its promotion of disparity between blacks and whites in the Caribbean and Central America. In London he got a job working for the *Africa Times and Orient Review,* one of the foremost Pan-African publications of the day.

Garvey returned to Jamaica in 1914 and immediately began the UNIA. His intent was to develop a separatist, nationalistic movement of international scope, meaning that it would allow the blacks of the world to eventually achieve a unified culture separate from the whites, including a separate country that would become a sovereign central nation for the world's blacks. These goals were the hallmark of "Garveyism."

Garvey came to America in 1916 to solicit the support of American blacks. In 1917 New York City's Harlem district was virtually the world's capital of black culture, and Garvey chose this as his temporary base. By 1918 Garvey was publishing *Negro World,* the internationally distributed paper that would be the voice of the UNIA, and he decided to stay in Harlem and run the UNIA headquarters from there.

Garvey's promotion of totally separate cultural spheres through his separatist ideals went so far as the conducting of (unsuccessful) negotiations between the UNIA and the African country of Liberia between 1922 and 1924 to allow establishment of settlements of black Americans. This caused considerable consternation among both blacks and whites in America and abroad.

Other prominent black-rights groups such as the NAACP (National Association for the Advancement of Colored People), led by the widely respected W. E. B. DuBois, increasingly criticized Garvey for hurting the cause of black unity and advancement. Garvey had his followers but was also criticized for his pursuit of racial separation, which was deemed counterproductive to the racial cooperation being sought by the NAACP.

Almost since his arrival in America, Garvey had been the object of scrutiny by governmental and corporate agencies that viewed his ideologies as subversive. Garvey was accused of fraud on several occasions because he attempted to start new businesses that would allegedly benefit the members of the UNIA but that proved to be financial fiascos. The best-known one was the 1919 venture known as the Black Star Line Steamship Corporation, which involved the purchase of obsolete ships using hopeful investors' money to start international freight and passenger shipping lines.

The end of Garvey's hopes for operating his organization from America came in 1922 when he and the top officials of the Black Star Line were indicted for mail fraud concerning the Black Star Line's business practices. Garvey's trial ended with a conviction in 1923, which he appealed. The appeal was rejected in 1925, and Garvey was sent to prison in Atlanta until 1927, when his five-year sentence was commuted. Upon his release, Garvey was deported back to Jamaica.

Garvey went back to England in 1928, where he unsuccessfully attempted to revive interest in the UNIA's goals. He died in London of complications from a stroke on June 10, 1940.

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Mike Rayburn

Geneva Conventions

The Geneva Conventions and their subsequent protocols are a series of four treaties regarding the fundamental rules of humanitarian concerns of soldiers and noncombatants during warfare. They were first established in Geneva, Switzerland, in 1864. In addition, there are three protocols added to the Geneva Conventions that prohibit certain methods of warfare and deal with issues regarding civil wars.

The first Geneva Convention dealt exclusively with the care of wounded soldiers on the battlefield and was later amended to cover warfare at sea and prisoners of war. The Red Cross, an international philanthropic organization, was formed because of the First Geneva Convention. Clara Barton, founder of the American Red Cross, was instrumental in campaigning for the ratification of the first Geneva Convention by the United States, which signed it in 1882.

The International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), under the first Geneva Convention, chapter 1, article 3, was recognized as an impartial humanitarian body permitted to offer its services during conflicts, and its emblem would be recognized as a neutral organization to parties to the conflict. This was later amended to include the emblems of the International Red Crescent and the Red Lion and Sun humanitarian organizations.

In brief the seven fundamental rules that form the tenets of the Geneva Conventions and protocols are:

1. Civilians not taking part in the conflict are entitled to respect for their lives and their moral and physical integrity; and shall in all instances be treated humanely.
2. It is forbidden to kill or injure an enemy who surrenders.
3. The wounded and sick shall be collected and cared for by the party to the conflict that has them in their power. Protection also covers medical personnel, establishments, transports, and equipment. The Red Cross and Red Crescent are two signs of such protection and must be respected.
4. Captured combatants and civilians are entitled to respect for their lives, dignity, personal rights, and convictions. They shall be protected against acts of violence and have the right to correspond with their families and to receive relief.
5. Everyone shall have the right to fundamental judicial guarantees. No one shall be subjected to physical or mental torture, corporal punishment, or cruel or degrading treatment.
6. It is prohibited to employ weapons that would produce unnecessary or extreme losses or excessive suffering.
7. Civilians shall be protected from attack and not the subject of attack. Attacks shall be directed solely against military objectives.

In 1949 each convention was revised and ratified after the horrific loss of human life in World War II. These revisions had their basis in part in the 1899 and 1907 Hague Peace Conferences, which were initiated by Russian czar Nicholas II to discuss peace and disarmament during the Japanese-Russian conflicts. The original Hague Peace Conferences led to the establishment of the Permanent Court of Arbitration, the precursor to the International Court of Justice at The Hague, the principal judicial organ of the United Nations.

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Paul von Jankowsky

Giichi Tanaka

(1863–1929) *Japanese politician*

Tanaka Giichi was a Japanese soldier, politician, and prime minister of Japan from April 20, 1927, to July 2, 1929. He was born on June 22, 1863. Tanaka served in the Japanese military in the Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905) and quickly parlayed a successful combat campaign into a rapid ascent to positions of greater power. In 1915 Tanaka took the position of subchief of Central Major State and in 1920 the rank of general. Prime Ministers Hara Takashi (1918–21) and Yamamoto Gonnohyoe (1923–24) appointed him war minister. During his tenure, Tanaka supported the Siberian Expedition, sending Japanese troops to Russia. He officially retired from military service in 1921 in order to work with and later lead the Seiyukai political party. Tanaka, like many of his contemporaries, emerged as a significant military voice after Japan's decisive victory over Russia and when Japan dealt with the fallout of its own modernization program. Thus, Tanaka in many ways symbolized the new and modern Japanese military mind.

By 1927 Giichi successfully gained the position of prime minister and served concurrently as foreign affairs minister. His foreign policy was both aggressive and interventionist. Most notably, Giichi intervened militarily in Shandong (Shantung), China, in 1927 in order to prevent Chiang Kai-shek from uniting the country. Domestically, he worked to suppress opposition and has been accused of manipulating elections in order to extend his rule.

He is the reputed author of the "Tanaka Memorial"—the Imperial Conquest Plan for the taking of Manchuria, Mongolia, the whole of China, and then the Soviet Far East and Central Asia. Japan claimed the plan was a forgery. What cannot be denied, however, is that the so-called Tanaka plan reflected much of the foreign policy of Japan during the 1930s and 1940s and ultimately led to World War II.

His fall came from within his own administration. His supporter Kaku Mori, with ties to two secret Japanese societies, the *zaibatsu* and radical groups, was able to influence him and his policies as prime minister—the implementation of interventionist policies toward both Manchuria and Mongolia. Thus, Japan backed in 1928 the successful assassination of Manchurian warlord Zhang Zolin (Chang Tso-lin) in an attempt to seize Manchuria. Due to quick Chinese response, the plotters failed to seize Manchuria until 1931 as a result of the Manchurian incident. Giichi's political career came to an end with his signing of the Kellogg-Briand Pact.

Opponents criticized him for exceeding his power and failing to take into account the sovereignty of the emperor. The failure in Manchuria and Kellogg-Briand led to his resignation and the succession of Hamaguchi Osachi as prime minister. He died on September 29, 1929.

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Matthew H. Wahlert

Gold Coast (Ghana)

The modern West African nation of Ghana was called the Gold Coast until 1957. This small African country is nestled just under the continent as it juts out into the Atlantic Ocean a few miles above the equator. Ancient in its history and traditional in its ethos, the Gold Coast garnered its name from the Portuguese in the 15th century. Calling the area "da Mina" or "El Mina," denoting the mines, the Portuguese were astounded at the vast deposits of easily accessible gold. By 1472 the Portuguese had built a fort at El Mina to facilitate the emerging Atlantic trade system in gold, ivory, salt, slaves, and timber. Both historic and contemporary ties made Ghana a major cultural and symbolic icon in the consciousness of African Americans. Although the Gold Coast had several European nations as its primary trading partners, it is its British heritage that defines the contemporary nation.

Envious of Portugal's success and wealth, other European nations began to explore West Africa. By 1600 the Dutch had built several forts along the coastal inlets of the Gold Coast at Komenda and Kormantsil. In 1637 the Dutch eclipsed the Portuguese as Ghana's major trading partner when they seized Elmina Castle, and in 1642 they confirmed their regional hegemony by forcing the Portuguese to retreat from Fort St. Anthony at Axim. Dutch success gave strength to the ambitions of other European powers.

Thus, the British, Danes, and Swedes started to engage in regular trade as they built their own forts along the Gold Coast. In these areas they exchanged alcohol, cloth, guns, and ammunition for African commercial and human commodities.

Having ruled the area and exploited its wealth for almost 300 years, the Dutch ceded their position in the Gold Coast to the British in 1872. Rushing to confirm the hegemony of the British Empire, England annexed the Gold Coast as a Crown Colony in 1878. But after fighting several wars with local chiefs, the British still only controlled part of the area. Despite the superior weapons and cohesion of the British military, it was not able to conquer the Gold Coast easily. Many different groups fought the British, who attempted to exploit local ethnic and regional divisions. By allying themselves with the Fante on the coast, the British became the enemies of the Ashanti. This early and pragmatic decision cost the British thousands of lives over many decades. The Ashanti, foremost among the local groups who fought the British, proved England's most capable foe. From the time that the British sent ambassadors to Kumasi between 1817 and 1821 to discuss peace with King Osei Bonsu (the Asantehene) to their defeat in 1900, the Ashanti rejected British claims.

The Ashanti people were victorious during the 1823–24 Ashanti-Denkyira War, despite a British-Fante

alliance that supported the Denkyiras. With superior armaments the British defeated the Ashanti at the Battle of Kantamanto near Dodowa, and in 1831 George MacLean signed a treaty with the Ashanti. Although this did not ensure the pacification of the region, by 1876 the British confirmed their mastery over the region by moving the capital to present-day Accra.

The last war in Ashanti history was led by Nana Yaa Asantewaa, the queen mother. She led an attack on the British fort in Kumasi in 1900 in response to the arrogant demand by Arnold Frederick Hodgson that the king deliver "the golden stool" to the British governor as a sign of surrender. The queen mother, having enormous power in a matrilineal society, led her people to war. Despite courageous and skillful fighting, the Ashanti were defeated; however, refusing to violate the sanctity of the customary institutions, the elders provided a fake stool to the British as they sued for peace to end the bloodshed and save their nation. The ancient golden stool, the national symbol of sovereignty and power, remained hidden and has never been occupied by a European.

As part of the British Empire, confirmed and carved up at the Conference of Berlin in 1885, Ghana began to emerge as a modern nation-state. The British sent some of the most able African students to study in the United States and Europe. In addition, participation in two world wars allowed many soldiers from the Gold Coast to experience the Western world. After World War II African soldiers and students returned home; students, members of the privileged elite, had not been indoctrinated as the British had assumed, but returned to begin the process of decolonization.

These educated men and women rejected their comfortable and safe lives as members of the colonial bureaucracy and established a series of political organizations designed to raise the political consciousness of the people. Many realized that colonization was a form of economic exploitation and that the system was economically unfair to Africans and structured to the advantage of the British. Moreover, having been treated with dignity in Europe and America, these educated and sophisticated Africans chafed under the humiliations they often endured at the hands of local colonial administrators.

KWAME NKRUMAH

In particular, Kwame Nkrumah, who had attended Lincoln University in Pennsylvania and read positive messages about being black written by Marcus Garvey and W. E. B. Dubois, began to organize a nationalist movement. He was also influenced by the speeches and rhetoric of the Pan-African Conference held in Manchester, England, in 1945. From this conference forward, Africans in particular and people of color in general began to question European notions of racial superiority, the administration of colonial justice, and the negative effects of imperial financial systems.

The agitation and anticolonial struggles in the Gold Coast forced the British to grant some local self-government. Finally, despite false imprisonment, violent repression, and the manipulation of ethnic and religious hostilities, Britain had to concede to demands for independence. In 1957 the Gold Coast became an independent nation, the first independent nation in Africa south of the Sahara.

See also Pan-Africanism.

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Alphine W. Jefferson

Goldman, Emma

(1869–1940) *feminist and radical anarchist*

Emma Goldman, also known as "Red Emma," was born to Jewish parents on June 27, 1869, in Kaunas, Lithuania (Kovno, Russia) in a climate of mounting czarist repression marked by periodic pogroms. In order to avoid such threats her family moved when she was 13 to St. Petersburg. Economic circumstances, however, ended her formal schooling and forced her to take up work as a corset maker in a factory.

In an effort to improve family prospects, Goldman and her half sister immigrated to America, where they joined another sister in Rochester, New York. There Goldman gained employment at $2.50 a week as a seamstress in a clothing factory. Events surrounding the Chicago Haymarket Square riots of 1886 and the subsequent trial, conviction, and hanging of the accused agitators drew her into the anarchist cause. Following a short marriage to Jacob Kershner, Goldman, now age

20, headed east, first to New Haven, Connecticut, and eventually to New York City, where she soon fell under the influence of Johann Most (1846–1906), a revolutionary editor of a German paper.

Goldman's political development also saw her embrace the anarchist teachings of Peter Kropotkin (1842–1921) with their emphasis on individualism and revolution. She accepted the concept of "propaganda by deed" and supported friend, sometime lover, and fellow anarchist Alexander Berkman's 1892 plot to assassinate Carnegie Steel industrialist Henry Clay Frick. The attack only injured Frick but nevertheless brought Berkman a 22-year prison sentence. Although Goldman was not convicted, she did receive a year in New York's Blackwell Island Prison on a separate charge of encouraging the unemployed to use force to achieve their demands. A further arrest came in 1901 following Leon Czolgosz's (1873–1901) assassination of President William McKinley; however, Goldman was ultimately not charged.

In 1906 following Berkman's parole from prison, Goldman joined him and began editing the monthly journal *Mother Earth*, which ran until 1917. *Mother Earth* became a forum for her writing and anarchist-feminist political ideas. Her radical propaganda was winning her more enemies than friends, though, and in 1908 her citizenship was revoked. In 1914 she was again accused of involvement in bombing plots, this time supposedly against the oil baron J. D. Rockefeller, and in 1916 she was imprisoned for distributing birth control leaflets. Berkman at this stage had moved to San Francisco and was contributing to another anarchist journal, the *Blast*.

The coming of World War I prompted Goldman to campaign against U.S. participation, and she, along with Berkman, led No Conscription League protests, which conflicted with the 1917 Espionage Act. Searches of her offices produced incriminating documents and information on fellow revolutionaries. The material and correspondence would later aid investigators in their roundup of radicals. Her antiwar activities and agitation brought her further legal attention and another jail sentence, this time of two years. While in prison she developed a friendship with Gabriella Segata Antolini, a fellow anarchist and an associate of the radical anarchist editor Luigi Galleani (1861–1931).

The immediate aftermath of World War I, coming on the heels of the 1917 communist revolution in Russia, produced heightened U.S. fears of radical subversion. The U.S. attorney general, A. Mitchell Palmer, supported by eager federal investigative agents such as the young J. Edgar Hoover, instituted a campaign, subsequently labeled the Red Scare of 1919–20, to deport immigrant radicals as undesirable aliens. Goldman and Berkman found themselves in this group, and on December 1, 1919, they and 247 other radicals were put on the U.S.S. *Buford* for transport to Russia. This journey took them to the heartland of the unfolding Bolshevik Revolution. Communist actions soon undercut their initial enthusiasm for this socialist experiment.

Emma Goldman was jailed repeatedly for her views as the United States underwent a Red Scare following the Russian Revolution.

Leaving Russia in 1921, Goldman divided her time between England and France and eventually acquired a house in Saint Tropez. In 1931 while living in the south

of France, she completed her autobiographical volume, *Living My Life*. Now in possession of a British passport, she was able to travel and lecture, even returning to the United States for a lecture tour in 1934.

The rise of FASCISM in the 1920s and 1930s gave Goldman new opponents for her political campaigns, and the coming of the SPANISH CIVIL WAR in 1936 provided her with a new cause to champion. However, shortly before the outbreak of the war in 1936 she suffered the loss of her longtime companion and anarchist associate, Alexander Berkman, who after suffering from serious pain and chronic illness committed suicide. Visits to Spain in 1937 and 1938 convinced Goldman that more action was needed, and she joined with others to help the Committee to Aid Homeless Spanish Women and Children.

While on a visit to Toronto, Canada, Goldman suffered a stroke and died on May 14, 1940. U.S. authorities permitted her burial in what is now the Forest Home Cemetery in Forest Park, Illinois, close to the burial plots of the executed Haymarket Riot anarchists.

See also ANARCHIST MOVEMENTS IN EUROPE AND AMERICA.

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THEODORE W. EVERSOLE

Gómez, Juan Vicente

(c. 1857–1935) *Venezuelan dictator*

The dictator who controlled Venezuela from 1909 until 1935, Juan Vicente Gómez was officially president on four occasions, from 1909 until 1910, from 1910 until 1914, from 1922 until 1929, and from 1931 until 1935. As a result of the brutal manner in which he ran the country, he was either known as El Brujo ("the sorcerer") or simply El Bagre ("the catfish").

It is not known for certain when Juan Vicente Gómez was born, although it was probably on July 24, 1857. He was of Indian ancestry, and he was born at San Antonio del Táchira in the northwest of Venezuela, close to the border with Colombia. Despite having no formal education—he was barely literate—he rose to prominence around his hometown and joined the private army of Cipriano Castro in 1899. When Castro captured Caracas in October 1899, he became president and appointed Gómez his vice president. In this capacity Gómez was able to crush attempts to oust Castro. However, on December 20, 1908, when Castro was in Europe recuperating from an illness, Gómez seized power, and in February 1909 he took the opportunity of appointing himself provisional president, becoming president when Castro was formally deposed on August 11. From then until his death, he controlled the country either directly or through "puppet" presidents.

On April 19, 1910, Gómez formally stood down as president, appointing Emilio Constantino Guerrero acting president. However, Guerrero was replaced 10 days later by Jesús Ramón Ayala, who lasted just over a month, until June 3, when Gómez became president for the second time. On April 19, 1914, he was replaced by Victorino Márquez Bustillos, who remained in office as provisional president for eight years until Gómez reassumed the presidency again on June 24, 1922. For most of that time, all important decisions were still made by Gómez from his home at Maracay. He then relinquished the position to two successive acting presidents, Juan Bautista Pérez and Pedro Itriago Chacín. On July 13, 1931, Gómez began his fourth term, which ended with his death.

During his time running Venezuela, Gómez ensured that the country achieved a degree of economic independence but with rampant corruption managed to make himself reputedly the wealthiest man in South America. Much of the wealth of the country came from oil, which in 1918 was found near Lake Maracaibo. Gómez drove a hard bargain with the British, Dutch, and U.S. oil companies, using the newly found wealth to pay off Venezuela's national debt as well as enrich himself. By the late 1920s Venezuela was the world's largest exporter of oil. Gómez was ruthless to political opponents, who were jailed by the thousands. Many were put in huge leg irons, crippling them for life, and others were hung by meat hooks until they were dead.

At the same time Gómez started acquiring companies, farms, and industrial concerns for himself. He had spies and agents keeping a constant watch on the population, and his army was always one of the best equipped in South America. Gómez destroyed much of the power of the local political caudillos and also the Roman Catholic Church. He protected his own herds of cattle from disease but allowed those of others to suf-

fer. Although he personally did not like coffee, he owned many coffee plantations as well as sugarcane plantations and ranches. Gómez himself lived in the governor's palace in Maracay, which was equipped with escape passages. It was said that the reason why the town had such good roads was in case he had to flee. He never drank or smoked but had affairs with many women and boasted that he had fathered between 80 and 90 children. Many of these were given jobs in the public administration, giving rise to charges of nepotism. Even when he was dying, Gómez was still searching for a woman to marry so that he might have at least one legitimate child.

He died on December 17, 1935, at Maracay and was buried in a massive mausoleum he had built some years earlier in the town's cemetery. As soon as news reached Caracas and other places, people rushed into the streets to cheer and celebrate for two days. In an orgy of pent-up rage, they looted or burned down houses of his relatives and supporters and even attacked the oil installations at Lake Maracaibo. His political opponents and some allies turned on his family. His property, valued at $200 million at his death, was seized by the state, and most of his children were forced into exile.

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Justin Corfield

Gompers, Samuel

(1850–1924) *U.S. labor leader*

Samuel Gompers, who ushered in a new era of organized labor in the United States, was born on January 27, 1850, in London. At the age of 13 he emigrated and settled on Houston Street, New York. He was interested in trade union activities and joined the local United Cigar Makers in 1864. He became the president of the Cigar Makers' International Union (CMIU) in New York City at the age of 25. Gompers was very much concerned with the plight of labor at a time when labor unions were not very strong. A man of conservative outlook, he preferred to work within the capitalist system. He was not in favor of independent political action and radicalism, was opposed to violence, advocated a moderate approach, and hesitated to call strikes. His agenda was provision of basic needs for workers: shorter work hours, more wages, safe working environments, and union protection. He became one of the founding members of the Federation of Trades and Labor Unions (ATLU), which was established in 1881. Gompers was the chairperson and remained the vice president for five years. In 1886 it changed its name to the American Federation of Labor (AFL), and Gompers was its president for 40 years.

The governing philosophy behind the AFL was similar to that of the ATLU. Gompers was convinced that craft unions were far better organizations for extracting maximum concessions than industrial unions. The former were restricted to skilled workers in one particular trade, whereas the latter could organize workers of any skill in a particular industry. For Gompers, economic organization was essential. Persons were employed to recruit new members from nonunion shops. An emergency fund was created for the workers in case of a strike. Under the leadership of Gompers, the AFL swelled in membership. From a membership of 250,000 in 1890, the AFL increased to 1.7 million by 1904. Gompers also helped to establish the Women's Trade Union League in 1903.

Although Gompers was not aligned with any political party, under his stewardship the AFL supported prolabor candidates in elections. The AFL also was instrumental in enacting measures in the U.S. Congress and state legislatures that were favorable to labor. President Woodrow Wilson appointed Gompers a member of the advisory committee to the Council of National Defense, which was created by Wilson to outline areas of the economy vital in a time of war. Gompers was instrumental in mobilizing labor support for the war effort. He also joined the National War Labor Board, created in April 1918, which gave the workers an eight-hour day, equal pay for women doing equal work, and a minimal living standard.

Gompers was at the Paris Peace Conference after the end of World War I as a member of the Commission on International Labor Legislation for creating an organization with international dimensions under the League of Nations. As chairperson, he was responsible in a substantial way for the creation of the International Labour Organisation (ILO). Gompers helped various labor federations in Latin American countries. In 1921 he attended the congress of the Pan-American Federation of Labor in Mexico City despite deteriorating health. He had to be taken to the hospital in San Antonio, Texas, where he died on December 13, 1924. Gompers's efforts had resulted in a definite wartime labor policy of the U.S. government, and this policy was the foundation of the labor rights stipulated in the New Deal. Gompers had left a lasting impression not

only in the history of the AFL, but also on the whole of the U.S. labor moment.

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Patit Paban Mishra

Good Neighbor Policy (1933–1945)

The Good Neighbor Policy, announced by President Franklin Delano Roosevelt (FDR) during his first inaugural address on March 4, 1933, at the height of the Great Depression, was a response to the powerful backlash against U.S. military intervention in the Caribbean and Central America over the previous 35 years. "In the field of world policy I would dedicate this Nation to the policy of the good neighbor," Roosevelt declared, "the neighbor who resolutely respects himself and, because he does so, respects the rights of others. . . ." In effect, FDR's policy shift amounted to a repudiation of his cousin Theodore Roosevelt's 1904 corollary to the Monroe Doctrine.

From 1898 to 1933, the United States had intervened militarily, economically, and politically in Cuba, Panama, Nicaragua, Mexico, Haiti, the Dominican Republic, and elsewhere, creating an informal empire in its "backyard," with the aim of creating "order" and "stability" and asserting U.S. economic and geopolitical domination of the region, to the exclusion of European powers. This openly interventionist policy had generated a firestorm of protest throughout much of Latin America and Europe.

By the late 1920s it was clear that the unintended consequences of U.S. intervention were overshadowing its intended effects. The Good Neighbor Policy has thus been interpreted as a new stage in U.S. efforts to dominate the region, in the context of the Great Depression, the rise of fascism in Italy and Germany, and the threat to U.S. interests in Asia posed by imperial Japan. Overall the policy proved very effective, disarming critics, dampening opposition, and garnering important allies across the hemisphere. Its most important effects arguably came during World War II, when governments throughout Latin America backed the Allies in their war against Germany and Japan.

The short-term antecedents to the policy have been traced to president-elect Herbert Hoover's tour of Latin America in late 1928, following the sixth Pan-American Conference in Havana in January (at which U.S. policy came under heavy criticism), when he announced his hope that the nations of the Western Hemisphere might get along like "good neighbors." Under FDR the Good Neighbor Policy assumed military, economic, political, and cultural dimensions. Militarily, the United States withdrew its troops from Nicaragua (January 1933, an event predating formal announcement of the new policy, and in the works since late 1928) and Haiti (1934) and refused to send troops to help stabilize Cuba during the crisis of 1933–34. Also in 1934, the United States abrogated the 1901 Platt Amendment to the Cuban constitution, thus forfeiting its right to intervene militarily in Cuban affairs.

Economically, the United States actively encouraged trade and investment throughout the hemisphere while also wielding the carrot and stick of U.S. economic aid, loans, and technical assistance. In 1934, emblematic of the policy shift, Congress created the Export-Import Bank to assist U.S. firms doing business overseas and passed the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act, which authorized bilateral trade agreements with individual countries. Politically, the United States affirmed its commitment to nonintervention in Latin American affairs at the 1933 Pan-American Conference in Montevideo and in 1936 at the Buenos Aires Conference.

The policy was put to a major test in the Mexican and Bolivian oil crises of 1938–39, when FDR refused to respond militarily to nationalist expropriations of U.S. property. The refusal overturned decades of U.S. policy toward its southern neighbors, in which the U.S. government's right to protect U.S. "lives and property" was used to justify military intervention. The policy had an important cultural dimension as well, ranging from music, film, and printed texts to joint resolutions at inter-American conferences emphasizing the unity and distinctiveness of the nations of the Western Hemisphere. After World War II, the policy was subsumed under the rubric of "national security" and hemispheric security in the context of the cold war and the fight against the perceived menace of international communism. The origins, characteristics, and consequences of the Good Neighbor Policy have spawned an expansive literature.

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MICHAEL J. SCHROEDER

Great Depression, worldwide

The most dramatic economic shock the world has ever known began on October 24, 1929, "Black Thursday." After years of large-scale speculations, with millions of investors borrowing money to chase the dream of easy riches and hundreds of banks willing to accept stocks as collateral, stock prices eventually far exceeded the companies' actual productivity, and the bubble burst. The collapse of the New York stock exchange continued through October 29 ("Black Tuesday"), and during the following days and weeks countless investors found themselves broke, while hundreds of banks were forced to default on their loans.

By the early 1940s Dow Jones stock prices were still approximately 75 percent below the 1929 peak, a level that was only reached again in 1955. The FEDERAL RESERVE refused to provide emergency lending to help key banks to at least partially recover from their losses, so that the number of banks in operation almost halved over the next four years, driving thousands of business

New York City residents in a breadline beside the Brooklyn Bridge during the Great Depression. Rampant unemployment, the widespread failure of economic institutions, and crop failures created the greatest economic disaster in modern world history.

owners to the wall as their banks called in loans to stay afloat. Furthermore, because the banking system could no longer supply the necessary liquidity, new business enterprises could not be undertaken, and millions of workers lost their jobs with little hope of regaining them in the near future.

In 1933 and 1934 one-half of the total U.S. workforce was jobless or underemployed. To make things worse, home mortgages and loans had produced a huge amount of consumer debt, and although incomes decreased, debts did not. Predictably, consumer spending declined dramatically: Between 1929 and 1933 expenses for food and housing went down by more than 40 percent, with crop prices following the same downward path.

The crisis in the financial markets had set off a domino reaction, but U.S. president Herbert Hoover was a steadfast advocate of laissez-faire principles and believed that the "invisible hand" of the market and the moral fiber of the American people would ensure that everything would eventually work out. In keeping with the contemporary tendency to manage economic problems by trade measures, Hoover adopted austerity policies, and on June 17, 1930, he signed the Hawley-Smoot Tariff Act, which doubled import duties on selected goods, causing other Western countries, already burdened by war debts and reparations dating back to the Versailles Treaty of 1919, to react by raising their own import tariffs. This provoked a major disruption of world trade.

WORLD ECONOMIC DISASTER

Internationally, a combination of high external debt, falling export prices, government fiscal difficulties, and internal banking crises spelled disaster for the world economy. Latin American countries, the most dependent on selling raw materials to U.S. industries, were the first to default on their debts. Bolivia defaulted in January 1931, Peru in March of the same year, Chile in July, and Brazil and Colombia in October. Europe was hit in 1931, when several banking crises translated into foreign exchange and fiscal crises. Hungary, Yugoslavia, and Greece were forced to default in 1932, followed by Austria and Germany in 1933.

Austria's largest bank, Vienna's Kreditanstalt, failed in May 1931, an event that sent shockwaves across Europe. Depositors rushed to withdraw their money from banks that were perceived to be in weak financial conditions and, in so doing, they compromised the stability of the entire banking systems of several countries. By mid-June, many German banks had collapsed. The three largest Italian banks were rescued by the Fascist regime.

One of the main consequences of this chain reaction was that trust in sovereign loans was shattered. The social and political repercussions were catastrophic. Industrial unemployment in the United States averaged 37.6 percent in 1933, while Germany reached its highest rate at 43.8 percent, the United Kingdom at 22.1, Sweden at 23.7, Denmark at 28.8, and Belgium at 20.4 percent. In western Canada more than one-fifth of the labor force remained unemployed throughout the 1930s. Meanwhile, in the United States, the penal system became increasingly punitive. More executions were carried out than in any other decade in U.S. history, and there was also a sharp rise in imprisonment. Crime rates did not significantly rise, but the mass media popularized the idea that the social order was on the verge of collapse, generating a "crime wave" frenzy among the public.

SLUMP STABILIZED

By the early 1930s, the economic slump had destabilized the international political order, the erosion of liberal values was at an advanced stage, and welfarist cost-benefit analysis had gained appeal and credibility. Prompted by the need to cut down on public spending and by the moral panic generated by the Great Depression, several governments of the most advanced democratic countries lost confidence in the effectiveness of social reforms and undertook programs for the involuntary sterilization of thousands of citizens. It was argued that under exceptional circumstances, basic rights could be withheld and that in order to reduce the burden on the public purse, social services should only be granted to those whose social usefulness and biological capability were past doubt. In the Weimar Republic, the country hardest hit by the depression, this ideological shift produced a radicalization of medical views on racial hygiene and "euthanasia."

Trade protectionism, nationalism, and the growing appeal of fascism were among the most tragic results of the depression. Earlier enthusiasm for internationalism, cosmopolitan law, and international institutions completely disappeared, replaced by the feeling that large-scale conflicts between powers were once again inevitable.

In the Far East during the 1920s, hundreds of villages in the Chinese hinterland had seen their consumption patterns change dramatically as a consequence of the marketing campaigns of transnational corporations, which employed hundreds of thousands of Chinese

peasants. However, the progressive internationalization and connectedness of the Chinese economy meant that it became increasingly vulnerable to trade fluctuations. When the depression took place, the entire structure of Chinese agricultural production was hit with unprecedented force: The process of pauperization of the countryside population seemed unstoppable. Two major consequences ensued, the strengthening of the Communist Party and a major diaspora of Chinese emigrants seeking a better future abroad.

In Japan, a country that was heavily dependent on foreign trade, unemployment soared, and labor disputes became more and more frequent and violent, as did anti-Japanese insurgent movements in Korea and Taiwan. Rural debt forced poor tenant farmers to sell their daughters as prostitutes, and thousands of small businesses were gradually absorbed by the *zaibatsu*, huge financial combines that pushed for more authoritarian and imperialistic policies.

In the United States, Hoover's seeming idleness was interpreted by millions of U.S. voters as callousness, and the presidential candidate for the Democrats, Franklin D. Roosevelt, who evoked a more interventionist and caring state, won a landslide victory in 1932. His presidency will be forever identified with the New Deal, a series of Keynesian relief, recovery, and reform measures. This program revitalized the economy by reinvigorating mass consumption through deficit spending and restored psychological confidence and people's trust in U.S. institutions and in the future by effectively reshaping their expectations. Ultimately, the U.S. economy was reinvigorated by these measures but also by the industrial demands brought about by the coming of World War II.

Deficit spending for government-funded public works programs was successfully used to aid economic recovery in Social Democratic Sweden but also in Nazi Germany, Fascist Italy, and imperialist Japan. These countries were among the first to overcome the crisis. On the other hand, in Britain and France, two countries whose currencies were pegged to the gold standard, mostly for reasons of national pride, a genuine recovery only began when large-scale rearmament was undertaken as a reaction to the National Socialist threat. It is noteworthy that those countries that remained on the gold standard fared far worse than those that did not.

In the final analysis, the depression lasted for about a decade and was aggravated by a steadfast and self-defeating loyalty to the gold standard, as well as by increased wealth inequality and financial speculation. It was brought to an end not by the concerted effort of fair-minded and judicious leaders committed to the cause of world prosperity and peace, but by a vast military buildup leading straight into World War II.

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Stefano Fait

Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere

The formal concept of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere was announced at a press conference on August 1, 1940, by Japanese prime minister Matsuoka Yosuke. It was to be an autarkic bloc of Japanese-led Asian nations free from Western influence or control. Greater East Asia included both East Asia and Southeast Asia.

Japan's imperialist leaders regarded its values and ideals as superior to those of the rest of the world, including its East Asian neighbors. They took upon themselves the right to replace what they regarded as the conservative and negative influences of China and India within its borders. Japan would "civilize" the rest of Asia. The method chosen to spread the "benefits" of Japanese civilization was the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere.

The Meiji Restoration of 1868 brought Japan back into diplomatic contact with the West. Exposure brought awareness that the West far surpassed Japan technologically. Japanese leaders realized that to avoid the humiliation of being treated as a second-class country Japan would have to modernize on the Western model. To develop a "rich economy and strong army," Japan began modernizing its political, economic, and military systems. As early as the 1880s Japanese intellectual leaders such as Fukuzawa Yukichi encouraged the idea that Japan had a manifest destiny to be Asia's leader. Imperialist groups such as the Black Dragon Society and

Kita Ikki became popular forums for those who wanted to expel the foreigners.

JAPANESE IMPERIALISM

Japan believed it had earned its right to be as imperialistic as Western nations. As a result, Japan began subjecting its neighbors to its rule. It expanded into Hokkaido, subdued the indigenous Ainu, established treaty ports with extraterritoriality in Korea, took the Ryukyus, and fought a successful war with China. Expansion was to gain prestige, materiel, and markets, similar to the goals of imperialism of the Western nations. Indicating how successfully it had mastered the Western ways of imperialism and modernism, Japan beat Russia soundly in the Russo-Japanese War in 1905.

But the Western nations still looked down on Japan, which it resented. At the Paris Peace Conference in 1919, the Western powers rejected a Japanese demand for insertion of a racial equality clause in the League of Nations covenant. As a result, Japan felt the need to prove that it was as superior. By 1932 Japan had subjected Taiwan, Korea, and Manchuria to its control. The local populations of the conquered lands were exploited for the benefit of Japan.

After nearly half a century of conquest and exploitation, Japan enunciated the concept of the Greater East-Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere as justification for its aggression. Anticipating a long struggle to develop the new Asia under Japan, its war planners established a multistage process to acquire resources of the region as follows: Raw materials and surplus food would come from the southern region, while Manchuria and North China would provide the resources for heavy industry. The remaining areas of the sphere and parts of Asia outside it would serve as Japan's market. Japan would oversee the whole by providing planning, tools, skills, and military control.

GEOGRAPHIC BOUNDARIES

The geographic boundaries of the sphere were fluid, varying over time and political circumstance. They encompassed the Micronesian mandates and often Melanesia and Polynesia and consistently included Hawaii. It had three concentric rings. The innermost one included Japan, Korea, and Manchuria. A second ring would include China and extend to Hawaii. A third ring would include whatever area was necessary to guarantee the total economic self-sufficiency of greater East Asia.

Areas of the sphere were divided into four categories. Some lands were to be annexed outright; they included Guam, Mindanao, and Hawaii. Others, including Indochina and the Dutch East Indies, were to become protectorates. Some would be independent but would have unbreakable economic and defense bonds with Japan; these would be Hong Kong, Thailand, and the Philippines. The fourth group was independent states with economic ties to Japan; they would include Australia, New Zealand, and India.

Japan had economic rationale for enlarging the sphere. It felt heavy pressure to find sources to become economically self-sufficient due to a Western embargo on key resources. It needed the oil of the Dutch East Indies and the rubber of Indochina to support its industries and its military venture in China. It also justified its imperialism by a perceived need for guaranteed markets for its manufactured goods as well as space for colonization by its people.

The Japanese had to sell their exploitative venture to the exploited. Their slogan was "Asia for Asians," and their message was the imperative of freeing Asia from the Western yoke. They promised economic equity and growth. To provide cover for their conquest, they installed puppets, local people who had the power to declare independence from the Western powers but not the power to exercise independence from Japan.

On December 12, 1941, Japanese media announced that the just-begun war it had instigated by attacking the United States, Britain, and the Netherlands in Asia was the "Greater East Asia War," a crusade to rid greater East Asia of Chiang Kai-shek, communism, and Westerners.

Defeat by the United States and the Allies in 1945 ended Japan's imperial dream and the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere.

See also Sino-Japanese War; World War II.

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John H. Barnhill

great migrations (1900–1950)

During the period 1900 until 1950, there were vast migrations of people around the world—some peo-

ples having to flee as refugees and others voluntarily migrating in order to have a better standard of living, with numbers of indentured laborers going to work in other lands, often staying there. In addition, there were large mass pilgrimages, such as those of Muslims on the Haj to Mecca, Shi'i Muslims to Karbala on the commemoration of the Day of Ashura, and Hindus to the River Benares. Mention should also be made of the Russian Orthodox pilgrims, whole villages of whom made pilgrimages to Jerusalem in the early years of the century.

WORLD WAR I

The period before World War I saw the advent of massive ocean liners that took many tourists, but also settlers, across the Atlantic from Europe to the United States. Among the 1,317 passengers on the R.M.S. *Titanic* were large numbers of Irish seeking a better life in the Americas. At the same time many British left the British Isles to seek a new life in Australia, Canada, New Zealand and South Africa—those going to Australia being guaranteed a job under an Australian government incentive scheme. Many of these stayed in Australia, with large numbers serving in the Australian Expeditionary Force in World War I. There were also French and Italians moving to Algeria, where they established farms and small businesses, and significant numbers of British moving to Argentina, many to work on the railways. Political troubles during this period saw some Russians, especially after 1906, moving permanently, including numbers to Australia to work on the railways, as well as many Russian Jews leaving Russia owing to the pogroms, with many settling in the United States. There were also some Armenians and Christians leaving the Ottoman Empire before and during the Balkan Wars.

Indentured laborers from India moved to South Africa, to Ceylon for work on tea plantations, and to Malaya to work on the rubber plantations and tin mines, with others from Malaya and the Netherlands East Indies moving to the West Indies, including numbers from the latter for Suriname. Many Chinese went to work in Transvaal, South Africa, on the goldfields, and men from Barbados and other places in the West Indies went to work on the Panama Canal.

During World War I there were many migrations, especially in the Balkans, with Serbia being invaded by Austria-Hungary, and many Serbs having to flee Belgrade and other cities. In addition, there were internal migrations in Bosnia and Albania, also with Bulgars having to evacuate Thrace. Similarly, many Armenians were forced to migrate, and the end of the war resulted in war between Greece and the Turks, with Greeks in Turkey, such as in Smyrna, fleeing the Turks.

There were other conflicts that followed World War I including the Russian Civil War, which led to the flight of many White Russians and Ukrainians, including numbers moving to Harbin and Shanghai in China, as well as major smaller migrations associated with the formation of Czechoslovakia, Estonia, Finland, Latvia, Lithuania (especially in Memel/Klaipeda), and Poland. Some ethnic Hungarians from Vojvodina left for Hungary, Mennonites left for Paraguay and other places, and the Irish civil war saw many Protestants leaving the newly created Irish Free State and others fleeing the fighting and settling in Northern Ireland or on the British mainland. In Asia, large numbers of Britons continued to go to India, Malaya, China, and Hong Kong, with Chinese moving to Malaya for the tin mines and Indians continuing to go to Malaya for the rubber plantations. Large numbers of Koreans also left Japanese-occupied Korea for Manchuria.

In the United States, many people moved to northern cities like Detroit, New York, Cleveland, and Chicago with the establishment of large auto works and other industrial centers like Pittsburgh. Many of those who migrated north were African Americans looking to escape the repressive Jim Crow laws of the South. Additionally, with the halt on European immigration during World War I, African Americans were able to find work in northern factories. The scope of the migration was huge: The African-American population in Detroit swelled from 6,000 in 1910 to nearly 120,000 by the start of the Great Depression.

BETWEEN THE WARS

During the 1920s and 1930s, there was continued British migration to India, Malaya, China, Hong Kong, and Singapore, to Burma with the enlarging of Burma Oil, as well as others going to Africa, especially with the copper mines at Broken Hill, Northern Rhodesia (modern-day Zambia), and elsewhere. Other Europeans also moved to Rhodesia and South Africa, with some Italians moving to Argentina. Lebanese and Syrian traders started to establish themselves in the Caribbean and in West Africa, with many Indian traders and professionals moving to seek greater opportunities in East Africa. The Italians encouraged many of their people to settle in Africa, with numbers moving to Libya, Italian Somaliland, Eritrea, and also, after 1936, to Abyssinia (Ethiopia). Most left

at the end of World War II, although some, especially farmers, remained. In China, owing to people wanting to flee the warlords and also the subsequent civil wars, many Chinese left for Southeast Asia and elsewhere. The economic problems in Japan resulted in Japanese moving to Brazil, Peru, and Paraguay, with the harsher Japanese rule in Korea causing even more Koreans to flee to find work in Manchuria. The establishment of constitutional government in Siam (Thailand) saw the departure of some Thai royalists. The most noticeable forced migration was that of Jews leaving Germany for a new life in the United States and other places. This coincided with the depression and many countries introducing measures to stop migrants arriving, such as Australia starting to use the now discredited "dictation test" and other legal restraints. As a result, many of the Jews leaving Europe had to seek refuge in any country that would take them, with numbers moving to China and settling in the international city of Shanghai and other cities such as the northern Chinese city of Harbin, and others migrating to places like Bolivia, which welcomed migrants. Other migrations forced by the rise of Adolf Hitler included numbers of Germans from eastern Europe moving to Germany, including many Germans from the Baltic States, and also others from Poland and Czechoslovakia.

There were also major moves during the 1920s and 1930s within countries. The great Mississippi flood of 1927 displaced hundreds of thousands of African-American farm workers, who migrated both north and west. The dust bowl in the United States sent large numbers from states on the Great Plains, Oklahoma, Kansas, Nebraska, and South Dakota primarily, to California as their farms failed. This came about because of the failure of large numbers of farms and represented a massive move. It is estimated that one out of four families was forced to leave the area. The subsequent establishment of the Tennessee Valley Authority and other projects of Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal saw people moving to where work could be found. Prior to that, work on the Hoover Dam had also attracted many people to Boulder City, Nevada. Many people throughout Latin America also headed to the big cities with the emergence of massive cities such as Buenos Aires, Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo, and Mexico City. Other cities in Africa and Asia also proved to be magnets to people from the countryside—Tangier, Algiers, Bone, Johannesburg, Cape Town, Salisbury, Nairobi, Mombasa, and Dar-es-Salaam are some examples.

WORLD WAR II

During World War II, the Germans, after overrunning much of Europe, caused the "migration" of many of the people in the occupied territories. Many fled the fighting and the massacres by the Germans, and there were also 10 million "foreign workers" who were forced to take up employment in Germany, the largest movement of forced laborers since the end of slavery. The Japanese victories in the Pacific also saw large-scale movement of people, with Japanese civilians and Korean laborers settling into newly captured territories, indentured laborers from the Netherlands East Indies moving to Singapore, and the "Comfort Women" being forced to work in Japanese-run brothels for their armed forces throughout their newly won lands. The fighting also saw large numbers of people fleeing places to avoid the war, including Britons to Africa, especially Kenya, and wealthy Chinese escaping from the Japanese for Ceylon (modern-day Sri Lanka) and Australia. In the United States, African-American workers moved north, following jobs as industrial production in the North, Northeast, and West increased due to the war effort.

Major migrations took place in the Balkans, especially Yugoslavia, during and after the war, and Joseph Stalin in the Soviet Union deported whole nationalities during the war, including the Volga Germans and later the Chechens, Ingush, Balkars, Kalmyks, and Crimean Tartars. Many were relocated in Kazakhstan in Soviet Central Asia. The end of the war saw many Japanese, German, and Italian civilians being forced to return, respectively, to Japan, Germany, and Italy. Famine in Annam (central Vietnam) in 1945 also saw a large movement of people from that region.

The period from 1945 until 1950 saw many people leaving their places of residence in Europe and displaced persons camps being established to accommodate refugees, war orphans, and other stateless people—a large number of whom migrated to Australia, some working on projects such as the Snowy Mountain Scheme, which later led to the adoption of multiculturalism in Australia and other places. The end of fighting saw many eastern Europeans, including large numbers of Poles, returning to their homelands, and others such as Free Poles and anticommunists from the Baltic states being forced to establish new lives throughout the West, especially in the United States, Canada, and Australia. The Volga Germans were able

Armenian refugees on a Black Sea beach in 1920. In the years during and between the two world wars, millions of people around the world moved, either voluntarily or because of difficult conditions, causing a massive shift in world population.

to leave the Soviet Union, and the Greek Civil War (1946–49) saw many Greeks and Macedonians leave the region. Most of the Jews who survived THE HOLOCAUST left Europe. Many of these settled in Israel, Australia, the United States, and South America, especially in Argentina. There were also the "Ratlines" for NAZI war criminals and others suspected of being Nazi war criminals fleeing to South America, often with travel documents furnished by the Vatican. Many others also found a new life in Latin America, with many Spaniards and Italians encouraged to settle in Argentina by Evita Perón, while at the same time many Britons left Argentina following Juan Perón's nationalization of the formerly British-owned railways. Britons during this period also started settling in Rhodesia and South Africa, as well as the "£10 Poms," with many assisted migrants moving to Australia. Fairbridge and other children's settlement schemes also saw many British boys and girls being settled in Rhodesia, Australia, and South Africa.

Similarly, the great wealth being generated in Rhodesia and South Africa saw large numbers of Africans move in search of work, although many migrant workers from Mozambique were expelled from South Africa following the introduction of apartheid. Mention should also be made of the expatriates who went to work in the emerging oil industry in the Middle East, in Abadan, Basra, and other places.

There were also movements in the Middle East, with many Palestinians leaving their lands in the wars that followed the establishment of Israel. The largest migration of this period was undoubtedly the movement that followed the partition of India in 1947, with the British and many Anglo-Indians leaving and more importantly large numbers of Hindus leaving Pakistan and many Muslims leaving India for Pakistan. Many

also moved within both India and Pakistan, especially the former, which saw Muslims from the countryside move to areas where they were in greater numbers. Within Pakistan there was also a major movement of people to Karachi, which became the capital of Pakistan. Large numbers of Indians also had to leave Burma before and after it became independent in 1948.

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Justin Corfield

H

Haganah

The Haganah (Hebrew for "defense") was an underground Jewish paramilitary organization created during the British mandate in Palestine in 1920. The Haganah began as a small voluntary body of men called Ha Shomer, formed to guard Jewish settlements, or kibbutzim. The Haganah consisted of soldiers who had fought for the British in World War I as well as local farmers who were determined to defend their property from Arab attacks. After the Arab riots of 1920 and 1921, when Jews and their property fell under attack, the Jewish population realized that the British administrators would do nothing to guarantee their safety and that they had to learn to defend themselves.

At this time, the Haganah was poorly armed and not well coordinated. Its duties mainly consisted of guarding the borders between Arab and Jewish populations. In the Arab-Jewish clashes of 1929, the Haganah improved as a defense organization by securing their three main sectors in Jerusalem, Tel-Aviv, and Haifa as well as in other settlements of Palestine. The Haganah became a countrywide organization including men and women of all ages from both kibbutzim and the cities. Training programs as well as officers' training began, while a steady stream of weapons started to arrive from Europe. The underground production of weapons also began. During the Arab revolt in 1936–39, the Haganah matured and developed from a militia into a military body to successfully defend Jewish quarters and settlements from Arab attack. The British did not officially recognize the Haganah, but in the midst of the uprising they did help to organize several special forces groups trained in different tactics to help defend British interests.

In April 1937, a revisionist splinter group of the Haganah known as Irgun Zvai Leumi, or simply Irgun, began its own operations. Irgun's policies differed from those of the Haganah in that Irgun targeted the British as well as Arab Palestinians. The British 1939 White Paper, restricting Jewish immigration into Palestine, added to Jewish anger toward the British. The White Paper was viewed by Zionist leaders as a betrayal of British intentions stated in the Balfour Declaration of 1917. As a result, the Haganah began helping to guard illegal immigrant ships as they arrived along the Palestinian coast. In the process, many illegal Jewish immigrants died due to drowning and overcrowding on the tiny ships and also ended up in Nazi camps after being turned away by the British upon arrival. In June 1940, a splinter group of the Irgun left the organization after a disagreement on the decision to suspend its armed campaign against the British during World War II. These members established a more radical group called Lehi, also known as the Stern Gang, named after its new leader.

The Haganah itself was evolving into a national and relatively nonpartisan clandestine Jewish army. At this time it wished to distance itself from the Irgun's and Lehi's methods. The Haganah was officially an illegal organization, too, and yet at the same time the British

cooperated with it during the Arab revolt (1936–39) and yet again during World War II. In 1941, select members of the Haganah under British training became an elite command force, the Palmah, which was created to counter an anticipated Nazi takeover of Vichy-held Lebanon and Syria. At the conclusion of World War II, it became apparent that Britain would not change its policies in Palestine, nor would it allow a mass Jewish migration into the region. The Haganah then decided to join in on the actions of the Irgun and Lehi by attacking the British in commando raids and sabotage attacks.

The Haganah membership consisted of illegal immigrants as well as over 26,000 Palestinian Jews who had served with the British in World War II. Some of the strengths of the Haganah included its bravery, its initiative, and its ability to improvise during battle. It developed an impressive military intelligence system that allowed it to spy on the British and the Palestinian Arabs. It also became very skilled in covert operation tactics such as stealing weapons from the British and hiding the many immigrants it helped smuggle into the region. Training activities and the purchase of weapons abroad were stepped up after the 1947 UN partition plan, which called for the partition of Palestine between the Palestinian Arabs and the Jews.

Shortly after this, the Haganah, along with Irgun and Lehi, began concerted attacks on Palestinian Arabs in an attempt to force them out of the Jewish areas that were outlined in the UN plan. Some 300,000 Palestinian Arabs were displaced from their homes in five weeks, including an all-day attack on Deir Yasin village resulting in the deaths of over 250 men, women, and children. Days after the British mandate ended, Israel was declared an independent state, and in the 1948 Arab-Israeli War, also known as the War of Independence, Israel held on to the territory that had been allotted to it in the partition plan and also extended its territory by approximately one-third. At the time of the Israeli declaration of independence, the new government, led by David Ben-Gurion, decided that the new state would not have any armed militias or partisan groups, and the Haganah dissolved into the Israeli Defense Force, or IDF.

See also Zionism.

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Brian M. Eichstadt

Haitian massacre (1937)

For seven bloody days during October 1937, the Dominican army massacred thousands of Haitian men, women, and children living in the northwestern frontier region of the Dominican Republic. Thousands more fled for their lives across the border into Haiti. Many of the victims were Dominican-born and thus were accorded Dominican citizenship, as guaranteed by the country's constitution. Some came from families that had lived in the Dominican Republic for generations.

The country's president-dictator, Rafael Trujillo, ordered this wave of genocidal violence and justified his actions as an act of national self-preservation, declaring that an invasion of Haitians threatened the Dominican Republic. Trujillo, reflecting the view of many other Dominicans, defined Dominican national identity according to its difference from Haitians. Dominicans, especially the elite, identified themselves as a white and Hispanic nation, in stark opposition to the black and African Haiti.

The borderlands region dividing Haiti and the Dominican Republic represented a porous boundary marked by a transnational, bilingual, and bicultural community of Haitians and Dominicans, some of whom intermarried. Unlike Haitians living in the eastern regions of the Dominican Republic, the Haitians in the borderlands were mostly independent small farmers. Many Haitians had immigrated to the Dominican Republic in the second half of the 19th century in search of land in the sparsely populated western region of the country. Their descendants, although ethnically and culturally Haitian, were born on Dominican soil and considered it their home. The residents of this region did not regard the border between the two countries as a concrete boundary and frequently traveled back and forth several times a day.

The porous and transnational Haiti-Dominican border troubled Trujillo and the Dominican elite, and soon after his rise to power he worked to formalize the border. He feared that the open border provided an easy passageway for exiled revolutionaries to launch an attack on his regime. Trujillo signed a boundary treaty with Haitian president Sténio Vincent in March 1936. Trujillo and his elite Dominican officials actively engaged in a program of nation building and national identity dedicated to a strict geographic and cultural national boundary between Haiti and the Dominican Republic.

When the massacre began on October 2, both Haitians and Dominicans living in the borderland region

feared for their lives, having been caught completely unaware by the killing spree. No policies or actions by the Trujillo regime prior to the massacre had foreshadowed such an event. Some Dominicans risked their own lives to help their Haitian neighbors, while others aided the army in identifying Haitians. The fluidity of culture and language in this borderlands region made it difficult to distinguish Haitian from Dominican. Soldiers employed crude methods based on racially constructed stereotypes about Haitians to determine who lived and died, such as determining a person's ethnicity based on their pronunciation of the Spanish "r." The soldiers avoided the use of firearms, preferring machetes, clubs, and bayonets, suggesting to many scholars that Trujillo hoped to characterize the killings as a popular uprising, not government-sponsored genocide.

The massacre forever changed the borderlands region by imposing a strict dichotomy between Haitian and Dominican. Word of the government-sponsored massacre spread quickly as journalists and foreigners reported the atrocities. Trujillo set about creating an atmosphere of anti-Haitian sentiment to justify his military actions. President Sténio Vincent of Haiti feared a Dominican military invasion and called on the United States, Mexico, and Cuba to act as mediators between the two countries. Trujillo refused to submit to an inquiry, claiming that the incident was not a matter of international concern. The dictator subsequently offered Haiti $750,000 to settle the matter, and President Vincent readily accepted the money.

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Kathleen Legg

Hara Kei

(1856–1921) *Japanese politician*

Hara Kei (Hara Takashi) was a leading member of the Seiyukai political party in Japan in the early 20th century and the prime minister of Japan from 1918 to 1921.

Hara was born into a family of samurai background in northern Japan in 1856. After working in fields as diverse as diplomacy and journalism, Hara joined the Seiyukai, a political party founded by Ito Hirobumi in 1900, and quickly became one of its leading members. Although political parties were the leading force in the lower house of Japan's parliamentary body, the Diet, the key posts in the Japanese cabinet, including the position of prime minister, remained dominated at the turn of the century not by party officials but rather by elder statesmen. Hara became one of the foremost champions of allying the Seiyukai with the cabinet.

In 1904, Prime Minister Katsura Taro needed Seiyukai support in the Diet for budget increases in order to fight the Russo-Japanese War. Hara and Katsura made a bargain whereby Hara delivered the necessary assistance in exchange for the future appointment of Seiyukai's president, Saionji Kinmochi, as prime minister. Saionji eventually served twice as prime minister, from 1906 to 1908 and then from 1911 to 1912. As home minister in Saionji's first cabinet, Hara worked to strengthen the party by recruiting members of the civil bureaucracy into the organization. In addition, he built support for the party beyond the ranks of officialdom by providing funds for local economic development. By increasing spending on local schools, roads, harbors, and transportation, he gained a following for the Seiyukai among the electorate.

Hara became president of the Seiyukai in 1914 and was selected to serve as prime minister of Japan in the aftermath of the well-known 1918 rice riots, marking the first time that a career party politician held that leading office in the Japanese government. Although Japan had undergone an economic boom as a result of World War I, those on the lower rungs of the social hierarchy struggled with inflation and falling wages. Hara was in many ways the only leader with significant support in both the Diet's party-dominated lower house and its upper house, the House of Peers, still largely the preserve of nonparty elites, despite the fact that some upper-house delegates had joined political parties. His connections with nonparty elites proved vital to his accession to prime minister.

Upon becoming prime minister, Hara did not embark on a program of sweeping, wholesale changes. The tax qualification for voting was lowered in a move that doubled the size of the electorate, but most of the newly enfranchised were small landholders largely favorable to the Seiyukai. In a more overtly partisan manner, Hara's government remapped electoral boundaries to benefit the Seiyukai, and his appointments within the bureaucracy were often made with blatantly partisan motives. His government likewise supported defense spending, and Hara made significant efforts to improve relations with the military leadership.

Responding to protests against Japanese imperial rule, Hara attempted to replace the military administrations of Japan's colonial holdings with civilian officials, though the military successfully resisted those efforts in Korea. He also called for assimilation of colonial populations, representation for colonies in the Diet, and the granting of greater civil liberties to colonials.

Hara's career came to a violent conclusion when he was assassinated by a right-wing fanatic in Tokyo Station in 1921, but Hara Kei had played an immensely important role in transforming the Seiyukai into a leading force in Japanese politics in the early 20th century.

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Adam C. Stanley

Harlem Renaissance

The *Harlem Renaissance* is the name that was attached to the African-American literary, artistic, and intellectual movement that was centered in Harlem, a neighborhood in Upper Manhattan, New York. Many African Americans had migrated from the South to northern cities in the years after 1916 in what is known as the Great Migration, and Harlem, which had been developed as a residential area for whites, became the cultural capital of the African-American United States during the 1920s. The movement's participants knew it as "The New Negro Movement," after the title of art historian Alain Locke's book *The New Negro* (1925), in which Locke expressed the hope that the black artist would become "a collaborator and participant in American civilization."

Like any cultural movement, the Harlem Renaissance had antecedents, as the cultural life of African Americans in New York City was already well developed. Harlem, acknowledged as the black capital of the United States, was home to advocacy groups such as Marcus Garvey's Universal Negro Improvement Association, the NAACP (National Association for the Advancement of Colored People), and the National Urban League, and most nationally known African Americans, including Garvey, W. E. B. DuBois, and A. Philip Randolph, lived there. The intellectual center of Harlem was the local branch of the New York Public Library, which had the most extensive collection of material concerning African Americans in existence.

Scholars of the movement have placed its onset in 1910, when the NAACP began to publish *Crisis*, edited by W. E. B. DuBois. Others argue that it began in 1919, when black soldiers returned from World War I and U.S. cities experienced an unprecedented amount of racial violence, or in the early 1920s, which saw the publication of James Weldon Johnson's *Book of American Negro Poetry* (1922), Jean Toomer's *Cane* (1923), and the launching of the newspaper *Opportunity* (1923), edited by sociologist Charles S. Johnson for the National Urban League. Both *Crisis* and *Opportunity* published fiction and poetry and sponsored contests to encourage African-American writers.

The Harlem Renaissance is remembered as a chiefly literary movement. Poetry constituted its first literary output, but prose forms, notably fiction, replaced poetry as the dominant literary form after 1924. Although the movement included visual arts, it excluded jazz, which, although it was performed in Harlem, had other antecedents (it should be noted that the 1920s dance craze the Charleston was first performed in Harlem). As artists and writers began to speak in terms of a "New Negro," they developed a definition of African Americans as a militant, self-assertive, and urbane group of people capable of speaking for themselves. Some writers, like Langston Hughes, were at the beginning of long and distinguished careers, and some, like Jean Toomer, never wrote anything else of significance. The literary movement did not have a consistent recognizable style, as it encompassed a debate over tradition and the nature of African-American culture. Wallace Thurman, Claude McKay, Arthur Huff Fauset, and Zora Neale Hurston, among others, stressed the distinctiveness and vitality of black ethnicity, particularly among working-class African Americans, while James Weldon Johnson, Jessie Fauset, Nella Larsen, and Alain Locke were more likely to write about middle-class African-American life as a means of ensuring that it would be seen as an integral part of U.S. culture as a whole. Langston Hughes and Countee Cullen found themselves agreeing with both sides of this debate.

Hughes (1902–67) and Hurston (1891[?]–1960) are the best-known writers of the movement. Hughes, born James Langston Hughes in Joplin, Missouri, worked at a variety of jobs, traveled in the Americas and Europe, and published his first volume of poetry, *The Weary Blues*, in 1926. Seen as the prototypical

New Negro, Hughes used the rhythms and language of jazz and blues in his poems, and his essay "The Negro Artist and the Racial Mountain" (1926) stands with *The New Negro* as a principal statement of the movement's ideology. Hurston, who grew up in the all-black hamlet of Eatonville, Florida, graduated from Barnard College, where she studied with the anthropologist Franz Boas. Hurston's literary output interpreted African-American folktales she had gathered in the rural South in collections and novels published during the 1930s.

Visual artists connected with the Harlem Renaissance are less renowned. Aaron Douglas is best known for his illustrations in *The New Negro* and in James Weldon Johnson's *God's Trombones: Seven Negro Sermons in Verse*. Palmer Hayden, who was trained in both New York and Paris, is best known for his paintings of African subjects. Other artists associated with the movement were Malvin G. Johnson and William H. Johnson. The best known sculptor is Augusta Savage, and photographers James Van Der Zee and Roy DeCarava are also associated with the movement.

The Harlem Renaissance contributed to placing black art and literature at the center of American life, but the incorporation was not entirely the work of African Americans. For African Americans, the movement was a response to calls from critics like Randolph Bourne and Van Wyck Brooks for a U.S. culture independent of European tradition. For white literary America, Harlem was exotic. When Harlem was embraced by white critics like H. L. Mencken and Carl Van Vechten, it was in part as a result of their own iconoclasm. Van Vechten's book *Nigger Heaven* (1926) "promoted" Harlem to white Americans (and caused anger and resentment among many African Americans), but Van Vechten also served as a patron to Langston Hughes and introduced other black writers to patrons such as Mrs. R. Osgood (Charlotte) Mason, Albert Barnes, Louise Bryant, the William E. Harmon Foundation, the Julius Rosenwald Fund, and the General Education Fund. Mencken published the work of African-American artists in the *American Mercury*.

As the Great Depression set in, resources available to African Americans in Harlem dwindled, making cultural activities even harder to maintain. The end of the Harlem Renaissance came in 1935, when a racially based riot convulsed Harlem. There has been a good deal of debate concerning what was seen as the failure of African American artists and writers to create and maintain independent cultural institutions, but it is generally agreed that the movement provided subsequent African-American writers and artists with a cultural base upon which later generations could build.

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David Miller Parker

Hashemite dynasty in Iraq

The San Remo Treaty (1920) following World War I granted Britain control over Iraq as a mandate. Following the bloody Iraqi rebellion against the mandate, the British decided at the 1921 Cairo Conference, attended by Sir Percy Cox as Iraqi high commissioner among others, to provide a semblance of independence by establishing an Iraqi monarchy that would be closely tied to Britain.

A member of the respected Hashemite family, Faysal (also Feisal), Sherif Husayn's son, was approached about becoming king of Iraq. Faysal was a favorite of the British from their relationship with him during the Arab revolt, and the French had recently militarily ousted him as king of Syria. Faysal reluctantly agreed to accept the position after a plebiscite had been held to confirm his support within Iraq. The plebiscite was held under British supervision, and Faysal was elected king. Faysal was crowned in the summer of 1921 with Cox remaining as the British high commissioner. The 1922 treaty between Iraq and Britain allowed for direct British administration over defense and domestic security; British advisers also retained veto power in other ministries. Legally, Faysal ruled under the 1925 constitution, which was written by the British. The constitution provided for a two-house parliament and a cabinet with wide executive powers. Elections were effectively stage-managed by the cabinet, and martial law was periodically implemented to prevent disorder.

The new government faced major domestic and regional problems. Iraq was a complex society of ethnic and religious groups. Kurds, who were Sunni Muslims, dominated the north and had nationalist ambitions for an independent state of their own. Sunni Muslim Arabs lived mostly in the center around Baghdad, and the

population in the south and the main city of Basra was mostly Shi'i Arab. There were also small populations of Assyrian Christians (who were persecuted in the 1930s), other Christians scattered around the nation, and Jews, who resided mostly in Baghdad. The borders of the new nation were unclear, and it had difficult relations with neighboring Iran. The borders with Iran were not settled until 1937, when Iraq was given sovereignty over the Shatt al-'Arab in the south and Iran gained the port of Abadan on the Persian Gulf. Along its southern border Iraq claimed Kuwait, an impoverished territory but one that had a long coastline along the Persian Gulf, but the claims were rejected by Cox at the 'Uqayr conference of 1922, leaving Iraq practically landlocked. There were also disputes with Turkey over the northern region of Mosul, but the British intervened in Iraq's favor. The territory, with its oil reserves, remained under Iraqi—and by extension British—control. In the north the British also periodically put down secessionist movements among the Kurds and again used poison gas as they had done during the 1920 rebellion.

The preponderance of Sunnis in key government and economic positions and the underrepresentation of the large Shi'i population also posed problems. Throughout the interwar years Nuri Said, who was notably pro-British, served repeatedly as prime minister. Economically, the revenues from petroleum helped create an urban middle class and finance some irrigation projects. A pipeline from Iraq to the port of Haifa on the Mediterranean was completed in the 1930s. But the concessions between the petroleum companies and the government favored the companies, and most Iraqis felt that the country did not receive appropriate compensation for its major resource.

Mounting nationalist and anti-British sentiments in the army posed problems for both the monarchy and the British. The nationwide curriculum instituted by Sati al-Husri, a pan-Arabist, stressed Arab history and culture and encouraged the development of national loyalties. This further alienated many Kurds and Shi'i, who felt, correctly, that they were underrepresented.

The Anglo-Egyptian Treaty of 1930 provided for the future full independence of Iraq but also enforced a close alliance with Britain. Under the treaty, which was the model for the 1936 treaty between Britain and Egypt, Britain retained the veto over Iraqi foreign policy and the right to station troops on Iraqi territory. With independence in 1932, Iraq was admitted into the League of Nations.

Opening of the Iraq parliament in 1942: The regent salutes with the prime minister, General Nuri as-Said, on his left.

Faysal died in 1933 and was succeeded by his son Ghazi, who was far more nationalistic and anti-British than his father had been. He increased the size of the army, which played an increasingly important role in Iraqi politics. A number of nationalist clubs and political parties were formed in the 1930s and 1940s, particularly the People's Party and the National Party, formed in the 1920s, and the Iraqi Communist Party (ICP), established in 1934.

Like many other Arab nationalists, Ghazi viewed relations with Nazi Germany as a possible way to decrease British control over the region. As war loomed, Britain and Nuri Said became increasingly worried about the monarch's loyalty. Consequently, when Ghazi died in an automobile crash in 1939, many Iraqis suspected foul play by the British. Because Ghazi's son was too young to rule, his openly pro-British uncle Abdul-Ilah was made regent.

Rashid Ali al-Qaylani, a judge and former cabinet member, became prime minister in the early 1940s. Al-Qaylani and key army officers, known as the Golden Square, looked to the Axis powers to counter the British in Iraq. After al-Qaylani was removed from office in a vote of no confidence, he was returned to power in a military coup d'état in the spring of 1941. The regent fled

to Jordan, which was ruled by Hashemite amir Abdullah, a close relative. To protect their interests the British promptly landed troops from India at Basra. The Iraqis surrounded the key Habbaniyya military base near Baghdad, and the British retaliated by bombing the Iraqi troops. The Iraqis held out, but with reinforcements from the Arab Legion (Jordanian forces commanded by the British), the British retook the base and ousted al-Qaylani and the Iraqi generals who had supported the coup. They were subsequently imprisoned, executed, or sent into exile. The British held Iraq, with Nuri Said often acting as prime minister, for the duration of World War II.

After the war Iraq joined the Arab League and participated along with other Arab armies in the 1948 Arab-Israeli War. Their loss in that war shocked Iraqis and resulted in mass uprisings, and Jews and Jewish-owned businesses were also attacked. As pan-Arab nationalism grew in the postwar era, the power and influence of the pro-British monarchy and its supporters eroded. Nuri ignored or underestimated demands for reforms and mounting opposition, and the monarchy was overthrown in a bloody revolution led by the Iraqi army in 1958.

See also Hashemite monarchy in Jordan (1914–1953); oil industry in the Middle East.

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Janice J. Terry

Hashemite monarchy in Jordan (1914–1953)

Like many other postcolonial states in the Middle East, the Hashemite monarchy of Jordan has largely artificial boundaries drawn by European imperial powers. The European powers, particularly Britain and France, divided the territories of much of the Middle East between themselves as the previous empire of the Ottoman Turks collapsed in the wake of World War I. As part of the Sykes-Picot wartime agreement between Britain and France, the territory that is now Jordan came under British tutelage. In 1921, having secured the League of Nations' official mandate for the territories of Palestine, Transjordan, and Iraq, the British government created the Emirate of Transjordan through an agreement with its new ruler, Emir Abdullah (later King Abdullah I) of the Hashemite family.

The Hashemites had fought with the British in the "Great Arab Revolt" against the Ottoman Turkish Empire during World War I. But shortly after the war ended, the Hashemites were defeated and expelled from Arabia by their rival Abd al-Aziz Ibn Saud, who ultimately carved out the modern Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. In the postwar mandate period, the British government decided to install two brothers of the House of Hashem, Abdullah and Faysal, in their mandates of Jordan and Iraq, respectively. This move was in large part intended as a reward for Hashemite support in the Arab revolt against the Ottoman Empire during World War I.

Since its beginnings, Jordan has developed into a modern state that has long defied predictions of its imminent demise. What began as the British mandate of Transjordan in 1921 evolved into the Emirate of Transjordan at the time of independence from Britain in 1946, and finally into its current form as the Hashemite kingdom of Jordan beginning in 1949.

The Hashemite monarchy pointedly emphasized its Islamic lineage, especially the direct Hashemite family line descending from the prophet Muhammad. Beyond this emphasis on a religious and cultural source of legitimacy, the monarchy also established itself immediately as the premier and centralized political power in the emerging Jordanian state. It would come to dominate the economy through reliance on a large public sector and also predicate its rule on co-option of key constituencies, including ethnic and religious minorities, while also relying on the armed forces that benefited from extensive royal patronage.

Given its location, Jordan was from the outset deeply involved in the various dimensions of the Arab-Israeli conflicts. By the time of Jordanian independence in 1946, tensions were peaking in neighboring Palestine between Jews and Arabs over the issue of Zionist versus Palestinian aspirations to full statehood. When the United Nations voted to partition Palestine between the two peoples in 1947 and Israel declared its independence the following year, Jordan's Arab Legion was one of the Arab armies that attacked the new state, joining fighting that had already begun between the two communities. In what remains one of the most controversial moves in the history of modern Middle Eastern politics, King Abdullah formally annexed the West Bank to his Jordanian kingdom in 1950. The debate ever since has turned on whether Abdullah's move preserved Arab

territory from complete Israeli control or whether he foreclosed the possibility of a smaller Palestinian state by annexing the territory.

Abdullah paid for that decision with his life, when he was gunned down in East Jerusalem by a Palestinian nationalist in 1951. After a brief transitional period during which his son, Talal, was judged mentally unfit to rule, Abdullah's grandson Hussein became king in 1953.

See also Arab-Israeli War (1948).

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Curtis R. Ryan

Hatta, Muhammad

(1902–1980) *Indonesian vice president*

The first vice president of Indonesia, Muhammad Hatta was born on born August 12, 1902, in Bukittinggi, West Sumatra. He had his early education in the Dutch schools of Padang and Batavia. He was in the Netherlands from 1922 to 1932, where he studied in Rotterdam and involved himself in political activities. He along with Minangkabau Sultan Sjahrir (1909–66) joined the Indische Vereeniging (Indies' Student Society) and became instrumental in changing the social club into a politically important association, the Perhimpunan Indonesia (Indonesian Union), in 1922. Hatta established Perhimpunan Mahasiswa Indonesia (Indonesian Students Association), becoming its chairperson in 1926. He joined the League against Imperialism and attended the Brussels meeting in February 1927. After returning to the Netherlands, he was imprisoned by the Dutch government but was released in 1928.

Hatta came back to Indonesia in 1932 and found the Partai Nasional Indonesia (PNI, Nationalist Party of Indonesia) faction-ridden after the arrest of its leader, Sukarno. Hatta believed in building up cadres who would be active in nationalist agendas. The Pendidikan Nasional Indonesia (Indonesian National Education Club) was formed from a splinter group of the PNI. Sukarno tried to bring different nationalist groups together after his release into a mass organization called Partai Indonesia (Partindo, Indonesian Party). It was short lived, as the leaders of the Indonesian nationalist movement were put behind bars by the reactionary governor-general of the Dutch government, De Jonge (1931–36). Sukarno was exiled in 1933, and the following year Hatta and Sjahrir were assigned to penal camps. The nationalist struggle was effectively suppressed by the policy of repression.

The banishment of the leaders was over after the Japanese entered the country in March 1942. The Japanese desire to use the leaders in their war effort opened new avenues for the leaders. On August 17, 1945, two days after Japan surrendered to the Allies, Sukarno and Hatta proclaimed independence and established the Republic of Indonesia. Sukarno was elected president, and Hatta became the vice president. The Dutch returned, and the republic was attacked in 1947 and 1948. The archipelago was divided between republican-held territory and that being reoccupied by the Dutch. The republic's capital was captured, and most of its top leaders, including Sukarno and Hatta, were arrested and exiled. The world reaction was sharp, and the UN Security Council ordered an immediate cease-fire. Hatta presided over the delegation sent to The Hague for negotiating with the Dutch. The Hague Agreement of December 27, 1949, transferred sovereignty to the Indonesian federal government. On August 17, 1950, the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia was restored. Hatta was again premier in 1949 and 1950. He was vice president until 1956. He devoted the rest of his life to the development of cooperatives. The humble and much respected leader died on March 14, 1980, in Jakarta.

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Patit Paban Mishra

Haya de la Torre, Víctor Raúl

(1895–1979) *Peruvian president*

A prominent Peruvian political activist and the man who won the 1931 and 1962 Peruvian presidential elections, Haya de la Torre was the founder of the Aprista Party, which has been in the forefront of radical dissent in Peru since 1924. He wanted greater rights—political and economic—for the indigenous Indians of

Latin America and an end to the power of the Spanish oligarchies that controlled many of the countries, as well as an end to the domination of the economies of Latin American countries by foreign businesses.

Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre was born on February 22, 1895, at Trujillo, in the north of Peru, the son of wealthy parents descended from conquistadores. As a teenager, Haya de la Torre learned to read and speak French and German and became interested in Nietzsche. He then proceeded to the University of Trujillo, where he studied literature and became a close friend of the Peruvian poet César Vallejo. He studied at the National University of San Marcos in Lima. While at San Marcos he was involved in the University Reform Movement, which had spread from Argentina, where he had spent some time studying. This was aimed at expanding the university to allow poorer people to attend.

Haya de la Torre was instrumental in the founding of the Universidades Populares Gonzalez Prada, which were night schools for workers.

Haya de la Torre was heavily influenced by three things: a visit to Cuzco, where he saw many Indians being badly treated; his student days at the University of Córdoba in Argentina; and the Mexican Revolution. He was a student leader and in 1923 led a protest against the dedication of Peru to the Sacred Heart of Jesus. The idea had been suggested by the president, Augusto B. Leguía, and was unpopular with many people. The protests rocked Peru for three days, after which the archbishop of Lima suggested that Leguía withdraw his idea, which he did. However, Haya de la Torre had become nationally famous overnight, and he was arrested and then deported.

Haya de la Torre went into exile in Mexico City, where on May 7, 1924, he founded the Alianza Popular Revolucionaria Americana (APRA Popular Revolutionary American Party). It advocated Latin American unity, support for the indigenous Indian population, and the nationalization of foreign-owned businesses, especially those owned by U.S., British, and European interests, a doctrine now widely known as Aprismo. When Leguía was overthrown in 1930, Haya de la Torre was in Berlin. His supporters nominated him as a candidate for the forthcoming presidential elections, and when he returned to Lima he was greeted by the biggest crowd that had gathered in Peru up to that point. He won the elections, defeating Colonel Luis M. Sánchez Cerro, who had the support of the oligarchy, the church, and the army. Fraud saw Sánchez Cerro declared the winner, and in February 1932 Haya de la Torre was arrested and thrown into jail without trial. He was held in prison for a total of 14 months. Sánchez Cerro was assassinated on April 30, 1933, and Haya de la Torre was released from prison.

From 1936 until 1945 Haya de la Torre was essentially a semifugitive, being sought by the police for various reasons. However, he was available to meet foreign journalists, and U.S. writer John Gunther had no trouble organizing three interviews with him. In 1945 APRA changed its name to the Partido del Pueblo ("People's Party") and declared its support for José Luis Bustamante y Rivero in the presidential elections. Bustamante won the elections with Haya de la Torre as the real power broker. It was, however, not an alliance that lasted for long. In 1947 Bustamante banned the Partido del Pueblo, which had been riven by disputes from members in Callao, and in October 1948 he imposed martial law to rule by decree. On October 28, 1948, Bustamante was overthrown in a political coup d'état, and Haya de la Torre was forced to take refuge in the Colombian embassy, where he remained until 1954.

In June 1962 another presidential election was held, and Haya de la Torre narrowly defeated Fernando Belaúnde Terry. Belaúnde claimed that the election victory had been achieved by fraud, and the military under President Pérez Godoy seized power and annulled the entire election. New elections were held in June 1963, and Belaúnde won. However, in October 1968 Belaúnde was himself overthrown. All political parties were banned until 1978, when a new constituent assembly was elected to write a new constitution. Haya de la Torre was the president of that assembly and signed the new constitution from his bed, unable to leave it owing to illness. He was then adopted as the APRA's candidate for the 1980 presidential elections but died on August 2, 1979, in Lima.

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Justin Corfield

Hirohito

(1901–1989) *emperor of Japan*

Emperor Hirohito of Japan lived in an age of contradictions, caught between ancient traditions and modern

realities. The 124th in the line of the longest dynasty the world has known, Hirohito saw the Japanese monarchy become purely ceremonial. Japan was modernized during his reign when he died after 63 years on the throne, the longest reign of modern monarchs. The Japanese emperors were said to be direct descendants of the sun goddess who founded Japan more than 2,500 years ago. After World War II at U.S. demand, he issued a renunciation of any claims to his divinity after ruling over his country during one of its most militaristic periods.

Born on April 29, 1901, Hirohito was the first son of Crown Prince Yoshito, son of Emperor Mutsuhito (better known as the Meiji emperor). As was the custom with the royal household, while still a tiny infant Hirohito was taken from his mother to be reared by foster parents. Count Kawamura, the foster father, was already 70 years old when he took the responsibility of rearing the royal infant, and he died when the child was three years old. At that time, Hirohito was returned to the residence of his parents, Akasara Palace. Even here, however, Hirohito was isolated from other children and from his parents. He rarely saw his unemotional father and visited his mother once a week.

In 1908 the young Hirohito was sent to Peers School, founded especially for males of noble birth, where he became interested in natural history and science. This interest developed into a passion for marine biology, a field in which Hirohito became a worldwide authority and on which he published eight books.

Meiji died in 1912 and was succeeded by Hirohito's father, the Taisho emperor; Hirohito, the heir apparent, became engaged to the daughter of a nobleman, Princess Nagako, in 1918, who became his only wife, bearing him five daughters and two sons.

In 1921 Hirohito, along with an enormous retinue, made an unprecedented visit to Europe. No other Japanese crown prince had ever visited another country. He was greatly impressed with what seemed to him the informality and freedom of the rulers, especially the British royal family. Later that year Hirohito was named regent for his father, who was declining mentally. In 1923 he survived an attempted assassination by a young radical.

At the age of 25 Hirohito became emperor of Japan. He chose the name Showa (Enlightened Peace) for his reign. Hirohito's grandfather had helped bring Japan into the modern world when he had dismantled the powers of the feudal shogun. When he came to the throne, Japan, like much of the world in the 1920s, was in the midst of growth and optimism. However, in the midst of the Great Depression of the 1930s, Japan became more fascist and militaristic, with many assassinations and domestic unrest, culminating in an uprising in January 1936 during which Tokyo was under the direct command of military divisions. Hirohito acted swiftly to control the insurrection and punish the leaders, but Japan's military continued to gain strength.

Japan invaded China in 1937 without Hirohito's direct approval but also without his intervention. The emperor did not like the policies of Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy, but he did not openly oppose Japan's alliance with them; he signed the declaration of war against the United States and the Allies in 1941. Hirohito's participation in events that led to and during World War II remain controversial due to the destruction of many documents immediately after Japan's surrender. Evidence shows that while he was not instrumental in Japan's aggressions beginning in the 1930s, he was fully aware of Japan's wartime goals and methods and participated in key meetings and decision making. In 1945 Hirohito made his famous radio address asking his people to surrender. It was the first time that the public had ever heard his voice.

When the United States began its occupation of Japan, Hirohito accepted full responsibility for the war and offered to abdicate his throne. However, the Allies felt Japan's stability would be better preserved if the emperor remained. As the figurehead ruler under the constitution promulgated in 1947, Hirohito had the luxury of devoting the remainder of his life to his scientific pursuits. He tried to establish a more open relationship with the people, and although he was a popular figure, he was awkward when meeting them.

Emperor Hirohito made two more foreign visits in his later years. In 1972 he traveled to Europe, and in 1975 he visited the United States. He died on January 7, 1989, and was succeeded by his eldest son, Crown Prince Akihito.

See also Sino-Japanese War.

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Jean Shepherd Hamm

Hiroshima and Nagasaki

By the summer of 1945, World War II in the Pacific was virtually over. Since December 1941, the United States had pushed Japanese forces back until only the homeland itself remained in Japanese control. The United States prepared to launch an invasion of Japan.

While preparing for the invasion, on July 26 U.S. president Harry S. Truman and British prime minister Clement Attlee, with Nationalist Chinese president Chiang Kai-shek concurring, issued the Potsdam Declaration calling for the unconditional surrender of Japan and listing additional peace terms. At this point Truman knew that the first atomic bomb test at Alamogordo, New Mexico, had been successful 10 days earlier.

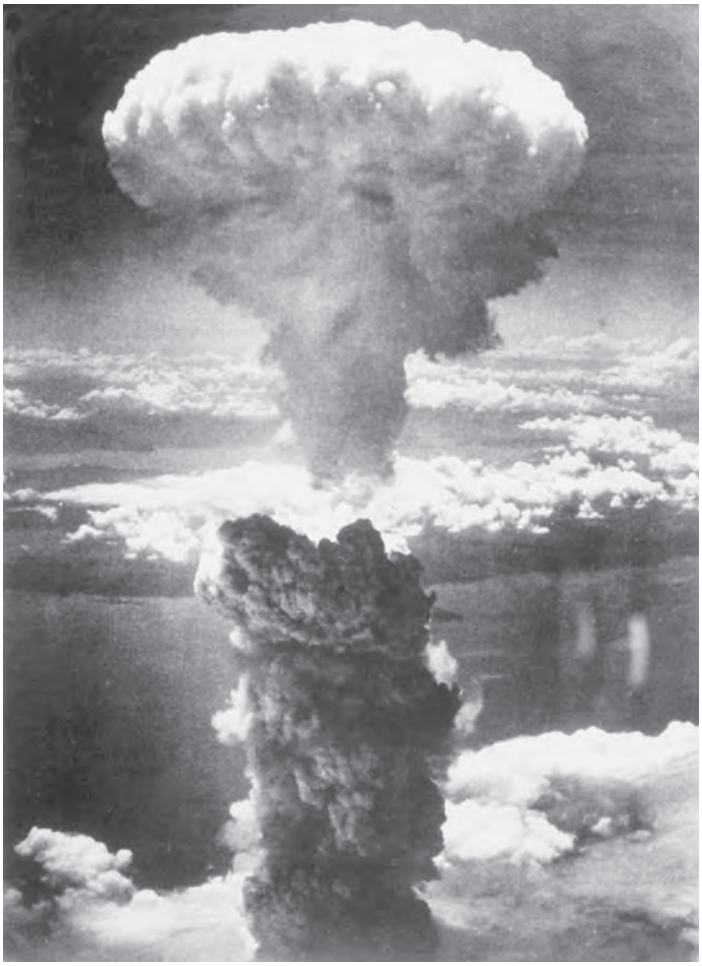
The test was the culmination of a three-year highly secret project. The first man-made atomic reactor was built in a squash court at the University of Chicago in 1942. More sophisticated reactors were built at Hanford, where the plutonium was produced. The first test of the plutonium bomb was at Alamogordo on July 16, 1945.

Although the Potsdam Declaration made it clear to the Japanese that they could anticipate severe consequences if they chose to continue the war, Japan rejected the ultimatum. Truman ordered the use of the bomb. His secretary of war, Henry L. Stimson, regarded the use of the bomb as less abhorrent than sacrificing U.S. lives. Truman's military advisers had indicated that the invasion of Japan could result in the loss of half a million U.S. soldiers plus millions of Japanese military and civilian lives. Truman wanted the war over, and he wanted the maximum possible blow in order to end the war without the invasion. The U.S. military selected Hiroshima and Kokura because the two were among the Japanese cities that had thus far escaped the destruction caused by U.S. and Allied bombs.

On August 6, 1945, at 9:15 a.m. Tokyo time, the B-29 bomber *Enola Gay*, piloted by Paul W. Tibbets, dropped a uranium atomic bomb, "Little Boy," on Hiroshima. In minutes half of Japan's seventh-largest city was gone, and thousands of people were dead. Between 60,000 and 70,000 people were dead or missing, and 140,000 were injured.

On August 6 another bomb was prepared on Tinian Island. On August 9 the B-29 *Bock's Car* prepared to bomb Kokura. Smoke over the target caused pilot Sweeney to seek his alternate target, Nagasaki.

The industrial city of Nagasaki fell to the bomb "Fat Man" at 11:02 a.m. Exploded at 1,800 feet to maximize the impact of the blast, Fat Man leveled buildings, destroyed electrical systems, and generated fires. The bomb destroyed 39 percent of the city, killed 42,000, and injured 40,000.



The devastation caused by the atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki quickly led to the end of World War II in the Pacific.

The two bombings killed 210,000 Japanese—140,000 in Hiroshima and 70,000 in Nagasaki, two-thirds of them women, children, and elderly. Deaths to military and foreign workers are unknown. What is known is that the explosion rather than the radiation was the primary cause of death. Some 24 Australian prisoners of war about 1.5 kilometers from Nagasaki ground zero survived, many to old age.

The bombs produced fires, blast pressure, and extremely high radiation levels. Both were detonated about 600 meters aboveground, so the belowground contamination was minimal from the bombs. Subsequent rainfall deposited radioactive material east of Nagasaki and west and northwest of Hiroshima, but

the great majority of the radioactive material was taken high into the atmosphere by the blasts themselves. The blasts also irradiated some stable metals—such as those found in metal roofs—for a day or two after the blast, but the damage was minimal.

In the cities victims died due to flash burns from the heat generated by the blast. People died when their homes burst into flames. Others were injured by flying debris. In Hiroshima a firestorm arose in the center of the devastation. People within 300 yards of ground zero were vaporized, leaving their shadows on the streets. Blast and heat also stripped skin off bodies, sucked out eyeballs, and burst stomachs. Radiation deaths in subsequent years totaled about 120,000.

Severe radiation produced death within days. Severe radiation injuries were suffered by all persons within a one-kilometer radius. At between one and two kilometers distance injuries were serious to moderate, and slight injury affected those within two to four kilometers.

In addition to the 103,000 killed by the bombs in the first four months, another 400 died from cancer and leukemia over the subsequent 30 years. The bombs also produced birth defects and stillbirths. The children of survivors seem to have suffered no genetic damage. As of 2004, 93,000 exposed survivors were being monitored.

On September 2, 1945, the Japanese government surrendered unconditionally. Winston Churchill calculated that the bomb had saved the lives of 250,000 British and 1 million Americans.

Harry Truman's argument that the bomb would save half a million soldiers was unconvincing to critics, who in the years since have noted that the Japanese were prepared to ask for peace before the bombs were dropped and had already sought peace in previous months. To these critics, the real reason for the use of the bombs was Truman's desire to frighten and impress the Soviet Union, which was already moving from ally to rival. Truman wanted to end the war before the Soviets could enter the Pacific War and stake a claim to a piece of the postwar settlement.

The Hiroshima bomb used 60 kilograms of highly enriched uranium-235 to destroy about 90 percent of the city. The Nagasaki bomb used 8 kilograms of plutonium-239. The bombs were a thousand times more powerful than any exploded previously. Four years later the United States exploded the first hydrogen bomb, and it was not long before there were bombs a thousand times more powerful than the one that was dropped on Hiroshima. By the 1980s the world's arsenals included a million Hiroshima bombs.

The Soviet Union tested its atomic bomb in 1949, and quickly Great Britain, France, and China joined the atomic community.

Beginning in the 1950s the emphasis was on the use of atomic energy for electricity and medical purposes. In the early 21st century 16 percent of the world's electricity, including that of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, came from atomic power.

See also Einstein, Albert.

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John H. Barnhill

Hitler, Adolf

(1889–1945) *German dictator*

Adolf Hitler, the dictator of Germany, proponent of Nazism, and perpetrator of the Holocaust, was born on April 20, 1889, in the Austrian town of Braunau near the German border. His father, Alois, was a customs official, and his mother, Klara, was a gentlewoman. Hitler did not finish his secondary education and moved to Vienna at the age of 18 to study art and architecture.

He was unsuccessful in getting admission and stayed in Vienna until 1913, doing menial jobs. Hitler developed a rabid nationalism and simultaneously showed deep anti-Semitism. He was influenced by anti-Jew writer Lanz von Liebenfels (1874–1954). The right-wing Austrian politician and mayor of Vienna Karl Lueger (1844–1910), along with Georg Ritter von Schönerer (1842–1921), an advocate of pan-Germanism, also shaped Hitler's violent hatred of the Jews.

He enlisted in the German army during World War I. Hitler returned to Munich in 1919 with five medals and the prestigious German Iron Cross (twice) for his bold service as dispatch runner. The war had rescued him from the frustration of civilian life and inculcated in his mind a strong like of discipline and

authoritarianism. He had also developed a deep hatred of left-wing politics, and it was no coincidence that his anti-Semitism developed along with his political beliefs, as many of the advocates of socialism and communism were Jews.

The army employed Hitler as a political officer, and he freely gave vent to his feelings in the charged atmosphere following the humiliating Versailles Treaty of June 28, 1919. The treaty signed by the German politicians was a peace dictated by others, and German humiliation was complete. Hitler was to report the activities of the Deutsche Arbeiterpartei (DAP, German Workers' Party), and he soon found that the party ideals of extreme nationalism and anti-Semitism were in line with his own beliefs. With his excellent skill of delivery, Hitler impressed the members and joined the DAP. Thus, the political career of Hitler began in September 1919. He was soon placed in charge of propaganda and recruited fellow soldiers from the army who had also been disillusioned with the Treaty of Versailles.

NAZI PARTY

All the blame for Germany's woes was put on the Jews, communists, and inefficient political leadership of the Weimar Republic. Hitler made the symbol of the party the swastika (symbolizing victory for the Aryan race) with a red background (symbolizing the social idea) and enclosed in a white circle (symbolizing the national idea). Hitler changed the name of the DAP to the National Socialist German Workers' Party (NSDAP, Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei), Nazi for short. As chairperson of the party, Hitler was addressed as the führer (leader).

The Weimar Republic received a severe blow in January 1923, when France and Belgium occupied the Ruhr industrial area and brought the German economy to a standstill. Hitler tried to exploit the situation with the Beer Hall Putsch of November in Bavaria, but the coup failed and the führer was imprisoned. During his period of incarceration, he wrote *Mein Kampf* (My struggle). The memoir-cum-doctrinal Nazi guide book spelled out an agenda for an expanded Germany inhabited by a pure Aryan race and excluding Jews and other unwanted people.

Hitler was biding his time and realized that he could attain power through the ballot box. The collapse of the New York Stock Market on October 23, 1929, and the consequent worldwide Great Depression affected the German economy. The unemployment figure rose from 1.30 million to nearly 4 million by the end of 1930. Hitler exploited the deteriorating economic situation. He had assured the top industrialists, by issuing a pamphlet entitled *The Road to Resurgence*, that the Nazi Party was not against the wealthy. His promise of suppression of trade unionism and building up of the army was music to the ears of big industrialists. His technique of propaganda and rabble-rousing speeches appealed to the workers. The political elite began to accept him because of his emphasis on legality. In the 1932 elections Hitler's party was the strongest in Germany, with 40 percent of the votes. The Reich president, Paul von Hindenburg (1847–1934), was persuaded by conservative leaders and Nazi supporters to appoint Hitler chancellor in January 1933.

Nazi political opponents were subdued by mass demonstrations in favor of Hitler and terrorized by the brown-shirted SA, the Sturmabteilung (storm troopers), and the black-uniformed ss, the Schutzstaffel (security echelon). In March an act that granted dictatorial power to Hitler was passed. After four months all political parties were banned save the Nazi Party, and the common form of greeting became "Heil Hitler" with an outstretched right arm. A ministry of propaganda was instituted under Joseph Goebbels (1897–1945). On June 30, 1934, Hitler carried out a purge in the Nazi Party by murdering his opponents in the "night of the long knives." With the death of Hindenburg in August, Hitler, with the title of führer, was the supreme leader of Germany. The legal system was virtually nonexistent, and the Geheime Staatspolizei (the Gestapo, the secret state police), formed by Hermann Göring (1893–1946), threw the anti-Nazis into concentration camps. A rearmament and public housing program were initiated.

The economy revived, and the unemployment figures went down. Germany became 83 percent self-sufficient in agriculture by fixing farm prices and wages, banning the sale of farms of less than 312 acres, and reclaiming uncultivated lands. Industrial recovery was achieved by the Four-Year Plans of 1933 and 1936. The ministry of economics distributed raw materials and regulated prices, imports, and exports. Hitler's popularity soared, while Germany had been transformed into an authoritarian state.

Hitler struck against the Jews, which culminated in the Nazis' sending them into gas chambers and concentration camps during World War II. The Nuremberg laws of September 1935 denied the Jews citizenship and the right to marry non-Jews. Hitler's policies led to large-scale Jewish migration to different parts of the world. The November 1938 pogrom against the Jews resulted in massacre, looting of property, the forcing of

Jews to wear yellow stars of David so that they could be identified, and resettlement in ghettos.

Hitler posed as a defender of peace and a crusader against Bolshevism. The leadership of Britain and France appeased Hitler because to them Joseph Stalin (1879–1953) was a greater menace. With consummate skill Hitler began to scrap the provisions of the Treaty of Versailles and to follow the policy of *Lebensraum* in an eastward direction. Hitler withdrew from the Geneva Disarmament Conference as well as from the League of Nations in October 1933. He denounced the provisions of the Treaty of Versailles and introduced conscription in March 1934.

The next year Germany began expanding its armed forces and its navy in flagrant violation of the military clauses of the Treaty of Versailles. In March 1936, Hitler occupied the demilitarized Rhineland. Italy and Japan, with the same agenda of ultranationalism, militarism, and aggressive foreign policy, became close allies of Germany. The three countries signed pacts for furthering their aims. The Rome-Berlin Axis was established between Benito Mussolini (1883–1945) and Hitler in October 1936, and the following month Germany signed the Anti-Comintern Pact with Japan, which Italy joined in 1937.

Both Hitler and Mussolini supported General Francisco Franco (1892–1975) in the Spanish civil war against the republicans. Continuing his policy of lebensraum, Hitler turned his attention toward Austria, which was German in tradition and language. There had already been a putsch in 1934 for *Anschluss* (annexation). In March 1938 the Nazi army marched in and annexed Austria.

The republic of Czechoslovakia, with its minority population of 3.25 million Sudeten Germans, was next on the agenda. Great Britain and France followed a policy of appeasement toward Hitler. They thought wrongly that Hitler would remain satisfied, but it was not so. At the Munich Conference of September 29, 1938, Czechoslovakia was dismembered, and the Sudeten area was handed over to Germany. In March 1939, the country was occupied by Hitler.

Feverish diplomatic activity, signing of alliances, and mobilization of armed forces were undertaken by the European powers. Hitler in his ingenuity and deviousness began to realize his aim. He signed a military alliance, the "Pact of Steel," with Mussolini in May 1939. Hitler's diplomacy reached its apogee when he signed the nonaggression pact with Russia on August 23, 1939. He could then turn his attention toward Poland, notwithstanding the fact that Great Britain and Poland had signed a treaty of mutual assistance on August 25, 1939.

Adolf Hitler reinvigorated Germany in the 1930s and led the world into its most devastating conflict: World War II.

The free city of Danzig and the Polish Corridor, dividing eastern Prussia from Germany, were seen as an affront to the Germans. World War II began on April 1, 1939, after Nazi Germany's invasion of Poland. Two days afterward Great Britain and France declared war against Germany. Appeasement had been a failure.

For about two years, the juggernaut of Hitler's Wehrmacht (armed forces) incorporated Poland, Norway, Denmark, the Netherlands, and Belgium. The fall of France on June 22, 1940, was another triumph for Hitler. Flushed with success, Hitler began to commit the blunder of attacking the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941. Four days after the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor

on December 7, 1941 (December 8 in Japan), Hitler declared war on the United States.

The balance tilted in favor of the Allied powers, and the Axis of Germany, Italy, and Japan faced defeats. Hitler had lost battles in Russia and North Africa. He helped Mussolini set up a government after the Allied invasion of Sicily in 1943, but the Allied army reached Rome in June 1944. The Normandy invasion was launched on June 6. The Red Army of Russia was advancing from the east, and Hitler was ensconced in Berlin. Surrounded by the Soviet troops, Hitler committed suicide in the Führerbunker on April 30, 1945. On May 8 the German forces surrendered unconditionally at Rheims in France. The "thousand years Reich" had lasted for 12 years.

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Patit Paban Mishra

Holocaust, the

The term *holocaust,* derived from the Greek and literally meaning "a sacrifice totally consumed by fire," refers to the Nazi incarceration and extermination of approximately 6 million European Jews and a million others, including half a million Gypsies, homosexuals, Jehovah's Witnesses, Freemasons, resistants from occupied countries, and Russian prisoners of war plus miscellaneous others such as a few U.S. soldiers. The Nazi term was the "Final Solution to the Jewish Problem." In modern German history anti-Semitism has waxed and waned, but in the 20th century before 1933 it was less acute than elsewhere in eastern Europe. However, for Adolf Hitler anti-Semitism was a core belief.

From 1933 to 1939, Hitler imposed mounting persecution on Germany's Jews (defined both religiously and racially), who made up less than 1 percent of its population. They were forced to wear a yellow star and progressively lost jobs, rights, and citizenship. The first concentration camp, at Dachau near Munich, opened in March 1933. Initially, inmates were political opponents: communists, socialists, liberals, and some clergy as well as prominent Jews. From 1938 on, the percentage of Jewish inmates grew. In these years, too, those deemed physically, mentally, or emotionally unfit for the "Master Race," especially children, were registered, sterilized, and from 1938 on killed. The "euthanasia program" developed murder techniques, such as mobile killing vans and mass gas "showers," that were later used on a large scale.

Many German Jews assumed this was simply another periodic spate of anti-Semitism. Others tried to flee. Some succeeded, but moving to western Europe proved futile in the end. Emigration to Palestine was restricted because of Jewish-Arab tension there and British need for Arab support if war came. Emigration elsewhere was limited by anti-Semitic officials and high unemployment owing to global depression.

When Hitler conquered Poland in 1939, Jews in western areas were forced into a central area not annexed by Germany. They faced random, unpredictable shooting sprees by Nazi paramilitaries. During the next year they were forced into ghettos, often the old Jewish ghettos liberated in the 19th century but now greatly overcrowded by a much-increased population. They were locked in at all times, guarded, and given starvation rations. These were supplemented by smuggling, chiefly by children, who could slither through cracks and pipes. Ghetto inmates hoped in vain that their slave labor would spare their lives.

The Nazis created a Jewish council (*Judenrat*) to administer each ghetto. To avoid riots, the Nazis assured deportees they were to be "resettled" in the east. Jewish ghetto leaders varied in quality and in approaches to their jobs, but all aimed to save or prolong lives. The ghetto system created in Poland was gradually extended through other eastern European areas Germany conquered.

After Germany conquered Norway, Denmark, the Low Countries, and France in the spring of 1940, Jewish inhabitants were registered, assigned yellow stars, and subjected to harsh measures. Many Norwegian and most Danish Jews escaped to neutral Sweden. In France and the Low Countries, however, roundups in 1942 sent most Jews to transit camps to await deportation eastward. Meanwhile, Hitler's invasion of the Soviet Union

in June 1941 led to the use of mobile killing vans or, more commonly, troops in mobile killing squads who ordered Jews to line up, dig a trench, and strip; the troops then shot them so they fell into the graves they had dug.

EXTERMINATION

Plans for more systematic extermination of Europe's Jews proceeded in late 1941 and early 1942. The first death camp opened at Chełmno in December 1941. The first gassing experiments occurred in September 1941 at Auschwitz, where there were old Austrian army buildings as well as new construction. As the system developed into more than 9,000 installations, three types of camps emerged: transit camps (temporary holding pens); concentration and/or labor camps, where German firms used slave labor; and extermination camps, the last all in Poland. Though inmates died in ghettos and other camps of disease, starvation, execution, and despair, the six extermination camps were death factories whose administrators dealt with such problems as how to kill more people faster and how to dispose of bodies. Gassing with Zyklon B in mass gas chambers and burning bodies night and day in crematoria or in outdoor pits were the usual solutions.

Some camps served more than one purpose. The vast Auschwitz-Birkenau-Buna complex encompassed both a death factory and a labor camp for industrial purposes. Theresienstadt (Terezin) in Czechoslovakia was a ghetto, a supposedly "model" concentration camp twice visited by the German Red Cross and a transit station en route to Auschwitz. From 1942 into 1944 Jews were shipped across Europe to camps in the east. They were crammed standing up in freight cars without food, water, or lavatories for a trip of several days. Some died or went mad en route.

Upon arrival at a camp, if not immediately sent to die in the "showers," dazed Jews were deprived of their possessions, clothes, hair, and identity. They were issued a striped uniform with a number and a badge—yellow stars for Jews and otherwise triangles: homosexuals pink, political prisoners red, criminals green, and Gypsies brown. Existing in rough barracks on starvation rations, prisoners worked in manufacture for leading German firms or in pointless projects such as hauling boulders up steep hills to roll them down. Some were subjected to unethical medical experiments, often senseless. In time most died or were killed.

The Nazis wasted nothing from those who died or were gassed. Hair was woven into cloth, gold teeth were extracted from corpses, bones and ashes became fertilizer, and fat was used for soap or to fuel outdoor fires. Tattooed skin was favored for lampshades; other skin became bookbindings and purses.

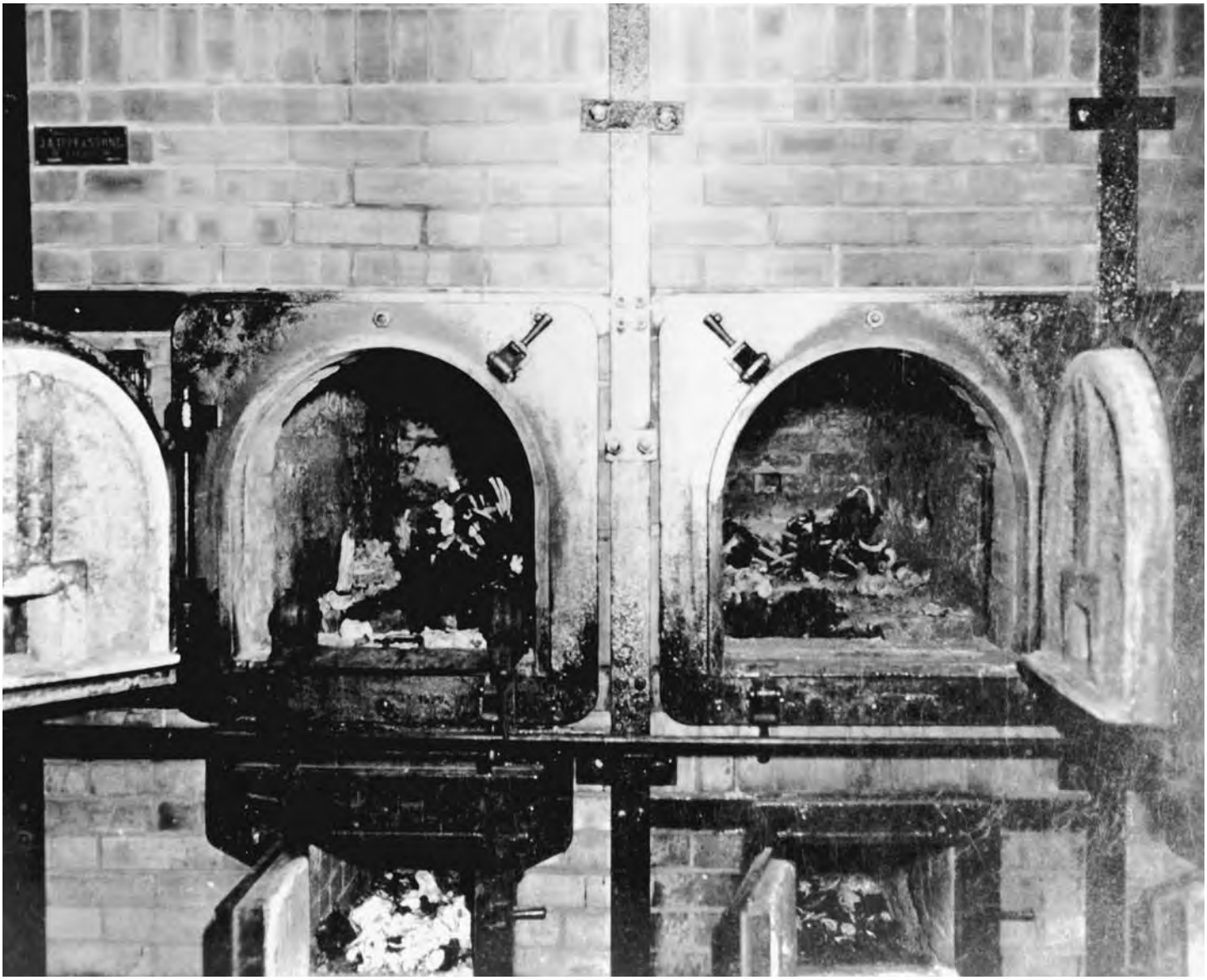
Resistance was almost impossible but occurred, nonetheless, usually when hope and dependent relatives were gone. Inmates worked slowly and badly with some sabotage. Some tried to escape, and a few succeeded. Some chose their own death on the electrified fences surrounding the camps. Most camps had an underground organization. Plans for rebellion were made in many camps and were realized in six; the prisoners succeeded in closing Sobibór and Treblinka.

In eastern Europe, Jews who had evaded initial registration and roundups fled to the forests and formed partisan bands. Usually strained relations with national underground movements meant scanty armaments, but they fought the Germans, engaged in sabotage, and provided potential havens for escapees from ghettos and camps. In the ghettos, smuggling, illegal education of children, and carefully hidden documentation of Nazi outrages were common. Though local undergrounds were reluctant to give weapons to those they considered doomed, ghetto revolts were numerous, especially in the smaller ghettos. Of the larger ghettos, Białystok fought for four days, Vilna achieved an armed breakout through the sewers into the forests, and Warsaw battled German forces from April 19 to May 10, 1942, when about 75 survivors slid forth from sewers.

FINAL SOLUTION

From mid-1942 on, Jewish leaders in Switzerland and Poland sought to inform the Allies of major aspects of the Final Solution. They succeeded, but much skepticism greeted such startling news on both sides of the Atlantic. President Franklin Roosevelt, Prime Minister Winston Churchill, and Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden were sympathetic, but they were preoccupied with the global struggle. Inaction prevented substantive aid. In mid-1943 an emissary of the Polish resistance saw four British cabinet members, including Eden and several top U.S. officials, and gave his own eyewitness account of conditions in the Warsaw ghetto and killing operations at Belzec. As a result, after bureaucratic delays Roosevelt established the War Refugee Board in January 1944. The British government and the State Department were hostile, but the board, with the aid of neutral states, distributed valuable neutral passports to Jews and sponsored the important rescue efforts of Swedish banker Raoul Wallenberg, among other activities. It saved perhaps 200,000 Jews.

Ordinary individuals played a role as well. In both Germany and occupied Europe, some abetted the Nazis,



Cremation ovens at Buchenwald, 1945. Despite efforts to destroy or conceal evidence of the mass murder of millions of European Jews, crematoria such as the above were discovered by Allied troops as they marched toward Berlin.

most avoided the issue, and a few helped Jews. In Germany, devout Christians, lay and clerical, Catholic and Protestant, engaged in acts of protest and resistance. There and in occupied nations, individuals hid Jews, provided false papers, and proffered food. Many a Jew with false papers in occupied Europe was vouched for to Nazi police and paramilitaries as a long-time neighbor by total strangers. Others escaped in priests' robes, although the Vatican made no overt statement. At war's end, a startling number of Jews emerged from hiding in Berlin's working-class districts.

Jewish leaders outside occupied Europe sought the bombing of Auschwitz's gas chambers. By mid-1944 this was possible, if difficult, from Italy. Churchill and Eden ordered it, but Foreign Office and Air Ministry officials delayed and obstructed. Equally, in the United States, the War Department (then home of the air force) opposed diversion of resources, though the United States bombed Auschwitz's factories repeatedly. Thus, nothing was done to prevent extermination, and Jewish representatives were told that a speedy military victory was their best hope of deliverance.

Though many lives could have been saved, the Holocaust was by then winding down. Its peak years were 1942–44, though many died later as well as earlier. By late 1944 many countries seemed largely *Judenrein* (cleansed of Jews); in late November killing at Auschwitz was ordered stopped, and the gas chambers and crematoria were destroyed to hide evidence of mass murder. The easternmost camps were emptied out, followed by others as the Soviet army approached, and those still alive were sent on difficult, wintry forced marches westward. The Red Army liberated Auschwitz in late January 1945 before its destruction was complete. In the west, Anglo-American troops similarly liberated concentration camps in the spring of 1945.

Once healthy, most survivors headed to Palestine, North America, or western Europe. The Holocaust provided the primary impetus for and the parameters of the United Nations' Genocide Convention passed in 1946. It also contributed an emotional and political pressure toward the creation of Israel in 1948. In Germany and Austria, Poland, and the Baltic states, 90 percent of the Jews had died; the percentages were somewhat lower elsewhere. In all, the Holocaust destroyed two-thirds of Europe's Jews, who amounted to one-third of the world's Jews, and wiped out a distinctive eastern European culture dating from ancient times.

See also Arab-Israeli War (1948); World War II.

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Sally Marks

Hoover, Herbert

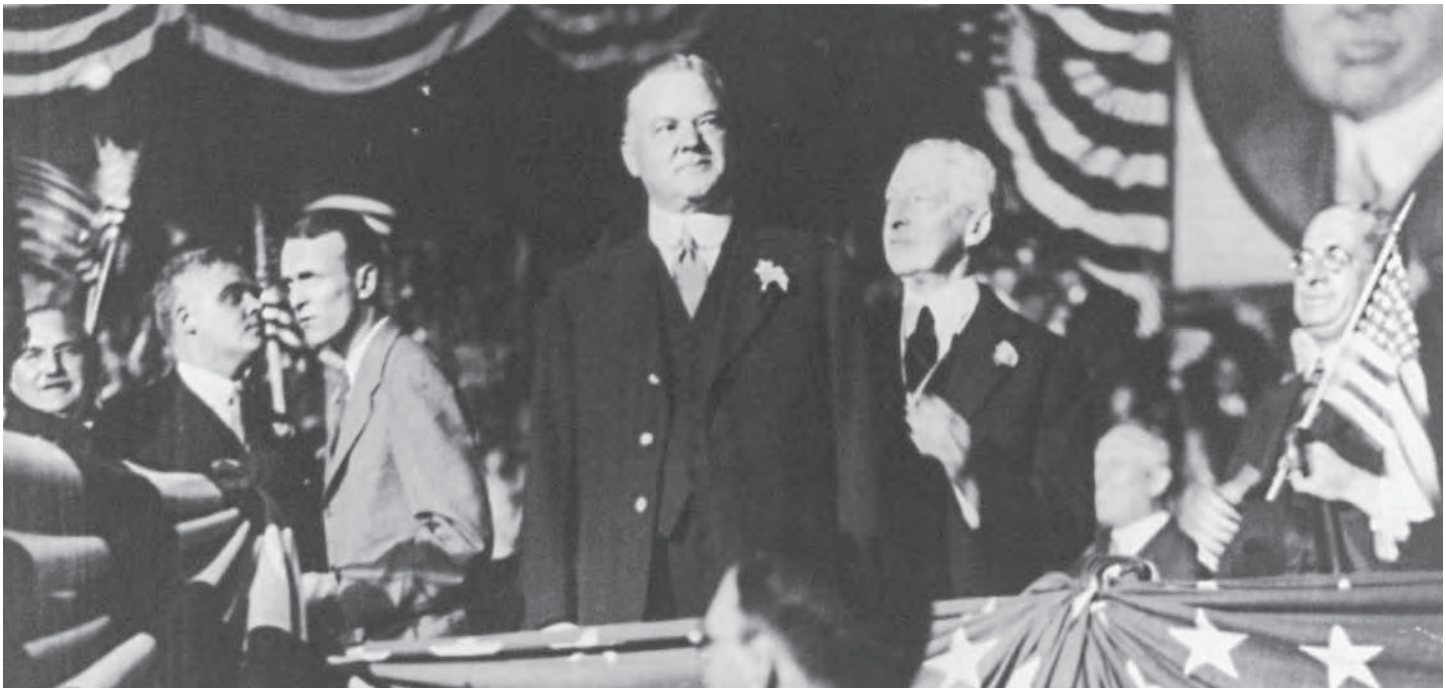
(1874–1964) *U.S. president*

The American president in the crucial years between 1929 and 1933, Republican Herbert Clark Hoover was born on August 10, 1874, in West Branch, Iowa, to Jesse and Hulda Hoover. He received his secondary education in Newberg, Oregon, and graduated with a degree in geology from Stanford University in 1895. In 1899 he became the chief engineer for the Chinese Engineering and Mining Company. For more than a decade he worked on engineering projects in Europe and Asia, eventually becoming a consultant for mining companies throughout the world.

When World War I broke out, Hoover was in a unique position. His career had made him wealthy, and his position as head of the American Repatriation Committee in London had him assisting U.S. citizens in their return home to avoid the war. Hoover became dedicated to charity and helped the Commission for Relief in Belgium, which sent food to about 10 million people in war zones. Back in the U.S., he became food administrator under President Woodrow Wilson (1913–21) after the U.S. entry into the war in April 1917. The Food Administration, set up under the Lever Act in August 1917, supervised the distribution of U.S. agricultural products both inside the United States and to the Allies. He encouraged voluntary conservation with slogans like "meatless Mondays" and "wheatless Wednesdays" and encouraged the production of basic foodstuffs like wheat, the acreage of which nearly doubled between 1917 and 1919. Under the direction of Hoover, the United States tripled its exports of meat, bread, and sugar in 1918. The end of the war brought famine to Europe, and Hoover provided relief, surplus food, and clothing to about 200 million people. These relief efforts gave Hoover increased personal political power; his humanitarianism made him greatly admired.

Hoover was secretary of commerce under both Warren G. Harding (1921–23) and Calvin Coolidge (1923–29) and also served as a member of the Advisory Committee and World War Foreign Debt Commission. His dedication to charity and relief works put him in a position to aid the victims of the great Mississippi flood of 1927. Because of his popularity and reputation, he was the most suitable choice for the Republicans as the presidential candidate in the election of 1928 and was nominated by the party on the first ballot. Hoover won the election easiliy with the promise of increased efficiency and prosperity. At his inauguration on March 4, 1929, he spoke about building a new economic, social, and political system based on equality of opportunity for the American people.

Once in office, Hoover attempted to live up to his campaign pledge starting with the Agricultural Marketing Act in mid-1929, which set up the Federal Farm Board. The function of the board was to stabilize the prices of agricultural products, but following the stock market crash, it became a fund for emergency agricultural relief. Other legislative acts of Hoover included the establishment of a $50.00 monthly pension for Americans over 65, the building of the San Francisco Bay Bridge, and the cancellation of private oil leases



Herbert Hoover (center) became president of the United States mere months before the onset of the Great Depression. Despite being a capable leader and organizer noted for massive relief efforts, Hoover failed to adequately deal with the crisis.

on government lands. Hoover also approved the act that made the "Star-Spangled Banner" the American national anthem. Militarily, under Hoover the United States participated in the London Naval Conference of 1930, which limited the size and number of cruisers, destroyers, and submarines allowed to the major powers. When Japan invaded Manchuria in 1931, the response of Hoover and the United States was isolationist, a philosophy much in keeping with the times of the Great Depression. Hoover's secretary of state, Henry L. Stimson (1867–1950), opposed the isolationist stance and developed the Stimson Doctrine, which stated that the United States would not recognize changes (such as Japan's conquering of Manchuria) that had been made in violation of treaties. Maintaining his isolationist stance, Hoover believed that the doctrine would cause an economic boycott against Japan and did not endorse the policy.

Early in Hoover's tenure as president, the October 1929 crash of Wall Street caused the most widespread and prolonged depression in world history. The depression, triggered by the October 29 crash, encompassed the prices of goods, employment, and the production of new goods. By mid-November, the average stock price had fallen to 40 percent of its previous value, while money supplies and prices of goods fell by a third. This problem was intensified as across the country bank depositors withdrew their funds, causing widespread failure of the banking system. Across the country and the world, people lost their jobs and their savings. Businesses lost nearly 50 percent of their income.

In the face of such hardship, the optimism embodied by Hoover's presidential campaign withered. His own dedication to voluntarism and personal cooperation instead of government programs and intervention proved to be no help in the face of economic catastrophe. In an effort to safeguard American businesses, Congress passed the Smoot-Hawley Tariff Bill in 1930, increasing the import duties on 20,000 items.

The Reconstruction Finance Corporation, set up by Congress in 1932, provided loans for troubled banks and businesses as well as funds for states to provide relief at the local level. Hoover also increased spending on public works, asking Congress for an additional $400 million in the Federal Building Program. Hoover also attempted to aid relief of the depression in Europe by placing a moratorium on war debt payments, but the measure was ineffective in halting the collapse of the world economy.

On the home front, nothing Hoover tried proved effective. The Revenue Act of 1932 was passed, increasing taxes to meet the government's expenditures. In

mid-1932, Hoover was further embarassed by the Bonus Army; nearly 20,000 war veterans marched on the White House in June, demanding a bonus due in 1945. The veterans were dispersed by military action led by Army Chief of Staff Douglas MacArthur. Thanks to the troubles of the country, Hoover's early popularity had been destroyed, and he became a symbol of U.S. failure to deal with the economic troubles. Despite this, he was nominated for a second term in the 1932 election. It surprised no one when Hoover lost in a landslide to Democrat Franklin D. Roosevelt (1882–1945).

Roosevelt was elected on a platform of vehement criticism of Hoover and his policies that had resulted in runaway national debt and ineffective spending. Roosevelt squarely laid the blame for the Depression on Republican policy. He did not believe, like Hoover, that it had international origin.

In retrospect, Hoover's downfall as president seems more bad luck than anything else; he became the scapegoat for economic depression that occurred eight months after the beginning of his term as president and that he almost certainly didn't cause. However, his attempted relief policies failed, for which he was rightly blamed. A great humanitarian and relief worker, Hoover's failure to provide any relief to the Amerian people ultimately forced the end of his tenure as president. After leaving the White House, Hoover worked as a trustee of Stanford University.

He was also involved in famine relief in Europe at the time of World War II. Hoover was the chairperson of the commission dealing with the reorganization of executive departments. He died in New York on October 20, 1964.

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Patit Paban Mishra

House Committee on Un-American Activities (HUAC)

During the 1930s, members of the U.S. House of Representatives, alarmed by reports of domestic groups that were sympathetic to Nazi Germany or the Soviet Union, sought to investigate subversive and "un-American" propaganda activities within the United States. In 1938 the House voted to create the Special Committee to Investigate Un-American Activities (often called the Dies Committee), under the chairmanship of Martin Dies, a Democrat from Texas. In 1945 this special committee became a permanent standing committee, the House Committee on Un-American Activities (HUAC). When Republicans gained control of Congress the following year, New Jersey representative J. Parnell Thomas became the chairman. As originally conceived, the committee was intended to be nonpartisan and dedicated to gathering information about homegrown political radicalism of all stripes. But under both Dies and Thomas the committee focused primarily on leftist groups and individuals associated with President Franklin Roosevelt's administration, becoming a powerful conservative foe of the New Deal.

Among the committee's early hearings was an investigation of communist influence in the Federal Theatre and Writers Project, part of the Works Progress Administration; the resulting political pressure led Congress to defund the project in 1939. Additional investigations dealt with labor unions that were part of the CIO—a major Roosevelt political ally—and with the American Youth Congress, a group with ties to Eleanor Roosevelt. Another target was Secretary of Labor Frances Perkins, whom Dies attempted to have impeached after she refused to deport longshoreman's union leader Harry Bridges, a known communist. Dies did not believe that the New Deal was simply reform legislation intended to ameliorate the social and economic effects of the Great Depression; he thought that the New Deal was paving the way for communists to undermine America's capitalist system. In addition, he was concerned that the federal government, and particularly the executive branch, was accruing "autocratic" power.

The Dies Committee eventually accused 640 organizations, more than 430 newspapers, and almost 300 labor groups of being likely communist fronts. Their investigations were often "fishing expeditions": If an initiative did not turn up information quickly, the committee would lose interest, and another initiative would be launched. Because the investigations made newspaper headlines, however, even an abortive effort could leave a group or individual publicly stigmatized. Dies was cavalier in how he handled his information, which was often based on inadequate research. The committee released alarmist reports that Dies claimed documented

the existence of plots to sabotage industry in the United States, but such reports were often haphazard compendiums of the theoretical writings of communist thinkers such as Karl Marx, without specifics.

Over the years many of the people investigated and accused by the committee never appeared at a hearing where they could defend themselves. If they did appear, they were not able to call supporting witnesses and could not cross-examine their accusers. When accused, individuals appealed to the U.S. courts that their civil liberties were being abused, but the courts found that the judiciary could not usurp Congress's investigatory powers. A few of the individuals exposed by the Dies Committee were committed members of the American Communist Party, which took its orders from Moscow.

Others were liberals affiliated with the party through "popular front" organizations, joining because they were concerned about the Great Depression or because they viewed communism as a vital bulwark against fascism in Europe. After the Soviet Union signed a nonaggression pact with Nazi Germany in 1939, many liberal sympathizers and some communists broke with the party. But the Dies Committee never considered these distinctions among suspects; all of them, in the committee's view, were "soft on communism" and therefore a threat. The committee's own anticommunist efforts were considerably complicated in 1941, when the Soviet Union became an American ally in World War II. During the war the committee became less influential.

As the cold war heated up, HUAC undertook a series of high-profile hearings. In 1947 the committee investigated reports of communist subversion in the movie industry. Perhaps 300 Hollywood studio employees had joined the Communist Party during the 1930s and 1940s; the majority of them were screenwriters, and many had been sympathetic to a violent strike that wracked the industry in 1945. Several famous "friendly" witnesses testified about Hollywood communist activities, including studio head Jack Warner and actors Robert Taylor and Ronald Reagan, the president of the Screen Actors Guild. HUAC suspected that the screenwriters were attempting to inject procommunist messages into films, although they found little evidence to support this. A total of 10 screenwriters, including Academy Award nominee Dalton Trumbo, were subpoenaed to testify before the committee. These "unfriendly" witnesses—known as the Hollywood Ten—used the opportunity to angrily denounce HUAC, refused to answer questions about their political affiliations, and were eventually cited for contempt and sentenced to prison terms. Worried about the negative publicity generated by the hearings, Hollywood studio executives thereafter "blacklisted" (refused to provide work for) suspected communists in the industry, a practice that continued throughout the 1950s.

In 1948 HUAC investigated prominent nuclear physicist Edward U. Condon, who had served on the Manhattan Project and was the director of the National Bureau of Standards. Chairman Thomas stridently disagreed with Condon's view that civilians, instead of the military, should control the Atomic Energy Commission; in return Thomas labeled Condon "the weakest link" in the nation's security. The committee never found evidence of Condon's disloyalty and was publicly rebuked by President Harry S. Truman. In 1948 the committee also undertook what proved to be its most famous and successful investigation—the only one to demonstrate actual communist espionage within the government.

Whittaker Chambers, an editor for *Time* magazine and a former operative in the communist underground, appeared before HUAC and named Alger Hiss as a New Deal official who had passed classified documents to him during the 1930s. The highly accomplished Hiss, who had become president of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, flatly denied that he knew Chambers in a face-to-face confrontation before the committee.

A subsequent methodical investigation by committee member Richard M. Nixon uncovered evidence that Hiss and Chambers had known each other, and Hiss was sentenced to prison in 1950 for committing perjury. The Hiss-Chambers case added fuel to national fears about communist subversion and seemed to legitimize HUAC's conspiracy theories, confrontational tactics, and disdain for individual rights. These would serve as the template for Senator Joseph McCarthy's own investigations into communism during the 1950s.

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Tom Collins

Hu Hanmin (Hu Han-Min)

(1879–1936) *Chinese political leader*

Hu Hanmin was a close political associate of Sun Yat-sen, founder of the Chinese Republic. The Hu family were minor civil servants who settled in Guangdong (Kwangtung) province. A brilliant scholar, Hu supported himself and a younger sister by working as a tutor after his parents' death. China's defeat in the Sino-Japanese War (1894–95) turned him into a revolutionary and took him to Japan, where he studied law and joined Sun's newly formed Tongmeng hui (T'ung-meng hui), or United Alliance, dedicated to overthrowing the Qing (Ch'ing) dynasty. He served as the organization's secretary and wrote for its official publication, the Min Bao (Min Pao), or People's Journal. One article, "The Six Principles," elaborated on Sun's ideals: nationalism, republicanism, and land nationalization, plus three items concerning immediate issues that faced the revolutionists in Japan. An eloquent writer, Hu played a major role in the pen war between advocates of Sun's ideals and those of Kang Youwei (K'ang Yu-wei), who favored a constitutional monarchy. He also traveled widely throughout South and Southeast Asia to organize support and raise funds for the Tongmeng hui.

Hu was elected military governor of Guangdong province after the outbreak of the October 10, 1911, revolution. He and other followers of Sun were ousted from their positions in 1913 by President Yuan Shi-kai (Yuan Shih-k'ai), who quashed democracy in an attempt to make himself emperor. When Sun established a government in Canton in 1923 with the help of a local warlord and began reorganizing the Kuomintang (KMT, Nationalist Party) with the assistance of the Soviet Union, Hu was again by his side, together with Wang Jingwei (Wang Ching-wei) and a rising star, Chiang Kai-shek.

Sun's death in 1925 led to a succession crisis in the Kuomintang. Wang Jingwei led the left wing, who were supported by Soviet advisers and were the immediate winners. Hu led the anticommunist wing of the party; they lost power and were forced out of Canton. Chiang Kai-shek led the center and remained in Canton, focusing on training a new army. In 1926 Chiang set out as commander in chief of the Northern Expedition to unify China. Military success led him to break with the left and the Soviet-dominated government under Wang Jingwei in 1927 and also led to the return to power of the anticommunist wing of the Kuomintang, including Hu. After completing the Northern Expedition in 1928, the Nationalists established a government in Nanjing (Nanking). Wang and his supporters lost power, while Hu was appointed president of the legislative Yuan (the legislature), which was charged with drafting legislation, passing the budget, and formulating new legal codes.

Chiang dominated the Nationalist government during the Nanjing era (1928–37) and faced several domestic problems. One was how to deal with the ambitions of his two senior colleagues, Wang Jingwei and Hu Hanmin. Chiang initially allied with Hu, but they broke in 1931 partly over interpretation of Sun's wishes on how to implement his programs. Chiang became so angry with Hu that he briefly put him under house arrest. Hu was so infuriated that he rejected all offers to rejoin the government, which forced Chiang to ally with Wang Jingwei. The power struggle between Chiang, Hu, and Wang showed the ideological and personality struggles in the Kuomintang after the death of its founder, Sun Yat-sen.

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Jiu-Hwa Lo Upshur

Hu Shi (Hu Shih)

(1891–1962) *Chinese liberal intellectual*

Hu Shi was the son of an official of modest means. At 13 he switched from a traditional Chinese school to a modern school in Shanghai, where he was introduced to Western learning. In 1910 he won a scholarship to study in the United States, where he was influenced by John Dewey's pragmatism and earned a doctorate in philosophy at Columbia University. While a student he became interested in Chinese language reform, writing an article titled "Some Tentative Suggestions for the Reform of Chinese Literature," that argued in favor of a new literature that used the vernacular instead of classical Chinese. The enthusiastic response from students and intellectuals led to a wide-ranging reevaluation of Chinese literary and ethical traditions that became known as the New Culture Movement.

A leading academic amid these cultural and political crosscurrents, Hu Shi spoke out on a wide range

of topics as editor and cofounder of several magazines during the 1920s and 1930s. He opposed the obsession with political ideology during the warlord era and advocated the concept of "good government."

After 1928 he criticized the newly established Nationalist (Kuomintang) government for its authoritarianism and called for the protection of human rights and free speech. He served as ambassador to the United States between 1938 and 1942, lobbying the Roosevelt administration and the American public to eschew their isolationist policies and to aid China's war of resistance.

He was president of National Beijing (Peking) University for two years after the end of World War II but went to the United States in 1949 when the Nationalist government lost the civil war to the Chinese Communist Party. He lived in semiretirement in New York until 1958, writing and speaking out as a loyal but critical friend of the Republic of China on Taiwan (ROC) and an adamant foe of communism. He returned to Taiwan in 1958 to preside over the Academic Sinica, the ROC's leading research institution, until his death in 1962.

Hu Shi was unquestionably the best-known Western-oriented Chinese liberal intellectual in the 20th century. During the long years of political strife in China, his optimistic faith in nationalism, moderation, and democracy was a beacon for a brighter future. Singled out for harsh criticism by the Chinese Communist government in the 1950s, his reputation has had an unparalleled rehabilitation in China since the 1980s.

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Jiu-fong L. Chang

Huerta, Victoriano

(1845–1916) *Mexican president*

Victoriano Huerta seized power to become the second president of postrevolutionary Mexico, serving from 1913 to 1914. These two years witnessed the most violent stage of the revolution and its downward spiral into full civil war. Huerta was born in Colotlán, Jalisco, in 1845. With a limited education, he had few prospects in life until he became the personal secretary of General Donato Guerra. Guerra used his position to smooth Huerta's admission into the National Military College, where he excelled at astronomy and mathematics. In 1877 he received his military commission and went on to lead a distinguished career putting down rebellions under the Porfirian regime. In 1901 he was promoted to brigadier general.

During the Mexican Revolution of 1910, the besieged president Porfirio Díaz dispatched Huerta to the south to quell Emiliano Zapata's revolt, but the general was called back to Mexico City before engaging the rebels in combat when Díaz fell from power. Huerta then served as the military escort for the ousted Díaz from Mexico City to Veracruz. Francisco Léon de la Barra, the interim president, sent Huerta south again to disarm and defeat Zapata's forces, a mission in which he failed. When Francisco Madero took office he expressed disappointment in Huerta's inability to defeat Zapata and in his connections with Bernardo Reyes, Madero's only serious political opponent in the 1911 election. In 1912 Madero grudgingly sent Huerta to suppress a revolt initiated by Pascual Orozco in the north. Huerta defeated Orozco and almost put Pancho Villa, then serving under Huerta, before the firing squad for theft. Only Madero's intervention saved Villa, and the incident strained relations between the two men.

Stationed in Mexico City, Huerta knew of the growing conspiracy to oust Madero headed by Generals Bernardo Reyes and Félix Días, the nephew of the former dictator. Huerta declined to join the rebels, but as they attacked the National Palace in February 1913 and the tide of the battle increasingly pointed toward a successful rebellion, Huerta saw an opportunity for personal political gain. He made a secret deal with Félix Días and switched sides in exchange for the position of provisional president. On February 19, 1913, he arrested Madero and his vice president and demanded their resignations. Three days later, as the men were being transferred from the palace to a military prison, they were shot and killed, an assassination that many scholars believe Huerta ordered.

Almost immediately, domestic and foreign opponents to Huerta's presidency sprung up. Rebellions throughout Mexico erupted, and in the face of congressional criticism, Huerta disbanded the congress and arrested many of its members. He resorted to a system of mandatory military service that forced the poor, with little or no training, to fight his opponents. This forced conscription failed, as many deserted or joined the rebellions.

The United States, under the leadership of Woodrow Wilson, took offense to Huerta's violent seizure of power and attempted to convince him to hold elections and declare peace with the his internal adversaries, the Constitutionalists.s Huerta ignored these requests, and the United States actively assisted his opponents by supplying them with arms. The northern states of Coahuila, Chihuahua, and Sonora refused to recognize Huerta's presidency, and their leader, Venustiano Carranza, declared himself president of Mexico. At the same time Alvaro Obregón, also from the north, led forces south toward Mexico City to force Huerta's surrender.

Obregón's forces engaged Huerta's troops during the summer of 1914, taking several key areas, including the city of Guadalajara. Huerta, perhaps sensing impending defeat, resigned the presidency on July 15, 1914, and fled to Europe. With the help of the German government, Huerta conspired to regain his presidency through a revolution based out of El Paso, Texas. He joined forces with his former adversary, Pascual Orozco. The two men met in Newman, New Mexico, on June 28, 1915, and federal authorities who had been monitoring Huerta were waiting for them. Huerta and Orozco were arrested, and Huerta died on January 13, 1916, while in the custody of U.S. federal authorities.

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Kathleen Legg

Victoriano Huerta (center) seized power to become the second president of postrevolutionary Mexico, serving from 1913 to 1914.

I

Ibn Saud, Abd al-Aziz

(1880–1953) *Saudi Arabian monarch*

Abd al-Aziz Ibn Saud was the first monarch of Saudi Arabia. He was born in Riyadh to Abd al-Rahman bin Faisal bin Turki al-Saud and Sara bint Ahmad al-Kabir al-Sudairi. In 1890 he and his family were exiled to Kuwait after the Rashidi tribe conquered their lands.

Upon the death of his father in 1901, the 22-year-old Ibn Saud succeeded as the leader of the Saud dynasty and took the title of the sultan of the Nejd. Ibn Saud set out to recapture his ancestral lands from the Rashidis. In 1902 Ibn Saud assassinated Ibn Rashid and recaptured Riyadh. By 1912 he had consolidated his control over the Nejd and then founded the Ikhwan, a militant religious group that he used to aid him in future conquests. At this time he also revived the traditional al-Saud alliance with Wahhabism, a puritanical Islamic movement dating from the 18th century.

In 1915 during World War I, the British signed a treaty with Ibn Saud whereby the lands of the Saud dynasty became a British protectorate. Britain asked for Ibn Saud's support in fighting against Ibn Rashid, who supported the Ottoman Empire, which had allied with the Central powers in the war. As a consequence of this alliance, Ibn Saud received financial support from the British. By 1922 Ibn Saud had defeated the Rashidis and had doubled his territorial holdings. In 1926 he defeated another rival, Sherif Husayn of the Hashemite dynasty, and captured the Muslim holy cities of Mecca and Medina. Sherif Husayn was forced into exile, and Ibn Saud effectively became the ruler of Arabia. The British formally recognized the power of the Saud dynasty in the Treaty of Jeddah, which was signed in 1927. Under this treaty Ibn Saud's title was changed from sultan to king.

Ibn Saud consolidated the Saud family's control over the Arabian Peninsula between 1927 and 1932, when he renamed the conquered territories Saudi Arabia and proclaimed himself king of the new nation. The discovery of petroleum in 1938 gradually brought vast revenues into the previously impoverished country. Ibn Saud used the moneys to enrich both his family and the country, encouraging his nomadic subjects to settle in permanent cities and villages.

Saudi Arabia's contributions to World War II were mostly token, but, although officially neutral, the Saudis did provide the Allies with significant oil supplies. Saudi Arabia remained on good terms with the Allies largely because of King Abd al-Aziz's personal friendship with President Franklin D. Roosevelt.

Ibn Saud fathered between 50 and 200 children, and into the 21st century all Saudi kings were his sons. The Saudi Basic Law of 1992 stipulated that the king of Saudi Arabia must be a son or grandson of Ibn Saud. He died in Taif in 1953 and is commemorated as the founder of modern Saudi Arabia.

See also Hashemite monarchy in Jordan (1914–1953); oil industry in the Middle East.

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Julie Eadeh

India Act (1935)

The first Government of India Act (1858, after the Sepoy Rising of 1857) abolished the British East India Company and put India under British government administration. A second act in 1909 introduced the concept of elected government. Still, Indian troops served in World War I because Britain, not India, declared India at war with Germany. In 1917 Secretary of State for India Edwin Montagu promised that India's government would gradually permit increased Indian participation in the administration of India, with the goal of eventual self-rule. Then the war ended. Although a third Government of India Act in 1919 gave local control of "nation building" areas such as education, it retained law and order and finance for Parliament-appointed governors and officials responsible to them. This system of power sharing was called dyarchy. Britain's harsh measures against alleged political extremists and the Punjab disturbances of 1919, including a massacre of 400 at Amritsar, led to the creation of a national Indian movement against British control. A nationalist leader, Mohandas K. Gandhi, rose to the fore.

Gandhi led a movement of noncooperation against Britain in 1920–22 and a civil disobedience effort in 1930–31. In 1942 he called for the British to "Quit India." He led the first negotiations for independence in 1930 at the Round Table Conferences in London. Motilal Nehru, father of Jawaharlal Nehru, was also active in the movement for Indian self-government. He chaired a committee of the All Parties Conference that included Muslims. It issued the "Nehru Report" of 1928 that called for a dominion constitution for India written by Indians.

When the all-British Simon Commission visited India in 1927–28, it generated protests that the Indian police repressed violently, leading to the death of Punjabi leader Lalal Lajpat Raj and rallying a new generation of Indian nationalist leaders. Its report in 1930 rejected dyarchy and determined that local autonomy was in order. It proposed the retention of communal electorates for Muslims and Hindus until tensions calmed. The British government drafted legislation to provide the reforms. The Round Table Conferences decided that Britain would unite the princely states with the provinces directly under its administration and eventually give the combined government of India dominion status. The congress and the Muslims split over details, leaving the decisions to the British.

The Government of India Act provided autonomy to the 11 Indian provinces it created. It separated Aden and Burma from India, increased the pool of eligible voters from 7 million to 35 million, and created two new provinces—Sind, split from Bombay, and Orissa, split from Bihar. Provincial assemblies included more elected Indian representatives. The governor, often British, retained the rights of intervention in emergencies. The first elections under the act occurred in 1937.

The act was the longest bill the British parliament ever passed. Parliament did not trust Indians, particularly Indian politicians, and wanted to be sure there was no room for interpretation or adjustment. Theoretically, it provided self-government in all areas but defense and foreign affairs. In practice, it reserved extensive powers for British intervention in Indian affairs through the British-appointed viceroy and provincial governors who were responsible to the secretary of state for India.

The act also had provisions for the formation of a federal government, but because half the states never agreed to its terms, a federation never occurred. It also failed to address the religious problem. Hindus were two-thirds of India's population, leading to concerns by the minority Muslims that they would be treated unfairly. When the Hindu-dominated Congress Party won eight of the 11 provincial elections in 1937 the Muslims led by Mohammad Ali Jinnah began demanding a separate state, Pakistan.

Althought the British parliament thought it was realistic to federate states of widely diverging size, sophistication, and structure, it did not happen. The princes failed to recognize that they could control the federation if they united in support of it. Instead, they pursued their own interests with the restult that the federation never received the requisite majority.

The act failed to attract significant support from moderates, in large part because they did not trust the British. The Hindu electorate preferred the Congress Party, and the Congress Party wanted dominion status equal to that granted to the white dominions, which included control over foreign as well as internal affairs.

The first viceroy after the act was passed was Lord Linlithgow. He was intelligent, honest, hardworking, serious, and committed to the success of the act. He was also stolid, unimaginative, legalistic, and unable to deal with people other than those in his own circle.

Under pressure he turned to administrative details while becoming rigid on strategy. He struggled unsuccessfully to deal with Gandhi, Nehru, and Jinnah. Compromise between the four men was impossible.

Indian provinces enjoyed self-rule after 1937 for two years, until the onset of the war. Linlithgow tried and failed to get the princes to accept the federation, but neither the British government nor the princes supported him. In 1939, when Britain and Germany declared war, India was automatically included. His failure to consult with Indian leaders, while constitutionally correct, offended Indian public opinion. The congress ministers, who were not consulted, resigned, while Muslim leaders in provinces where they had a majority cooperated with Britain in war. Thus, chances for Indian unity died.

See also Amritsar massacre.

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John H. Barnhill

India Act, Government of (1919)

World War I was important for India's nationalist movement. Indians of all persuasions overwhelmingly supported Great Britain and the Allied cause during the war. Nearly 800,000 Indian soldiers plus 500,000 noncombatants served in Europe and the Middle East.

Communal relations between Hindus and Muslims took several turns between the passage of the India Councils Act in 1909 and 1919. The reunion of Bengal in 1911 (which canceled its partition into two provinces) pleased the Hindus but antagonized the Muslims. The All-India Muslim League began to attract younger and bolder leaders, most notably a brilliant lawyer named Mohammad Ali Jinnah (1876–1946). Similarly Mohandas K. Gandhi (1869–1948) and Jawaharlal Nehru (1889–1967) emerged as leaders of the Indian National Congress. Many in India's Muslim minority became concerned with the ultimate fate of the Muslim Ottoman Empire, which fought in the opposing Central Powers camp. World War I also aroused both the congress and the league to demand significant constitutional reforms from Britain. In 1916 they concluded a Congress-League Scheme of Reforms, known as the Lucknow Pact. It made wide-ranging demands for greater self-government, equality of Indians with other races throughout the British Empire and Commonwealth (in response to racial discrimination in South Africa and Canada), and greater opportunities for Indians in the armed forces of India.

In response, the new secretary of state for India, Edwin Montagu, officially announced the British government's commitment to "the gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realization of responsible government in India" in August 1917. He then toured India, met with Indian leaders, and together with Viceroy Lord Chelmsford drafted a Report for Indian Constitutional Reform in 1918, popularly called the Montagu-Chelmsford Report. A modified version of the report was embodied in the Government of India Act of 1919. It introduced partial self-government to India's nine provinces in a system called dyarchy, whereby elected representatives controlled the departments of agriculture, sanitation, education, and so on, while the British-appointed governor and his advisers retained control of finance, the police, prisons, and relief. This was intended as a step toward complete responsible government. The viceroy, however, retained control of the central government, and the role of the mostly elected bicameral legislature remained advisory. The electorate was expanded, and separate electorates (Muslims elected their own representatives) were kept in place, on Muslim insistence.

The Government of India Act was a significant advance in India's freedom movement. Others included a separate Indian delegation to the Paris Peace Conference in 1919, in the same manner as the self-governing dominions (Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa). India also became a member of the League of Nations. But these advances did not satisfy Indian nationalists, who were inflamed by the continuation of wartime laws that abridged civil freedoms, and acts of peaceful and violent resistance continued. Hindu-Muslim accord continued during the Khalifat movement, when Indians supported the Ottoman emperor's religious leadership as caliph of Islam. The cooperation collapsed when Mustafa Kemal Atatürk established a republic in Turkey and abolished the caliphate in 1923 and also due to increasing competition between the two communal groups for power in a future independent India.

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Jiu-Hwa Lo Upshur

India Councils Act of 1909 (Morley-Minto Reforms)

During the late 19th century British-educated Indians began to demand a role in their government, which later developed into the independence movement. In 1885 an Englishman founded the Indian National Congress, although most of its members were high-caste Hindus. The congress met annually to promote the goal of greater participation of Indians in government.

By the early 20th century a radical wing had developed in the congress that was not content with the slow pace of reform. They were energized by the partition of the huge province of Bengal into two in 1905: East Bengal (including Assam) with a Muslim majority, and West Bengal (including Bihar and Orissa) with a Hindu majority. A storm of protest against the partition ensued and included an economic boycott of British goods and acts of terrorism. The congress was split over this issue, and a radical wing split off to form the New Party. The new viceroy, Lord Minto (1845–1914), on the one hand acted to repress the unrest, while on the other he worked to enact reforms with the secretary of state for India of the newly elected Liberal government in Great Britain, John (later Lord) Morley (1838–1923).

The partition of Bengal was a catalyst for Muslim political consciousness. Since the decline and fall of the Muslim Mughal dynasty, Indian Muslims had fallen behind Hindus in attaining a modern education and adjusting to new conditions. Unlike Hindus, Indian Muslims were encouraged by the formation of East Bengal. Realizing that constitutional reforms were in the works and that they would be a minority in a representative government, Western-educated Muslims led by Aga Khan organized the All-India Muslim League in 1905 and lobbied Minto for a "fair share" for the Muslim community in any representative system. Like the congress, the league also met in annual conventions to formulate goals.

In 1909 the British parliament passed the Indian Councils Act. It increased membership of legislative councils in both the central and provincial governments (all appointed up to then) to make elected members the majority in the provincial legislatures. Importantly, educated men who paid a certain sum of taxes were allowed to vote for the first time in Indian history. Some seats were reserved for Muslim candidates, and only Muslims could vote for them. Moreover, the elected members were also empowered to question officials; to debate legislation, including the budget; and to introduce laws.

However, the viceroy and the governors still had total control and could veto any laws that were passed. The first elections were held in 1910 and elected 135 Indian representatives, who took their seats at various legislatures throughout India. This act and other measures gradually restored calm to India. The act is important because it established representative responsible government as the goal for India and introduced the elective principle to a nonwhite possession of Great Britain.

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Jiu-Hwa Lo Upshur

Indian National Congress (1885–1947)

The Indian National Congress (INC) was a leader of the Indian freedom movement against British colonial rule. One of the success stories of the nationalist struggle in Asia, the congress was established in 1885. A political consciousness was arising in the latter part of the 19th century among Indian intelligentsia, and various people emerged to raise their voices against foreign rule. The sincere endeavor of Allan Octavian Hume (1829–1912), along with the efforts of Indian leaders, resulted in the emergence of the INC on December 25, 1885.

From its first meeting, held in the city of Bombay (now Mumbai), the INC worked relentlessly to end alien rule in India. In its initial phases the INC was very modest in its demands, such as expansion of legislative councils and an increase in governmental grants to indigenous industries. It even pledged loy-

alty to the British Empire. It increased sentiments of national unity and rose above religious, caste, and regional divisions. Dadabhai Naoroji (1825–1917), the president of the INC in its second and ninth sessions, argued that the British government was responsible for poverty in India. The true character of the British Empire was revealed by various demands by the congress. A base also was created for the Congress Party, from which later leaders could work for the cause of Indian independence.

But a gradual disillusionment developed against the moderate leadership. A rift occurred, and the radical, or extremist, phase (1905–19) began in the history of the INC. The new generation was drawn from the lower middle class in urban areas. It was more radical in nature and sometimes took recourse to Hindu religious symbols like the Ganapati Festival, which became mass based under Bal Gangadhar Tilak's direction. The terrorist movement of Bengal invoked the name of the goddess Kali. The extremist brand of politics was aggressive in nature, and it was indigenous, with no attachment to Western ideals.

The goal of the extremists was swaraj (self-rule), and their efforts were imbued with *swadeshi* (indigenous) sentiment directed against foreign goods, dress, and education. The Punjab group was led by Lajpat Rai; the Bengal one was represented by Aurobindo (1872–1950) and Pal. The administration (1899–1905) of Viceroy Lord George Nathaniel Curzon (1859–1925) decided to partition the province of Bengal in October 1905, leading to the antipartition movement, which engulfed most of the country. Goods from British factories were boycotted, and the use of *swadeshi* was advocated.

A split occurred between the moderates and extremists at the Surat session of 1907, and the moderate leader, Gopal Krishna Gokhale (1866–1915), did not endorse Tilak as president for the 1908 session. The split harmed the INC and the nationalist movement. There was also a rise of communalism in Indian politics and a sizable section of the Muslims did not adhere to the congress ideology. The All-India Muslim League (AIML) was established on December 30, 1906.

The INC and the AIML would chart out separate courses, resulting in a vivisection of the country 41 years later. The congress was revived in the Lucknow session of 1916, where both the extremists and the moderates realized that the split was not serving the cause of the nationalist movement. In the same year the Lucknow Pact, which brought Hindu-Muslim rapprochement for the time being, was signed between the congress and the league.

Meanwhile, World War I had broken out, and Great Britain declared war on Germany on August 4, 1914. The INC supported the British war efforts in the hope that India would be suitably rewarded in its path toward self-government. But this hope was dashed. The ideals of self-determination presented by U.S. president Woodrow Wilson at the Paris Peace Conference were not applied to colonies in Asia. Mohandas K. Gandhi (1869–1948) was emerging as a mass leader in India and gave a new direction to the Indian freedom movement under the INC.

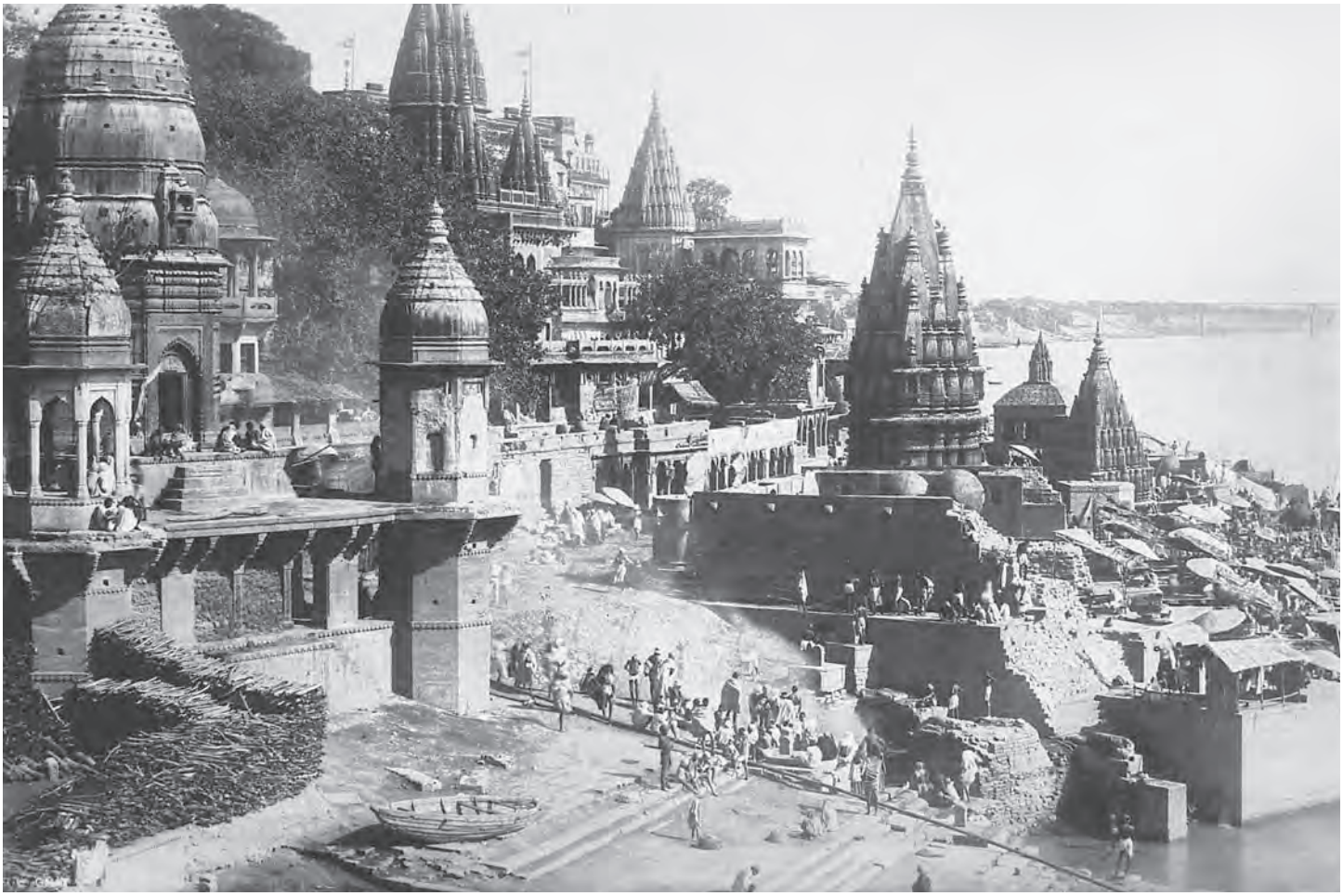
GENERAL STRIKE

Gandhi called for a general strike in April 1919, after the draconian Rowlatt Act that empowered the authorities to arrest and detain without trial, was enacted. A large numbers of Muslims began to participate in the activities of the INC.

The INC became an umbrella organization drawing support from all classes of the population. The revamping of the internal organization of the congress was retained with some modifications in independent India. The Pradesh (Provincial) Congress Committee (PCC) was formed at the state level, with 10 to 15 members belonging to the working committees. At the apex was the All-India Congress Committee (AICC), composed of state leaders from the PCC. The Congress Working Committee, consisting of senior party leaders, was in charge of important decisions.

The president of the INC was the national leader, presiding over annual sessions generally held in the month of December. These sessions spelled out the party programs and discussed measures to be taken in the ongoing struggle against British rule. Gandhi's emphasis on *ahimsa* (nonviolence) and *satyagraha* (nonviolent protest) became successful in shaking the foundation of the British Empire.

The INC entered a new phase in its struggle against the British raj between 1919 and 1922. The noncooperation movement, with its technique of nonviolent struggle, was launched. At a special session of the AICC held in Calcutta in September 1920, it was decided to initiate noncooperation with the British government by boycotting educational institutions, law courts, and legislatures. The use of hand spinning for producing khadi (cloth) was emphasized. A violent mob, after a police firing on February 5, 1922, at Chauri Chaura, attacked the police station, resulting in the deaths of 22 police personnel. Gandhi was



A city view of Benares, India, in 1922. The rich cultural heritage of the Indian people, evident in the scene above, helped fuel the resolve of India to be independent of British domination and to achieve self-rule through peaceful means.

aghast at this violent path, and the Congress Working Committee meeting at Bardoli suspended the noncooperation movement seven days afterward. Although Congress leaders like Subhas Chandra Bose and Jawaharlal Nehru (1889–1964) as well as a large section of the populace were stunned by the Working Committee resolution, they abided by the decision. Gandhi was arrested in March 1922 and given six years' imprisonment for treason.

The INC was opposed to the formation of the Simon Commission in 1927–28, which was constituted to look into the constitutional reforms and appointed a committee headed by Motilal Nehru to prepare a constitution for a free India. Dominion status for India was the main feature of the Nehru Report. The All-Party Conference, convened in Calcutta in December 1928, did not agree with the report. Mohammad Ali Jinnah (1876–1948), the leader of the AIML, also was against the report because his demands were not met. The radical wing of the congress, led by Motilal's son Jawaharlal, also was opposed to the report. It was decided to launch civil disobedience for the cause of *purna swaraj* (complete independence). The congress passed the resolution for complete independence in the historic Lahore session of 1929. The following year the civil disobedience movement started when Gandhi launched the salt *satyagraha* with his famous Dandi March in March 1930. Gandhi was arrested in May, and altogether 90,000 people were put behind bars. The British realized the need for congress participation and initiated a dialogue. As a result Lord Irwin (1881–1959), the viceroy, signed a pact with Gandhi in March 1931 by which the civil disobedience movement was suspended, and the congress agreed to join the Round Table Conference. In the Karachi session of the INC, talks with the British were endorsed.

The session was important as the congress passed resolutions on basic fundamental rights and launched key economic programs. The British did not accept the congress demand of complete independence, and Gandhi was arrested in January 1932 after returning to India.

The congress took part in the elections of 1937 per the provisions of the Government of India Act of 1935 and performed very well in the general constituencies. At the time of World War II it sympathized with the victims of Nazism and fascism. The blitzkrieg by Japan in Southeast Asia had brought the war to India's doorstep. The AICC passed the famous resolution of "Quit India" on August 8, 1942, and Nehru said that it was a "fight to finish." With a motto to "do or die," the Quit India movement began and was suppressed with the utmost force. The postwar scene was marked by devastating economic consequence of the war, the spread of communalism and communal riots, Jinnah's indomitable quest for control of Pakistan, and the congress's desire for a compromise.

Great Britain finally decided to leave India, which it could not hold with diminished resources, and ordered elections to central and provincial legislatures. The congress captured all the general seats in the center and obtained a majority in all the provinces except Sind, the Punjab, and Bengal. Between 1945 and 1947 there were serious revolts by peasants and workers. The league was determined in its demand for partition of the country. In September 1946 an interim government was formed by the congress. The British prime minister, Clement Attlee (1883–1967), had declared that the British would quit India. A compromise formula was finally worked out by the viceroy Lord (Louis) Mountbatten (1900–79) in his talks with the leaders of the congress and the league. It was announced in June 1947 that India and Pakistan would be independent from British colonial rule on August 15, 1947.

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Patit Paban Mishra

Indian Reorganization Act, U.S.

This 1934 legislation, also known as the Wheeler-Howard Act, was a New Deal program that significantly reshaped, in mostly positive ways, federal policies concerning the Native American population. Spearheaded by reformer John Collier, the Indian Reorganization Act (IRA) empowered tribal leaders, recognized the legitimacy of Indian customs and culture, and preserved Indian land rights. It was not, however, a final "fix" in the tortured four-century history of white and Native interaction.

By 1900, 10 years after the last battle between federal troops and Sioux Indians at Wounded Knee, South Dakota, the U.S. Native population had dwindled to 237,000. By 1934 Native land holdings had declined by two-thirds, to 7,500 square miles.

Although in 1924 all Natives had been granted U.S. citizenship, the federal Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) continued to supervise every aspect of Natives' lives, while states with large native populations regularly imposed special restrictions on them. Efforts to separate and "civilize" Indian children continued at places like the Carlisle, Pennsylvania, and Albuquerque, New Mexico, Indian Schools.

Sympathetic whites, beginning with Helen Hunt Jackson in 1881 and Charles Lummis in the 1890s, took up the Indian cause in books and articles that caused a sensation but had minimal effect on actual Natives except often to romanticize their history and plight. Lummis was able to interest his Harvard classmate Theodore Roosevelt in some Indian issues. John Collier, likewise born to wealth, was educated at Columbia University and in Paris. In 1919 he first encountered the "Indian problem" while visiting artist and heiress Mabel Dodge Luhan in New Mexico. (She had married Tony Luhan, a Pueblo Indian.) Collier soon came to oppose forced Americanization programs and attacked the competence and honesty of

BIA officials. At the urging of Collier and his Indian Defense Association, a two-year study, the Meriam Report, was released in 1928. It revealed vast failures in previous federal programs, especially the assimilationist 1887 Dawes Act.

Named commissioner of Indian affairs by Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1933, John Collier created a special public works program for Natives—the Indian Civilian Conservation Corps. Serving as BIA head until 1945, Collier sought out more Indian staff for his agency. The BIA instituted new health programs and encouraged Native practices, including communal living and farming practices that the Dawes Act had tried to wipe out.

Less successful were efforts to turn tribal leadership into formal constitutional governing bodies. An estimated 60 percent of tribal units chose not to create governments sanctioned by the IRA. Suspicion kept some tribes from working effectively with their members or with mixed-blood relatives who were no longer tribally affiliated. Traditional Indians did not always appreciate the involvement of "progressive" tribal members who often lived in cities or later fought in World War II. Despite infusions of aid during the Great Depression, Natives, already one of the poorest groups in the United States, saw little meaningful improvement in living conditions. Sometimes other New Deal programs ignored or harmed tribal groups. One such massive project to install dams along the Northwest's Columbia River flooded tribal hunting and fishing lands.

By 1950 the IRA, although still considered a huge improvement over previous relationships between whites and Native peoples, had seemingly reached the limits of its ability to truly improve the lives and autonomy of America's original inhabitants.

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Marsha E. Ackermann

Industrial Workers of the World

The Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) was a U.S. workers' movement that had a significant impact on organized labor during the first two decades of the 20th century. IWW members were commonly known as Wobblies (one story holds that this moniker came from the wobble saw used by lumberjacks). Founded in 1905, the organization was always small, with a peak membership numbering in the tens of thousands during the 1910s, but the Wobblies successfully agitated among many more workers. Influenced by European syndicalist ideas about remaking society, they sought to create "one big union" that would bring together all laborers. They offered the vision of a nation in which wages and private profits were abolished, and business-dominated government gave way to "industrial democracy." Ferocious opponents of the American Federation of Labor, which organized only craft workers, the IWW focused on the semiskilled and unskilled: mass-production factory hands, loggers, longshoremen, migrant farm workers, and domestic servants. Their interest in organizing African Americans and newly arrived immigrants was particularly unusual in an era of racial and ethnic polarization.

Unlike other organized labor groups, the IWW rejected the idea of collective bargaining to improve wages and working conditions. They refused to sign contracts, arguing that this would impede workers' ability to take action. They also were uninterested in traditional political activism, because many of the groups to whom they appealed were unable to vote. Instead, they wanted to foment change by creating a revolutionary proletarian culture.

Wobblies typically went out in "flying squadrons" of mobile agitators, riding the rails, sleeping in hobo "jungles" on the outskirts of towns, and preaching the IWW message to all those among whom they lived and worked. The Wobblies were known for their constant singing while they traveled or were in jail. Although they often used inflammatory rhetoric, this was paired with acts of nonviolent civil disobedience. One attention-grabbing tactic was their "free speech" fight. The point was to educate onlookers about their constitutional rights and the unjustness of authorities. A Wobbly would stand on a soapbox on a street corner, delivering a harangue. If he or she was arrested, another Wobbly would immediately take up the speech and be arrested in turn, until the local jail was flooded and the public expense became prohibitive. The IWW also taught various forms of nonviolent resistance on the job. Workers would surreptitiously slow down their pace of production, or they might deliberately feed a machine too quickly so that the wheels became clogged. The IWW pioneered the use of the sit-down strike; the

first recorded in U.S. history occurred in 1906 in Schenectady, New York, when 3,000 workers trained by Wobblies simply sat down in their factory and refused to leave.

While most labor organizations have a formal structure with elected officials, a central headquarters, and union locals, the IWW was the opposite: Members often boasted that they were all leaders and that their "locals" could be found under any traveling member's hat. This decentralization made it possible for the Wobblies to agitate among a wide variety of laborers across the country. In 1912 they enjoyed a major success when they led a strike at textile mills in Lawrence, Massachusetts. They managed to sustain cross-ethnic solidarity among 23,000 workers during the difficult winter months, not only winning concessions on pay and work hours but also highlighting issues such as dangerous workplace conditions and child labor. In 1913 they led a similar strike in Paterson, New Jersey, which became a cause célèbre among New York City's leftist intellectuals, culminating with a dramatic worker pageant held at Madison Square Garden. The Wobblies ultimately failed to build a long-term movement. Workers gravitated to the IWW when they wanted to fight for "bread and butter" issues, but upon attaining these immediate material goals they rarely stayed committed to the Wobbly call for revolution.

The IWW was viewed as a dangerous organization by business interests, and Wobbly agitators were sometimes subject to brutal repression. For example, in 1916 in Everett, Washington, a deputized crowd at a dock fired on a steamship full of singing Wobblies, killing or wounding several dozen. When the United States entered World War I in 1917, the IWW had succeeded in organizing copper mines in the West to the extent that national production was threatened. In the heated wartime atmosphere, the IWW was denounced on the Senate floor as standing for "Imperial Wilhelm's Warriors." The Woodrow Wilson administration decided to prosecute Wobblies for espionage and "criminal syndicalism." In September 1917 the Justice Department conducted raids on every significant IWW hall, and by the end of the year more than a hundred prominent organizers were locked up. In a mass trial in 1918, the government was unable to show that the Wobblies had committed any crimes, instead focusing on their "seditious and disloyal" teachings. Most were convicted, and over the next several years the organization expended its energies and meager financial resources fighting the convictions. Internal schisms and further legal repression left the IWW impotent by the mid-1920s.

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Tom Collins

influenza pandemic (1918)

The influenza pandemic of 1918 was, in terms of loss of life, the most catastrophic illness to have ever afflicted the world's population. Nothing before or since has approached its effects in terms of the number of fatalities or in the speed with which it spread. From the latter part of the 19th century until World War I (1914–18), many Europeans and Americans had taken comfort in the idea that technical, scientific, and medical progress had created a better world. The war shattered most of that illusion, but any comfort that might have been derived from advances in medical science were not to be found as millions died from the disease.

The influenza of 1918 was often referred to as the Spanish influenza. It struck Spain, where it was reported on in detail. Because Spain was neutral in the war, there was no press censorship, and so the reports gave many the impression that it had started there. Where it came from is still unknown.

Whatever its point of origin, the pandemic killed between 25 million and 100 million people. Even at the lower number, it was a catastrophe; total casualties resulting from World War I were 15 million. One estimate is that 500,000,000 people were infected, one-third of the world's population in 1918. Fatality rates were generally more than 2.5 percent of those infected. In Asia and Africa any public health statistics were partial or nonexistent. All estimates have to be taken as approximate with a great variance on which numbers can be considered reliable. One estimate, for example, puts the number of deaths in India at 17 million. In the United States estimates of influenza-related deaths range from 500,000 to 675,000. Britain's figures of dead were said to be 200,000 and France's twice that.

Earlier recorded pandemics of influenza had occurred in 1781, 1830–32, 1847, and 1889. These had crossed from east to west, from Asia to Europe and, to a lesser extent the Western Hemisphere. Although serious, they never approached the level of destruction of

A demonstration of procedure for nurses at the Red Cross Emergency Ambulance Station in Washington, D.C., during the influenza pandemic of 1918, which killed millions of people and infected millions more.

life found in 1918. The world was a far different place in 1918 than it was earlier, even far different from 1889. The World War had caused large numbers of people to move from one country to another, from one continent to another. It is fairly certain that soldiers from Europe brought the influenza virus back to America on troop ships. That war-driven mobility caused the virus to move farther and more rapidly than had ever been the case.

Another factor was that the war had displaced large numbers of people who had to live with decreased food supplies, no sure housing, lack of medical care, and susceptibility to infections or sickness. Another factor was the soldiers themselves who were cramped in barracks that were not healthy and who, because of the stress of combat, were physically susceptible to infections.

The influenza usually struck very quickly. There are many accounts of people appearing to be perfectly healthy and suddenly, within hours, becoming completely debilitated. From that point they could die, often the next day. Those stricken would cough up blood. The coughing was so severe that bodies that were autopsied showed serious tears of internal muscles due solely to severe coughing. Pneumonia combined with the influenza, and many essentially drowned because their lungs were filled with liquid they could not be rid of.

In many cases, a blue tinge would develop at the ears and spread to the rest of the face, darkening it. Doctors and nurses in the United States mentioned that it was often difficult to tell Caucasians from African Americans, as patients of both races would become so

dramatically discolored. Doctors and nurses generally believed that the most serious cases, the ones who would die, were those that showed the discoloration. The British army's medical department, as part of its record keeping during the pandemic and in order to educate doctors and nurses what to look for, commissioned artists to draw pictures of soldiers who had been stricken. These illustrations would show the coloration to look for. Even many years after the pandemic, these portraits of ill soldiers, many of them about to die, provide an excellent idea of what they were suffering.

The time that the pandemic began has generally been agreed to have been in the spring of 1918. This was the first wave. It was reported and treated in several U.S. Army camps in the Midwest, primarily in Kansas in March. Those soldiers eventually transferred to France, where it is believed they spread the disease. In August sailors from Europe reached Boston and brought the infection to that city. From there it traveled almost immediately to an army post in central Massachusetts, Fort Devens, where it killed 100 soldiers a day.

Influenza traveled very rapidly down the East Coast, following the transportation corridor created by the railroads. Of the cities on the east coast of the United States, Philadelphia was the hardest hit. By October influenza was so serious there that 4,600 people died in one week. The second wave of the pandemic hit hardest through November 1918. Despite the efforts of doctors and nurses, there was very little that could be done.

One of the effects of the pandemic was that in many places in the world, especially the United States, the public health service was mobilized. In the end that intervention did not significantly halt or affect the spread of the disease. It did, however, lead to the practice of mobilizing all resources and taking steps by the government to try to halt the disease. Bans and quarantines were put into place. In many communities citizens were forced to wear face masks, or they would not be allowed on trolleys or might even be fined or jailed. Reporting on the incidences of disease as well as the quality of reporting changed. Influenza had never been reported as a health issue until 1918. Record keeping was more stringent and included tissue samples, some of which would be used over 70 years later to support research on the spread of influenza and reconstruct the genome of the 1918 virus.

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Robert Stacy

International Court of Justice (ICJ)

The International Court of Justice (ICJ), often referred to as the World Court, is the principal judicial organ of the United Nations (UN) and was formally established by the Charter of the United Nations in 1945 under articles 92–96. The ICJ is the successor to the Permanent Court of International Justice (PCIJ) established in 1920 by the League of Nations to address the issues raised after the cessation of World War I.

The ICJ is located at the Peace Palace in The Hague, Netherlands, and is the only body of the UN not located at UN headquarters in New York. The statute of the ICJ is similar to that of its predecessor and is the main constitutional document regulating the court. The court operates in two official languages, French and English, and all judicial activity is published in both languages. The ICJ as such has no criminal jurisdiction, and consequently it cannot try individuals charged with war crimes; these cases fall to national jurisdictions and to criminal tribunals established by the UN.

Jurisdiction is often a crucial question for the ICJ, whose key principle is consent. The issue of jurisdiction is considered in only two types of ICJ cases: those pertaining to legal disputes submitted by member states on contentious issues, which often pertain to boundary disputes, and the provision of advisory opinions on specific legal questions raised. Unlike contentious issues, an advisory opinion is an opportunity for a UN member or agency to address a question before the ICJ. The court typically seeks out useful information pertaining to questions raised and provides a forum to present such questions. A nonbinding opinion on the matter is then published to the UN member states.

Under article 93 of the UN Charter, all UN members fall under the court's statute. Non-UN members may also become parties to the court's statue under article 93(2). The court comprises 15 judges elected to nine-year terms by the UN General Assembly and Security

Council, with only one judge per any nationality sitting at one time on the court. Judges sitting on the court do not represent their respective countries and are free to vote against their national self-interests in pursuit of the goals of the UN Charter. Sources of law applied by the court include using international customs and procedures, current conventions and treaties, judicial decisions and teachings of highly qualified individuals, and application of general principles of law recognized by civilized nations.

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Paul von Jankowsky

Iran-Soviet relations

Well before the 1920s one of Iran's greatest political obstacles was the imperial rivalry between Great Britain and Russia. Both imperial powers felt that Iran was of vital importance to their respective empires, and, spurred by economic interests, the British and the Russian czars followed by the Soviet government vied for influence and control over Iran.

During World War I Iran declared neutrality. When Britain and Russia became allies in the war against Germany, they secretly entered into the Constantinople Agreement, by which they would divide Iranian territory between themselves. Denied representation at the Versailles Peace Conference following World War I, Iran faced postwar occupation by Britain not only in the south but also in the north after the Bolsheviks overthrew the Russian czarist monarchy and withdrew Russian military forces. Oil, protection of the route to India, and its postwar mandate over neighboring Iraq ensured Britain's continued interest in Iran. In contrast, the Soviets renounced the czar's imperialistic policies and declared the Constantinople Agreement void. The Soviet regime then recognized Iran's right to self-determination and repudiated historic concessions made by former Iranian governments.

During this period Soviet foreign policy objectives varied. Soviet officials wished to establish friendly relations with bordering countries and to oppose Western domination in order to spread the communist revolution. To this end, Iran was of utmost importance, and the new Soviet policy effectively weakened British control over Iran. Six days before the signing of the Iran-Soviet Treaty of Friendship, a coup led by Colonel Reza Khan overthrew the Iranian government. Khan's rise to power culminated with his accession as shah in 1925 and the founding of the Pahlavi dynasty. Khan's government initially instituted a wide variety of modernizing reforms. As Khan consolidated power his regime became less progressive and more dictatorial.

Relations with the Soviet Union were of considerable concern, particularly as the traditional power struggle between Great Britain and Russia had refashioned itself into a struggle between capitalism and communism. Iran had come to rely on Soviet trade, thus making it vulnerable to Soviet advances. In 1927 Khan negotiated an ad hoc agreement with the Soviets that sought a trade balance and defined terms for bilateral trade delegations. Iran's relations with the Soviet Union were also complicated by territorial disputes involving the northern region and access to the Caspian Sea. On February 20, 1926, Khan negotiated a treaty attempting to resolve the dispute; the treaty created a joint territorial commission but granted it little power to effect decisions, and the territorial issues remained. Iran also had problems with foreign interference, and on October 1, 1927, it signed a Treaty of Guarantee and Neutrality with the Soviet Union. The treaty was a nonaggression pact that assured that neither country would interfere in the other's internal operations. For the Soviet Union the treaty allayed border security fears, but it caused discontent in Iran, which saw it as a continuation of historical external encroachment on its right to sovereignty. After World War II Iran would shift its alliance toward the United States in order to prevent Soviet expansion along the border.

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Michelle Donnelly

Iraqi rebellion (1920)

The Iraqi rebellion of 1920 was a massive nationalist revolt against the British occupation of the country. In 1915 in the midst of World War I, British and imperial troops moved into southern Iraq and then north toward Baghdad, where they were defeated by Ottoman troops. In 1917 a new British expedition took Baghdad, and by the end of the war they controlled the northern Iraqi province of Mosul as well. Mosul was of particular importance owing to its oil fields, over which the British meant to retain control.

The initial British occupation met with little Iraqi resistance, but after the San Remo Treaty of 1920 formalized British control under the mandate, Iraqi opposition to a prolonged occupation mounted. The full-scale war that broke out in the summer of 1920 raged throughout the country but was particularly strong in rural areas. The war united Iraqis representing a complex mix of religious and ethnic groups. Sunni Muslim Kurds in the north, who wanted the British out of Mosul, joined with Shi'i in the south in their opposition to the British. Shi'i centers around the holy cities of Karbala and Najaf were among the first to resist. Tribal confederacies also joined the struggle, as did women who collected money for the cause and served as messengers. The war raged for four months and took the British by surprise.

Arnold Wilson, the top British civilian official in Iraq, had advocated a policy of direct control and had predicted no difficulties in holding the territory, but as the violence grew and casualties mounted the British were forced to bring in reinforcements. The British smashed the rebellion with military force and even employed the Royal Air Force to bomb tribal armies with poison mustard gas. In the face of British military superiority and internal disputes that prevented a clear-cut chain of command or unified strategy, the revolt was crushed. In the course of the rebellion, over 400 British troops and 10,000 Iraqis had been killed.

The British sent Sir Percy Cox to Baghdad to help bring civilian order, and he set up an Iraqi interim government. At the Cairo Conference of 1921 the British addressed the problems of governing Iraq. The British decided on a policy of indirect rule, whereby the façade of independence would be created through the establishment of an Arab monarchy led by Faysal, son of Sherif Husayn and a member of the respected Hashemite family, which would be closely linked to Britain. Britain thereby retained real control over the foreign affairs and economic wealth of Iraq, particularly its oil reserves, without assuming the financial costs necessitated by a large military presence and direct rule.

See also Hashemite dynasty in Iraq.

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Janice J. Terry

Irish independence

Constitutional nationalists had long worked to pass home rule bills that would achieve Irish independence from Britain. None had achieved a lasting self-government for the Irish people. In Dublin on April 24, 1916, the Easter Uprising changed the struggle for Irish independence, not because of its military success but because of the British reaction to the Irish nationalists. With 450, mostly civilians, killed and 2,614 wounded, Britain exacted severe punishments upon the perpetrators of the rebellion. Seven men who had signed the Easter Proclamation, outlining the objectives of the rebels, were executed. The rebels quickly became martyrs in the eyes of the Irish and radicalized many who had previously been moderates.

The Irish Political Party, once dominant in English parliamentary politics, had advocated moderation and limited autonomy, but it became increasingly marginalized following the rebellion. Alternatives to the Irish Political Party emerged, and several organizations, including Sinn Féin and the Irish Republican Brotherhood, advanced nationalist goals. To many, British domination was cultural and social as well as political. They felt that British goods, the British educational system, and the Anglican religion had erased Irish identity. Organizations such as the Gaelic League and the Gaelic Athletic Association provided outlets for the expression of Irish cultural heritage based on education, language, and literature.

Sinn Féin's success in the 1918 election secured its dominance in the independence movement. The Easter Uprising had occurred when Britain had been preoccupied with World War I, and Britain feared that a successful Irish separatist movement would spark similar revolts in its far-flung colonial holdings.

Éamon de Valera (right) was the president of Sinn Féin and later of the Dáil Éireann, the Irish parliament based in Dublin.

In 1918 Britain indicated that it would extend conscription to Ireland. The so-called conscription crisis further spurred and unified Irish nationalists. Rebels were encouraged by Woodrow Wilson's principles of self-determination, which intimated that every nation had the right to independence and sovereignty. In 1919 Irish representatives even traveled to attend the Paris Peace Conference in the hopes that Irish independence would be addressed during the postwar peace negotiations.

From 1919 to 1921 the progressive use of physical force effectively transformed the struggle into a guerrilla war. Much of the fighting began during the last 12 months of the conflict, which caused over a thousand deaths. British reaction was harsh; there were frequent police raids of nationalist houses and large-scale arrests. But British retaliation only escalated the violence. The Black and Tans, former servicemen who supported the British police, became notorious for violent tactics. Irish prisoners often went on hunger strikes as a form of political protest. On November 21, 1920, known as Bloody Sunday, 26 people were killed when nationalists attacked British intelligence agents and the British police retaliated during a Gaelic football game. Martial law was imposed on parts of the country, and an attempt was made to negotiate peace.

On July 9, 1921, the two sides agreed to a truce. Éamon de Valera, then president of Sinn Féin and later president of the Dáil Éireann (the Irish parliament based in Dublin), met with British prime minister David Lloyd George several times over the summer of 1921. In these negotiations Valera insisted on a completely independent and unified state. The British delayed granting independence but did agree to an Anglo-Irish Conference. In the fall of 1921 a three-person delegation from the Dáil was chosen to represent Ireland. The resulting Anglo-Irish Treaty, signed on December 6, 1921, created a new but divided Ireland consisting of a six-county Northern Ireland linked to Britain, but with its own form of home rule. Mainly Protestant, the northern Ulster province had long opposed Irish independence. The remaining 26 counties formed a distinct Ireland with limited autonomy and ensured continued allegiance to the British monarch. With none of the major objectives met, the Irish delegation returned to angry resistance from the rest of the Dáil cabinet. Valera, who had decided not to participate in the conference, had instructed the delegation to consult with the rest of the cabinet prior to agreement on central issues and to send a draft of the treaty for review before signing it, but the delegation had not done so.

Michael Collins, representing the delegation, continued to support the treaty, while Valera remained adamantly opposed and continued to press for complete Irish independence. A bitter civil war between those opposing and those supporting the treaty ensured that the violence continued.

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Michelle Donnelly

isolationism, U.S.

Isolationism played a dominant role in U.S. foreign policy in the first half of the 20th century. Particularly during the 1930s, the United States sought to retreat behind its ocean borders and decrease if not eliminate its international responsibilities. After World War II, isolationism became increasingly discredited and was replaced by cold war internationalism as the dominant U.S. foreign policy belief.

Despite increasing reliance on foreign trade as a pillar of the U.S. economy, the United States sought to limit its global responsibilities in the aftermath of World War I. The Senate's rejection of the Versailles Treaty meant that the United States would not join the League of Nations despite the fact that it was primarily the creation of President Woodrow Wilson. Instead, the United States pursued a policy of independent internationalism during the 1920s, promoting naval disarmament at the Washington Conference in 1921–22; establishing a "reparations triangle," which established a relationship between German reparations payments to the Allies and Allied war debt payments to the United States through the Dawes and Young Plans (1924 and 1929, respectively); and intervening in Central America and the Caribbean throughout the decade. The onset of the Great Depression began to reverse this internationalism. During the latter stages of the Hoover administration and the most of the first two terms of the Franklin D. Roosevelt administration, isolationist sentiment grew in Congress and in the country.

This desire to limit involvement in the growing conflicts found in Europe and Asia in the mid-1930s became public policy through the creation of the Neutrality Acts of 1935, 1936, and 1937. The Neutrality Act of 1935 forbade arms sales to belligerents during a recognized state of war. The Neutrality Act of 1936 renewed the 1935 provision and added a commitment to stay out of the ongoing Spanish civil war while also forbidding loans by banks to belligerents. The Neutrality Act of 1937 added to the first two provisions that forbade citizens from traveling on belligerents' vessels and limited trade in nonmilitary goods with belligerents to a "cash-and-carry" basis, meaning that belligerents could purchase nonmilitary items from the United States with cash only and would have to pick up the goods from the United States in their own ships. These three acts limited presidential control of foreign policy by eliminating any distinction between aggressors and victims in a conflict, eliminating a key moral component from U.S. policy. That these acts had very little relationship to the actual events in Europe and Asia troubled the isolationists not at all. Their goal was to keep the United States out of the growing conflicts in the rest of the world.

The Roosevelt administration's acquiescence in the creation of these acts reflected the president's emphasis on dealing with the Great Depression. The primary movers behind the Neutrality Acts tended to support the New Deal. As events in Europe and Asia pushed the world once again toward war, Roosevelt began to take tentative steps toward challenging isolationist dominance. On October 5, 1937, he spoke to a nationwide audience from the isolationist stronghold of Chicago. In the speech he called for the quarantine of aggressor nations by the world's peace-loving peoples. However, when the British sought clarification on what Roosevelt intended to do to carry out this quarantine, the president responded that both U.S. public opinion and the Neutrality Acts precluded any actual preemptive actions by the president. Roosevelt all but repudiated the speech over the next several weeks.

One of the primary consequences of U.S. isolationism was the enhanced commitment of Britain and France to a policy of appeasement. If they could not count on the United States for loans, guns, or assistance, the British and French did not believe they could credibly resist Germany militarily. Hence, they were willing to trade land for peace, acquiescing in the *Anschluss* (unification) of Germany and Austria in March 1938. After a summer of crisis created by Adolf Hitler's demand for autonomy for ethnic Germans living in the Sudetenland in Czechoslovakia, the British and French pressured the Czech government to meet the demand. When Hitler responded by changing the demand to German annexation of the territory, the British and French at first reluctantly mobilized their militaries but then agreed to meet with Hitler and Italian dictator Benito Mussolini at Munich, where the Czechs were forced to cede the territory to Germany.

During the intervening year, Roosevelt slowly and tentatively began to challenge isolationist dominance, specifically requesting a liberalization of the Neutrality Acts' limitation on arms sales in his State of the Union message on January 4, 1939. Building on the anti-German outcry over the *Kristallnacht* attacks on German Jews on November 10, 1938, Roosevelt began to salt his discussions with congressional leaders and the press with references to the growing danger of Germany, a danger confirmed by its seizure of the remainder of Czechoslovakia on March 15, 1939. This aggression

ended the policy of appeasement by Britain and France and seemed to strengthen Roosevelt's hand in demanding Neutrality Act revision.

When the war began with the German invasion of Poland on September 1, 1939, followed by the French and British declarations of war two days later, Roosevelt seized the opportunity to act. After issuing a neutrality proclamation in which he clearly was not calling for an absolutely neutral stance toward the belligerents in Europe, Roosevelt called Congress back into session to again take up the issue of revising the Neutrality Acts. Despite fierce resistance from the isolationists, the arms embargo was lifted. However, the isolationists did force a cash-and-carry provision into the act for the sale of arms and munitions.

Through 1940 and especially after the fall of France in June, isolationists hammered away at the sale of arms to the British, calling for arms to be used to defend the United States instead. Led by the organization America First, the isolationists predicted Britain's defeat and criticized Roosevelt for wasting U.S. resources on a lost cause. The most formidable spokesman for America First was aviation hero Charles Lindbergh, who argued that the Germans were far superior to the British in air power and that this would inevitably lead to Britain's defeat. Nevertheless, Roosevelt not only continued to sell increasing amounts of arms to the British, he also authorized a trade of 50 U.S. destroyers to Britain in return for the right to lease nine British bases in the Western Hemisphere. The destroyers would both help the British convoy goods across the Atlantic and serve as morale-boosting evidence of the U.S. potential to assist.

Ironically, while isolationists condemned Roosevelt's behavior in the Atlantic as designed to trigger U.S. entry into the war, it would be events in Asia that would actually bring about the end to neutrality and isolationism. U.S. economic sanctions against Japan over the seizure of French Indochina, particularly an embargo on the sale of oil, led to tense negotiations between the two sides. Ultimately, the negotiations failed because of incompatible goals; the United States demanded Japanese withdrawal from Indochina and China in return for normalizing trade, while the Japanese demanded that the United States recognize the new territorial arrangements in Asia and resume normal trade. As the talks broke down, the Japanese government implemented the plan of Admiral Isoroku Yamamoto to launch a surprise attack on the American Pacific Fleet at anchor at Pearl Harbor, Hawaii. By attacking the United States in this manner, the Japanese accomplished something Roosevelt had failed to do for the previous two years: unite the people of the United States behind intervention in the war while mortally wounding isolationism in the United States. On December 8, 1941, Congress approved a declaration of war against Japan, with only one member dissenting. Isolationism was discredited, and the United States united behind the war effort.

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Richard M. Filipink, Jr.

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Japan, U.S. occupation of

The U.S.-led occupation of Japan began at 8:28 A.M. on August 28, 1945, when U.S. army colonel Charles P. Tench of General DOUGLAS MACARTHUR's personal staff stepped out of a C-47 Dakota transport onto the battered runway of Atsugi Airfield outside Tokyo, becoming the first foreign conqueror of Japanese soil in its thousand-year history.

Tench and his crew were followed two days later by 4,000 men of the 11th Airborne Division. On the same day, the U.S. 6th Marine Division began landing troops at the Yokosuka Navy Base as U.S. and British ships steamed into Tokyo Bay and MacArthur himself put the seal on WORLD WAR II victory and the beginning of postwar occupation by landing in his aircraft at Atsugi saying, "Melbourne to Tokyo was a long road, but this looks like the payoff."

The occupation was planned concurrently with the invasion of the Home Islands in early 1945 by MacArthur's headquarters. The occupation plan was to demilitarize Japan so that it would never again threaten its neighbors and to create a democratic and responsible government and a strong, self-sufficient economy. Operation Blacklist was designed to bring about a sudden surrender or collapse of the Japanese government, realized with the atomic attacks on HIROSHIMA AND NAGASAKI.

The operation called for a three-phase military occupation of Japan and Korea, with 23 divisions and supporting naval and air forces. The first priority would be to secure bases of operation, control the Japanese government, disarm its military, and liberate 36,000 Allied prisoners of war and internees who were close to death from starvation, torture, and abuse.

The Japan that surrendered in 1945 was an exhausted, stunned, and starving nation. Having never known defeat or occupation in their history, the Japanese now saw their institutions destroyed, agriculture and industry wrecked, and 2 million countrymen dead. Acres of major cities were in ruins, thousands homeless, the emperor abject, and the armed forces defeated and dishonored. It was a complete collapse.

With Japan's surrender, MacArthur was appointed supreme commander for the Allied powers in Japan under a U.S. State Department directive entitled "United States Initial Post-Surrender Policy for Japan." Instead of Japan's being divided into separate nationally administered zones, as was done in Germany, the fallen empire would continue as one nation under its existing government and emperor, subject to U.S.-led direction. Above MacArthur was the 11-nation Far Eastern Commission in Washington, established in December 1945, which was to make policy for the occupation and which could discuss and approve but not rescind previous U.S. decisions. Thus, in practice, despite Soviet complaints and demands for a share in the occupation, MacArthur had supreme power over Japan.

The first U.S. move after securing operating bases was to recover and repatriate prisoners from more than 140 camps across the Home Islands, airdropping supplies and sending out medical and transport teams to

bring the survivors of Malaya and Bataan home. Nearly all of them were brought out by the end of 1945.

Meanwhile, some 250,000 occupying forces, including an Australian-led British Commonwealth occupation force of 36,000 Britons, Australians, New Zealanders, and Indians, fanned out across Japan. While the British force was assigned to southern Honshu and Shikoku Island (including Hiroshima), MacArthur banned Soviet troops from his occupation force.

With his headquarters at the Dai Ichi Building in Tokyo, MacArthur did not need to create a political structure to administer Japan. The nation's government was intact when it surrendered, so his directives were simply passed through his staff to the Japanese-established Central Liaison Office, which acted as intermediary between the occupation staff and the government ministries until the two groups developed working relationships.

After freeing the POWs, MacArthur moved to demobilize the battered Japanese war machine, whose 5.5 million soldiers, 1.5 million sailors, and 3.5 million civilian colonial overlords were still defending bypassed islands across the Pacific. The Imperial Japanese Army and Imperial Japanese Navy were converted into the First and Second Demobilization Bureaus, respectively, and administered the repatriation, disarming, and demobilization of these men. Most of this work was done by the Japanese under close Allied supervision. Japanese warships, even the aircraft carrier *Hosho*, carried defeated troops home, making their final voyages before going to the scrap yard, where these ships were joined in destruction by tanks, kamikaze planes, midget submarines, and artillery shells of the once-mighty Japanese armed forces.

The United States also moved to break down the Japanese police state, decentralizing the police, releasing political prisoners, and abolishing the Home Ministry, which had controlled Japan's secret police agency, the Kempei Tai. With these changes in place, the United States was able by December 1945 to issue a Bill of Rights directive, which gave the Japanese U.S.-style civil liberties, freedom of speech, and freedom of the press.

The role of the emperor was also changed. Shortly after the surrender he met MacArthur, which enabled many Japanese to accept the new regime. In January 1946 Emperor Hirohito formally renounced his divinity, ending over a thousand years of Japanese tradition. He also began making public appearances in the style of Britain's royal family.

In April 1946 MacArthur ordered general elections as a referendum on the changes he planned. Three out of four Japanese went to the polls, including 14 million newly enfranchised women, to elect a free diet. The results supported a mildly liberal, prodemocracy government, an endorsement for his plans. Next MacArthur directed the Japanese government to draft a constitution to replace the 1867 Meiji Constitution. While issued by the government in accordance with existing rules to change the constitution, this new document was drafted by MacArthur and his staff. It went into effect in May 1947.

The "MacArthur Constitution" created a parliamentary government, the Diet, with popularly elected upper and lower houses, a cabinet that held executive power, and a decentralized regional government of elected assemblies. The constitution also guaranteed basic freedoms. Its most famous section was article nine, in which Japan forever repudiated war as a means of settling disputes and banned the maintenance of military forces. As a result, the modern Japanese armed services are called the Self-Defense Forces.

The United States also had to cope with a shattered economy. One-fourth of Japan's national wealth was lost to the war, prices had risen 20 times, and workers could barely afford to purchase what little food was for sale. Many people had to barter their possessions for fish. MacArthur imposed numerous reforms on the Japanese economy. Believing that those who till the soil should own it, he had the Diet break up vast farms held by a few landlords. These farms were expropriated and sold cheaply to the former tenants. MacArthur also worked to break up the commercial empires of the *zaibatsu,* or "money cliques," but this proved less successful. The large Japanese businesses were vital to the nation's economic rebuilding, and names like Matsushita, Mitsubishi, Nissan, Honda, and Kawasaki, powerful before the war, remained so into the 21st century. Nevertheless, Japan's economy was rebuilt with speed and power.

MacArthur also rebuilt the Japanese education system by replacing nationalist curriculums and textbooks with more liberal materials, raising the school-leaving age, decentralizing the system, and replacing political indoctrination with U.S. and British ideals that supported independent thought.

MacArthur also liberated women by ending contract marriage, concubinage, and divorce laws that favored husbands. He also made high schools coeducational and opened 25 women's universities. The Japanese responded: 14,000 women became social workers, and 2,000 became police officers. Women filled up the colleges and new assemblies.

Changes wrought by the U.S. occupation were massive: Public health programs eliminated epidemics, U.S. police officials retrained Japanese policemen, and Japan's dull official radio programs of government speeches were replaced with a combination of public affairs shows, impartial newscasts, soap operas, and popular music, all of which attracted millions of listeners.

At the same time the Anglo-American presence in Japan did much to change Japanese society. The arrival of the occupation forces sent a shiver of fear through the Home Islands, fear that the dreaded gaijin—"hairy barbarians"—would rape, loot, and pillage, as Japanese soldiers had done in lands they conquered. MacArthur gave strict orders regarding his troops' behavior but did not issue nonfraternization orders. As a result, U.S. soldiers were soon overcoming language barriers to play softball games against Japanese teams, playing tourist at Japan's many attractions, and giving out chewing gum and candy to ubiquitous Japanese children.

By 1947 the occupation had succeeded in its political and economic goals. Despite Soviet intransigence, Japanese society had been transformed. The combination of MacArthur's steely resolve, U.S. generosity, and Japanese industriousness and adaptability created the modern Japan, able to connect to both its historic roots and the Western world with its democratic values, economic systems, and advanced technology. By March 1947 MacArthur himself said that the occupation was completed and began turning over control of the nation's affairs and policies to the Japanese. In 1951 the United States and most of its allies signed a peace treaty with Japan, ending an occupation that was generally conceded to have ended five years previously.

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David H. Lippman

Japanese constitution (1947)

Japan surrendered unconditionally after its resounding defeat in World War II. It was occupied by the U.S. military from 1945 to 1951 under the supervision of General Douglas MacArthur, supreme commander for the Allied Powers. MacArthur undertook fundamental reforms of Japan, one of the most important being the enactment of a new constitution in 1947, which became the underpinning of postwar democratic Japan.

MacArthur first ordered Japanese government leaders to submit to him the draft of a new constitution, but he found it unsatisfactory. Then he ordered his general headquarters, under General Courtney Whitney, to produce a model draft that incorporated U.S. ideals, which was readied one week later, on February 13, 1946. Japanese leaders had few opportunities to make changes to it, and the final draft was published on March 6 and ratified by the Japanese legislature.

The constitution, which went into effect on May 3, 1947, was fundamentally different from the Meiji Constitution of 1889. It transferred sovereignty from the emperor to the people, making the emperor the "symbol of the state and of the unity of the people." On MacArthur's order he had already renounced his claim of personal divinity in a proclamation on January 1, 1946. The constitution also gave women suffrage for the first time and granted them legal equality with men. It essentially copied the British parliamentary system with a bicameral legislature, called the Diet: the lower or house of representatives, elected every four years, held power over the upper house of councillors, also elected (every six years), which replaced the previous House of Peers that had comprised many hereditary nobles. The government was led by a prime minister selected from the Diet by its members. An independent judiciary was created under the supreme court, which was empowered to review the constitutionality of legislation. Article 9 of the constitution renounced war as an instrument of national policy, including the right of belligerence and the maintenance of all forms of war potential. The goal of this article was to prevent Japan's reversion to its prewar militarism; 31 articles were devoted to human rights, patterned after the U.S. Bill of Rights. Two-thirds majorities in both houses were necessary to initiate changes in the constitution.

Although the United States was the catalyst for the fundamental changes embodied in the 1947 constitution, it remained unchanged after Japan regained sovereignty in 1952, indicating that the majority of Japanese were satisfied with its provisions. The only significant modification pertained to the creation of a self-defense force in 1952. This was prompted by the United States, in recognition of the need for such a force during the cold war, and warranted because article 9 did not deny Japan the right of self-defense. However, Japan's self-defense force remained small, at 235,500 troops in 1995, and likewise its defense budget, at around 1

percent of the nation's GDP. Japan relied on protection by the United States, established under the Mutual Defense Treaty of 1952.

See also JAPAN, U.S. OCCUPATION OF.

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JIU-HWA LO UPSHUR

Japanese internment

After the Japanese attack on PEARL HARBOR in December 1941, pressure for control of the Japanese and Japanese Americans in their midst built among West Coast whites. Farmers who competed with Japanese Americans, politicians unwilling to take a stand against anti-Japanese sentiment, and ordinary citizens aroused by the attack on Pearl Harbor—all combined against the Japanese, over two-thirds of whom were U.S. citizens. Supporting the local bias was the belief on the part of many high-ranking U.S. military officers that the Japanese might invade the West Coast. The military was still off balance after the surprise attack of December 7, 1941.

U.S. officials also feared that the Japanese Americans might spy for the Japanese. They disregarded the U.S. citizenship of the majority of Japanese Americans and the fact that over half were children. They also disregarded the fact that there had been no previous cases of Japanese-American disloyalty to the United States.

On February 19, 1942, President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT signed Executive Order 9066, which ordered the evacuation of all Japanese from the West Coast. The order authorized the "appropriate Military Commander" to decide who was a military risk and to exclude those so defined from the "war zones on the Pacific Frontier," which included all of California, half of Oregon and Washington, and a third of Arizona. In the climate of the times, those so defined included all persons of Japanese descent.

The United States relocated 120,000 of its people to 10 internment camps, officially labeled internment centers, in California, Idaho, Utah, Arizona, Wyoming, Colorado, and Arkansas. Although the camps usually took internees based on geographical location, some families were split into different camps.

The camps included Amache (Granada), Colorado; Manzanar, California; Minidoka, Idaho; Poston, Arizona; Rohwer, Arkansas; Topaz, Utah; Tule Lake, California; Gila River, Arizona; Heart Mountain, Wyoming; and Jerome, Arkansas. In June 1944 the Japanese prisoners from Jerome were relocated to Rohwer, and Jerome housed German prisoners of war. Gila River was divided into two camps, and about 1,100 inmates from both volunteered for the army. Gila River also had accredited schools and an 8,000-acre farm.

The internees fell into two categories. There were about 11,000 resident aliens of Japanese descent who were classified as enemy aliens and interned in Department of Justice camps because they were regarded as threats to national security. Their families could stay with them on a voluntary basis. They were colocated with Italian and German enemy aliens and their families, American or other. The other 114,000 internees were those, alien and citizen, evacuated from the West Coast defense areas due to doubts about their loyalty. Technically, these people were evacuated and relocated temporarily, not interned, but as a practical matter the distinction lacked any significance.

Canada evacuated 23,000 Nikkei to camps in British Columbia (BC). Males worked on sugar beet projects or in road camps. Women and children moved to six BC towns removed from the coast.

The U.S. camps, administered by the War Relocation Authority (WRA), tended to be overcrowded. Living conditions were poor. The internees had only short notice—48 hours—of their evacuation and could bring only a few possessions. They had to sell their belongings at fire sale prices to the fortune hunters who preyed on them during their 48 hours. The camps were fenced with barbed wire and guarded by armed soldiers. Camp leadership was open only to U.S.-born Nisei. The Issei, the Japanese-born elders, were subject by U.S. policy to the rule of their offspring. The WRA reported in 1943 that housing consisted of tar paper–covered frame barracks without plumbing or cooking facilities. Coal was scarce, so internees slept under as many blankets as they could find. Food was kept to a cost of 48 cents a day per internee. Meals were taken at mess halls seating 250 to 300 people. Deficient medical care and a high level of emotional stress proved fatal to some internees.

Tule Lake was the camp for troublemakers. It also became home to those who refused to take the loyalty

Eight Japanese-American women pose before the camp barbershop at the Tule Lake Relocation Center in Newell, California, in 1942. The United States questioned the loyalty of Japanese-American citizens after Pearl Harbor. Similarly, ethnic Japanese were interned in Canada.

oath in 1943. It became home to 18,000 Japanese, half of whom were U.S. citizens. The loyalty test was given to all internees over age 17. It included two questions: Are you willing to fight in the U.S. armed forces (women were asked if they would volunteer for the Women's Army Corps or Army Nurse Corps), and will you swear unqualified allegiance to the United States, defend it against all attack, and forswear allegiance to the Japanese emperor or any other government or entity?

When the United States offered the chance to leave the camps to those who joined the army, 1,200 internees enlisted. From Tule Lake came 13,000 applications for renunciation of U.S. citizenship. When all was done, 5,766 Nisei eventually renounced U.S. citizenship. All 10 people convicted of spying for Japan during the war were Caucasian. After two and a half years, in December 1944 under Public Proclamation Number 21, Roosevelt rescinded Executive Order 9066, effective in January 1945. The camps were all closed by the end of 1945, and internees returned home, relocated within the United States, or left the country.

Not all internees took their relocation passively. Some regarded the camps as concentration camps and internment as a violation of the right to habeas corpus. The most important challenges were the cases of *Hirabayashi v. United States* (1943) and *Korematsu v. United States* (1944). Fred Korematsu asked whether the government had the right to uproot citizens and intern them solely based on race.

The first attempt to atone came with the Evacuation Claims Act of 1948, under which over 26,000 claims were paid, usually for small amounts. In the 1960s agitation for atonement renewed, and by 1980 Congress had held hearings that produced the 1983 report "Personal Justice Denied," which condemned the internment and stated that *Korematsu*, still the law of the land, was overruled in the court of history.

In 1988 Congress enacted legislation awarding $20,000 to each of the 60,000 surviving internees. The government of Canada in 1968 issued a formal apology to Japanese Canadians and paid each survivor $21,000 Canadian dollars.

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JOHN H. BARNHILL

Jinnah, Mohammad Ali

(1876–1948) *Pakistani leader*

Mohammad Ali Jinnah was an Indian politician who helped found the country of Pakistan, which he governed as its first governor-general from 1947.

Born into a prosperous Muslim merchant family in British India, Jinnah determined early in life that he wished to be a lawyer, and he studied in Britain and at the University of Bombay to that end. In Britain he was part of the successful campaign for the election of Dadabhai Naoroji, who became the first Indian to sit in the House of Commons. Jinnah divided his time between politics and the law. He was a moderate in religion; his views were rooted in Indian nationalism and the need for independence. However, as part of an educated elite in India he did not despise British political and social institutions but respected and admired the positive aspects of these, and aimed to retain them in an independent India in the future. He first served in an elected political office as part of the INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS of 1906.

By the early 20th century, political thought in India was becoming divided between Hindus and Muslims. Muslims were starting to fear domination by Hindus, who were the majority. The ALL-INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE was established in 1906, but Jinnah did not join until 1913, when he had been reassured that it was dedicated to a unified struggle for independence. Jinnah established a reputation as an upholder of Hindu-Muslim unity. He was instrumental in forging the 1916 Lucknow Pact, which led to joint action by the congress and the league. However, the political rise of MOHANDAS K. GANDHI, who came to dominate Indian nationalism, led Muslim politicians to feel overshadowed. Jinnah withdrew from the congress and emerged as leader of the Muslim League. However, he committed to constitutional change at a time when Muslim-Hindu riots were starting to flare.

Jinnah spent the years between 1930 and 1935 in London but returned in 1935 when the British parliament passed the GOVERNMENT OF INDIA ACT. He believed that the league should play an important role in a future coalition government. However, elections in 1937 were dominated by the congress, with the league winning only in provinces where Muslims were a majority. After this point relations between Hindus and Muslims broke down almost completely. Fearful of the continued violence and the possible systematic exclusion of Muslim voices from the governance of a future independent India, Jinnah endorsed an idea that had first surfaced in 1930: the concept of a Muslim homeland with its own state on the Indian subcontinent. This state was to be known as Pakistan.

Mohammad Ali Jinnah is the father of Pakistan and was its wise helmsman. He served as the first governor of Pakistan until his death in 1948.

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JOHN WALSH

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Karakhan Declaration, first and second

Immediately after the October Revolution in 1917 the Soviet government of Russia had focused its efforts on instigating revolutions in Europe, but with little success. After establishing the Third International in March 1919 in Moscow, one of whose divisions was in charge of promoting communist revolutions in Asia, China became a prime target of the world communist movement.

Leo Karakhan (1889–1937) was assistant foreign affairs commissar of the Soviet government. On July 25, 1919, he issued a declaration (which came to be known in retrospect as the first Karakhan Declaration) that offered to renounce the unequal treaties that the czarist government had forced on China and further payments by China of indemnity that resulted from the Boxer Rebellion of 1900.

This declaration sought to capitalize on widespread public anger among the Chinese about China's diplomatic defeat at the Paris Peace Conference earlier that year, blaming it on the arrogance of the Western powers and Japan. However, due to a breakdown of communications, the text of the declaration did not reach China until March 1920. Some Chinese intellectuals saw this declaration as a herald of good relations with the Soviet Union. But it had no immediate effect because Great Britain, France, the United States, and Japan were hostile to the Soviets, and under their influence, China continued to recognize and support the defunct Russian provisional government. Additionally, the Chinese Eastern Railway had, since the Communist Revolution in Russia, been under the joint control of Britain, the United States, Japan, and China.

In September 1920, Karakhan made a second declaration, in which the Soviet government repeated its offers of the previous year, except that it would now negotiate joint control of the Chinese Eastern Railway. China withdrew recognition from the provisional government in September 1920. In 1921 the two governments began negotiations.

Several Soviet representatives came to China between 1921 and 1923 but failed to reach agreement, the stumbling block being control of the railway and the status of Mongolia. In July 1923, Karakhan was appointed chief Soviet negotiator to China; in May 1924, a Sino-Soviet Treaty was signed. It was based on equality: The Soviet Union renounced extraterritorial rights in China, its concessions in several Chinese cities, and its share of the Boxer indemnity, but it retained control of the Chinese Eastern Railway. Mongolia had already become a Soviet satellite state and was not mentioned in the treaty.

From the first Karakhan Declaration, when the weak Soviet government offered to return the privileges its predecessor had obtained, to the Sino-Soviet Treaty of 1924, Soviet foreign policy toward China had hardened. This is because by 1924 the civil war had ended in Russia, and the Soviet government was in unchallenged control. It thus did not need to

conciliate China. Leo Karakhan was executed by Stalin in the purge of 1937.

See also Sun Yat-sen.

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Jiu-Hwa Lo Upshur

Kato Takaaki

(1860–1926) *Japanese politician*

Kato Takaaki (also called Kato Komei) began his career in the firm of Mitsubishi after graduation from Tokyo University. His father-in-law was Yataro Iwasaki, founder of Mitsubishi, and throughout his political career, Kato was associated with Mitsubishi and its interests. Most of his career was spent in government service, beginning with a post in 1887 as private secretary to Okuma Shigenobu, the minister of foreign affairs. He advocated strong ties between Japan and Great Britain as a step on the road to making Japan a world power and was a strong supporter of the Japanese-British Exhibition of 1910.

Takaaki held numerous posts in the Japanese government over the course of his career, including director of the banking bureau in the finance ministry and member of the house of representatives and served three times as foreign minister. In 1913, while serving as foreign minister under Prime Minister Katsura Taro, he created the Kenseikai (Constitutional Party) through a reorganization of the Riekken Doshi-kai (Constitutional of Friends). He became chairman of the new party, which served as opposition to the Rikken Seiyukai (Friends of Constitutional Government Party), which was more conservative. In 1915, while serving as foreign minister, Kato played a major role in securing China's approval of the Twenty-one Demands, in which China granted Japan a number of industrial and strategic concessions.

Kato became prime minister in 1924, leading a coalition government. The following year, his party won a majority in the diet, and he instituted a series of democratic and other reforms. These reforms were partly influenced by his admiration for the British system of government, which he had observed while serving as ambassador to that country. The most significant reform may have been the Universal Manhood Suffrage Law, which granted the right to vote to all Japanese men over age 25; this law increased the number of Japanese voters from 3 million to 13 million. Kato also reduced the size of the government bureaucracy and reduced government expenditures on the armed forces. However, not all Kato's legislation was progressive: His government also passed the Peace Preservation Act, the purpose of which was to suppress subversive activities. Takaaki died while in office in 1926.

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Sarah Boslaugh

Kenseikai, later Minseito, and Seiyukai Parties

The Seiyukai and the Kenseikai/Minseito were the two most powerful political parties in Japan in the first decades of the 20th century.

Under the Meiji Constitution of 1889, sovereignty resided with the Japanese emperor, but considerable ambiguity existed in determining from whence the officials who would run the government were to be drawn. An oligarchic group of genro, or elder statesmen, dominated posts in the cabinet and determined who was to occupy the office of prime minister, but by the close of the 19th century there was rising impatience with oligarchic rule. This led to a period of political maneuvering at the turn of the century that helped bring political parties to positions of greater prominence in Japan.

The base of power for the political parties was the lower house of the Diet, Japan's parliamentary institution. The role of this body was limited, but it nonetheless provided an opportunity for elected representatives to influence affairs of state, most notably in the Diet's power over the national budget. Originally, a tone of confrontation marked relations between the oligarch-dominated cabinet and the party-led Diet, but by the middle of the 1890s both sides increasingly

recognized the possible benefits of cooperation and compromise.

The Seiyukai, a political party founded in 1900 by Ito Hirobumi—himself an elder statesman and one of the architects of the Meiji state—became the leading political party of the early 20th century in Japan. Internal divisions within his party led to Ito's own resignation in 1903, and another elder statesman, Saionji Kinmochi, became the Seiyukai's new president. Yet Hara Kei was quickly becoming the leading personality in the Seiyukai. It was he who struck a deal with Prime Minister Katsura Taro in 1904 whereby the Seiyukai, in exchange for its Diet members' support for government expenditures needed to prosecute the Russo-Japanese War, gained future access to the office of prime minister. Party president Saionji served two stints as prime minister, from 1906 to 1908 and from 1911 to 1912, and the intervening non-Saionji cabinets included party representatives. It was clear that the Seiyukai had become a fixture in Japanese politics. Kai worked to strengthen the party by recruiting members of the civil bureaucracy into the organization, providing funds for local development, and seeking the support of leading industrialists. Each of these efforts was designed to further the Seiyukai's fortunes in the Diet and to lead to eventual party rule in the government.

In 1912–13 financial constraints forced a showdown between the Seiyukai and the leadership of Japan's military, the latter of whom wanted funding to add new army divisions, which the Seiyukai leadership was unwilling to provide. In December 1912, the army toppled Saionji's cabinet by ordering the war minister to resign and refusing to replace him. Katsura resumed the post of prime minister, but discontent over these machinations within the government led a number of political officials, business leaders, and journalists to form a "movement to protect constitutional government," which helped to spark mass demonstrations. Katsura resigned after just two months in an episode that illustrated the growing power of the political parties, especially the Seiyukai.

Meanwhile, Katsura created a new political party, the Doshikai—this party was renamed the Kenseikai party in 1916 and then reorganized as the Minseito in 1927—in an attempt to build a rival party that could undermine Seiyukai dominance of the Diet's lower house. Upon Katsura's death in 1913, his new party was led by Kato Takaaki, and in the election of 1915 the Doshikai succeeded in relegating the Seiyukai to the position of second-largest party in the Diet. The Seiyukai, however, regained a plurality of seats in 1917 and won an absolute majority in 1920.

As prime minister, Kai tried to build support for the Seiyukai through a "positive policy" of public spending on education and developing local infrastructure. Hara's government expanded the franchise by lowering the tax qualification for voting but did not act upon calls for universal male suffrage.

Hara was assassinated in 1921, and following his death, party government was dealt a setback, as from 1922 to 1924 the post of prime minister reverted back to a series of nonparty officials. The last of these was ousted from office by another "movement to protect constitutional government," this one consisting of a Diet coalition that included both the Kenseikai (the name for the Doshikai after 1916) and the Seiyukai. Thereupon Kenseikai president Kato Takaaki, whose party had regained a plurality of seats in the lower house of the Diet, became prime minister in 1924. For the next eight years until 1932, the heads of these two major parties alternated as prime ministers.

As early as 1920 the Kenseikai had sponsored, along with a number of smaller parties, a universal male suffrage bill in the Diet. At that time the proposal was voted down by the Seiyukai. With Kato Takaaki as prime minister, however, the Kenseikai was able to achieve passage of legislation guaranteeing universal suffrage for Japanese men aged 25 and older. The Kenseikai-led government took an approach more friendly to Japanese labor than their Seiyukai counterparts did. The new government legalized workers' strikes, legislated improvements in industrial conditions, and provided for health benefits for workers. In the realm of economics, the platform of the Kenseikai/Minseito party emphasized the imperative of fiscal conservatism and balanced budgets in opposition to the spending programs of the Seiyukai, though both parties spent considerable money on pork-barrel projects.

The foreign policy approach of the Kenseikai/Minseito party in the 1920s was based on conciliation with China and cooperation with the West. Yet this policy engendered discontent in some quarters, especially among the military, who were concerned about protecting Japanese interests in Manchuria, perceived as severely threatened by the end of the decade by Chinese nationalists and the Soviet military. Economically, as much of the globe descended into the Great Depression. Minseito-led cabinets tried to resolve Japan's financial difficulties, such as imbalance of trade and the too-low market price of rice, which hurt Japanese farmers but could not mitigate Japan's financial situation.

The era of party government was marked by an increase in public scandals and allegations of corruption that damaged the prestige of the parties, as did the occasionally unseemly conduct of rival party representatives on the floor of the Diet, including physical assaults. Party government also came under heavy criticism from rightist elements who felt that such a parliamentary system ran fundamentally counter to traditional Japanese values. With disenchantment toward party officials now spreading on all sides, popular acceptance or toleration of the existing system was tenuous in an atmosphere of national crisis, and military officials and members of "patriotic societies" were able to undermine the role of the parties in governance.

In late 1931 the Seiyukai again gained control of the government from the Minseito, but it would prove to be a short-lived cabinet. The maneuvering of antiparty elements, culminating in May 1932 with the assassination of prime minister Inukai Tsuyoshi, resulted in the fall of the Seiyukai cabinet. The era of party rule suddenly ended, as so-called national unity governments headed by military leaders or nonparty elites eroded the influence of the parties, and party representatives in the cabinets declined. The parties continued to function in the Diet, but internal strife over how best to defend the Diet's prerogatives in the face of increasing military authority may have prevented the parties from asserting themselves more strongly. As the 1930s progressed the Minseito tended to hold to its policy of supporting the nonparty cabinets, while the Seiyukai eventually took a more oppositional stance. The parties still managed to cling to their place in the Diet and even played a vital part in the ouster of multiple cabinets in the late 1930s and into 1940. In the latter year, however, Prime Minister Konoe Fumimaro's government succeeded in formally dissolving Japan's political party organizations in the name of creating a wartime new order. Former party officials continued to exercise parliamentary influence and as such to play a role in political affairs, albeit a considerably limited one.

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Adam C. Stanley

Kerensky, Alexander Fyodorovich

(1881–1970) *Russian revolutionary leader*

Alexander Kerensky played a key role in toppling the czarist monarchy immediately before Vladimir Lenin's Bolsheviks seized power in 1917.

Kerensky, the son of a headmaster, was born in Simbirsk (now Ulyanovsk), which was also Lenin's birthplace. Kerensky graduated in law from Saint Petersburg University in 1904. In 1905, Kerensky joined the Socialist Revolutionary Party and became editor of a radical newspaper. He was arrested and exiled but returned to Saint Petersburg in 1906 and worked as a lawyer, demonstrating his political sympathies by his frequent defense of accused revolutionaries. In 1912, he was elected to the duma, imperial Russia's central parliament, as a member of the Moderate Labor Party. He was nominated to the Provisional Committee as a leader of the opposition to Czar Nicholas II.

Unlike many radical socialist leaders, Kerensky supported Russia's entrance into World War I in 1914. However, he became more and more disappointed with the czar's unsuccessful conduct of the war. Kerensky was dismayed by the weakness of the czar's command of the Russian troops. When the February Revolution broke out in 1917, Kerensky urged the removal of Nicholas II. To Kerensky's enthusiasm, he was elected vice chairman of the Saint Petersburg Soviet. When the czar abdicated on March 13, the duma formed a provisional government. Kerensky was appointed minister of justice and instituted a series of reforms, including civil liberties such as freedom of speech, assembly, and the press, as well as the abolition of ethnic and religious discrimination. He made plans for the introduction of universal suffrage. He became a widely known and popular figure among the revolutionary leaders. Handed the war and navy ministry in May 1917, Kerensky was determined to ensure Russia's continued participation in the Allied war effort. He toured the front, where he made a series of inspiring speeches appealing to the demoralized troops to continue fighting. Kerensky subsequently planned a new offensive against Germany and Austria-Hungary. Encouraged by the Bolsheviks, there were mass demonstrations against Kerensky in Petrograd. The July 1 Offensive,

also named the Kerensky Offensive, was an attack on the whole Galician sector of the front. Low morale, poor supply, and the arrival of German reserves quickly brought the advance to a halt.

As a consequence of that defeat, the provisional government was compelled to reorganize. Kerensky, whose rhetoric still seemed to win him popular support, became prime minister. His essential problem was that his country was exhausted after three years of warfare. Kerensky, however, felt obliged by Russia's commitments to its allies to continue the war against the Central Powers. He also foresaw that Germany would demand vast territorial concessions as the price for peace. For those reasons, Kerensky decided to continue the war. Lenin and his Bolsheviks were promising "peace, land, and bread." There was a rapid increase in the number of deserters: By the autumn of 1917, an estimated 2 million men had left the army. Many of these soldiers used their weapons to seize land from the nobility. Kerensky was powerless to stop the redistribution of land in the countryside.

Kerensky's refusal to end Russia's engagement in the war proved his undoing. He found himself increasingly isolated between the extreme revolutionaries on the left and those on the right. He forced Lenin to flee the country following the July Days demonstration and subsequently announced a postponement of constituent assembly elections until November. Despite his efforts to unite the whole country, he alienated the moderate political factions as well as the officers' corps by dismissing the supreme commander, General Lavr Kornilov. In September, Kerensky took over his post personally.

When Kornilov started a revolt and marched on Petrograd, Kerensky was obliged to request assistance from Lenin and distribute weapons to the Petrograd workers. Most of these armed workers, however, soon sided with the Bolsheviks. Kerensky publicly declared a socialist republic on September 14 and released radical leaders from prison. Lenin was determined to overthrow Kerensky's government before it could be legitimized by elections. Kerensky's fall was triggered by his decision on November 5 to arrest the leaders of the Bolshevik committee, which resulted only in bringing about their uprising. On November 7, the Bolsheviks seized power in what became known as the October Revolution.

Kerensky escaped from Petrograd and went to Pskov, where he rallied loyal troops for an attempt to retake the capital. His troops were defeated. Kerensky lived in hiding until he could leave the country in May 1918. Kerensky, then only 36 years old, spent the remainder of his long life in exile. He lived in Paris, engaged in the quarrels of the exiled Russian leaders. When the Germans occupied France in 1940, he escaped to the United States. In 1939 he had married the Australian journalist Lydia Tritton. In 1945, Kerensky traveled with her to Australia and lived there until her death in 1946. Thereafter, he returned to the United States and spent much of his time at Stanford University in California, where he used the Hoover Institution's archive on Russian history. He lectured at universities, wrote, and broadcast extensively on Russian politics and history as well as on his revolutionary experiences. When Kerensky died in 1970, he was the last surviving major participant in the events of 1917.

See also Russian Revolution and Civil War.

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Martin Moll

Khilafat movement

The institution of the *khalifa*, the leader or representative of the Muslim community after the death of the prophet Muhammad, had been associated with the Turkish Ottoman Empire since the 16th century. At the time of World War I, the Ottoman emperor and *khalifa* headed the largest independent Islamic political entity in the world. When Great Britain declared war on the Ottoman Empire in November 1914, it promised the Muslim subjects of the British Empire in India that the conflict would not involve attacking the Muslim holy places in Arabia. In return, the British asked for the loyalty of their Muslim subjects to British war efforts. During the course of the war, it became evident that the Ottoman Empire would be dismembered. Consequently, the khilafat question came to be of increasing importance to Muslims in India. On March 20, 1919, at a public meeting of 15,000 Muslims from Bombay, a Khilafat committee was formed. By November 1919 following widespread public demonstrations in support of the Khilafat movement, an All-India Khilafat Conference assembled in Delhi. The conference protest-

ed the placing of former lands of the Ottoman Empire, such as Syria, Palestine, and Mesopotamia, under non-Muslim mandates on the grounds that dividing the Ottoman Empire and depriving its sovereign of his spiritual and political authority was an attack on Islam. The conference also called for a Muslim boycott of European goods if the peace treaty with the Ottoman Empire was unjust and jeopardized the khilafat. The efforts of the conference were supported by Mohandas K. Gandhi, who had at the time launched a movement of noncooperation with the British, and by the Indian National Congress.

The leaders of the Khilafat movement were Maulana Muhammad Ali and his brother Maulana Shaukat Ali. Maulana Muhammad Ali was chosen to lead the Muslim delegation that traveled to England in 1919 to represent Muslim interests to the British, and the Ali brothers pioneered the Khilafat Manifesto, which they presented on March 17, 1920, to British prime minister Lloyd George. Meanwhile, the terms of the Treaty of Sevres were published in May, whereby the Arab lands were to become independent of the Ottoman Empire. Syria, Mesopotamia, and Palestine became French and British mandates, and the Straits were internationalized. When the Turkish government signed the treaty on August 20, 1920, the delegation was left with no option but to return to India.

However, when Mustafa Kemal Atatürk rejected the Treaty of Sèvres and began resisting Allied occupation in Anatolia, Khilafat leaders avidly supported his cause. It was only when Mustafa Kemal wrested a new treaty of peace from the European powers in 1922, established the republic of Turkey, and himself abolished the Khilafat in 1924 that the Khilafat movement in India came to an end. While the movement did not succeed in its goal of protecting the sovereignty of the Ottoman *khalifa*, it came to represent in the history of India both a moment of Hindu-Muslim cooperation against colonial rule and the eventual articulation of a distinct Indian Muslim identity.

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Taymiya R. Zaman

Kikuyu Central Association

The Kikuyu Central Association (KCA) was an organization that took a central role in the Kenyan struggle for independence from the British Empire in the first half of the 20th century. The KCA was dominated by the Kikuyu ethnic people and eventually provided in Jomo Kenyatta the first prime minister and then president of independent Kenya.

The Kikuyu were a tribal agricultural people whose territory at one time extended across much of what is now modern Kenya. At the time of the arrival of expansionist European powers, Kikuyu power was declining owing to disease, particularly smallpox. Kenya was brought into the British Empire, and British and British-sponsored settlers took over much of the best land. The Kikuyu leader Mbatian died at this time, and his people were divided. It was not until the 1920s and 30s that the Kikuyu were reunited and started to organize themselves to protest against imperial control. The KCA was shaped in part by the intensely decentralized and tribal nature of the organization of the people and was largely inspired by the desire to recover the lands lost to the primarily white settlers. In the early 1920s, the East Africa Association was founded as the first expression of Kenyan independence. It was dissolved in 1925 owing to government pressure but then reconstituted as the KCA in the same year. Within a few years, the KCA came under the direction of Jomo Kenyatta, who became its general secretary.

Progress in obtaining independence was slow and hampered by the outbreak of World War II. By the early 1950s, sentiment had hardened to the extent that the Kenyans were prepared to enter into violent struggle to ensure their independence. Those with this hard-line tendency came to be known as the Mau Mau, who were closely associated with the oaths that members of the KCA took to demonstrate their dedication to unity.

The Mau Mau Rebellion took a decade to succeed, during which time many thousands of rebels were killed by the British, and thousands more were interned in concentration camps. Mau Maus pursued a policy of sabotage and assassination, and the attempts to suppress them were severe but considered acceptable by authori-

ties in the field. The truth as to what happened during this period has only recently begun to become known widely. It was the Kikuyu people and the KCA who led the way in the Kenyan independence movement, and this enabled Kikuyus to take leading roles in the postindependence government. This led to subsequent political dissent.

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John Walsh

King Crane Commission (1919)

The King-Crane Commission of 1919 was a delegation sent to the territories of the former Ottoman Empire after World War I. A champion of self-determination, U.S. president Woodrow Wilson proposed that an Inter-Allied Commission be sent to the region to determine the aspirations of local inhabitants. Wilson proposed the commission upon the conclusion of secret and contradictory negotiations between the Allied powers that did not consider the wishes of the natives.

The agreements that most dramatically emphasized the conflicting self-interests of the British and the French for the Ottoman territories during World War I were the Sherif Husayn–McMahon correspondence, the Sykes-Picot Treaty, and the Balfour Declaration. The Sherif Husayn–McMahon correspondence was an agreement made between the British high commissioner in Egypt, Henry McMahon, and Sherif Husayn of Mecca between 1914 and 1916. The British promised to recognize and help establish Arab independence if the Arabs agreed to fight in the war alongside the British. The Sykes-Picot agreement of 1916 defined areas of British and French control in Arab lands and in Turkey. Finally, in November of 1917 the British government publicly issued the Balfour Declaration, which stated British support for the "establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people." The British negotiated the same territory on three separate occasions, making three distinctly different promises to three distinctly different groups of people.

The commission was to determine whether the region was prepared for self-determination and to ascertain what nations, if any, the indigenous population wanted to serve as mandatory powers. Wilson appointed Henry Churchill King, president of Oberlin College, and Charles R. Crane, a Chicago businessman and trustee of Robert College in Constantinople, to serve as the U.S. representatives. The King Crane Commission visited Palestine, Syria, Lebanon, and Anatolia between June and August 1919. The King Crane findings were first published in 1922 but not officially released by the U.S. Department of State until 1947.

The King Crane Commission began its inquiry on June 10, 1919, and traveled through Syria and Palestine for six weeks. The method of inquiry was to meet with individuals and delegations that would represent all the significant groups in the various communities to obtain the opinions and desires of the natives. The commission received 1,863 petitions with approximately 19,000 signatures and heard from representatives from over 1,500 villages. The commission concluded that if a foreign administration came to Syria, it should come not as a colonizing power but as a mandatory under the auspices of the League of Nations. The recommendations further emphasized the preservation of Syrian unity and recommended that Syria be placed under one mandatory power. Despite previous French ambitions, the commissioners recommended that the United States undertake the single mandate for all Syria. If such an arrangement were not possible, the Syrians desired that Great Britain assume the mandate. Syria was proclaimed an independent republic in 1944.

In Palestine, the King Crane Commission recommended serious modification of the Zionist program of unlimited immigration of Jews. King and Crane emphasized in their findings the centrality of the Holy Land as important to Christians, Jews, and Muslims alike and recommended against the creation of an entirely Jewish state. A number of factors, including President Wilson's incapacitating stroke, prevented the findings and recommendations of the King Crane Commission from ever being implemented.

See also San Remo Treaty (1920).

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Julie Eadeh

Kitchener, Horatio Herbert

(1850–1916) *British general*

Herbert, first earl Kitchener of Khartoum and of Broome, was born near Listowel in County Kerry, Ireland, to English parents, Lieutenant Colonel Henry Kitchener, a retired army officer, and his first wife, Frances Anne. He attended the Royal Military Academy, Woolwich, graduating in 1870 and receiving his commission in the Royal Engineers the following year. He spent his early years in the army engaged in survey work in Palestine and Cyprus before accepting an assignment in Egypt in 1882, where through hard work and dedication he earned rapid promotion. In 1898, as sirdar (commander in chief) of the Egyptian army, he completed the reconquest of the SUDAN by destroying a Mahdist army at Omdurman with a force half the size of the Mahdi's. He soon learned that a small French expedition under Major Jean-Baptiste Marchand had cut across central Africa and planted the French flag at Fashoda. Loading five gunboats with soldiers, Kitchener headed upriver and confronted Marchand, forestalling his efforts to establish French sovereignty over parts of the Sudan. Returning home, Kitchener was raised to the peerage as Baron Kitchener of Khartoum and appointed governor of the Sudan.

After a series of losses by British forces in the BOER WAR, Kitchener was sent to South Africa in 1899 to serve as the chief of staff to Lord Roberts. The following year Roberts, having defeated the main Boer armies, turned command over to Kitchener. But the war was far from over, as the Boers adopted guerrilla warfare; Kitchener responded by adopting drastic measures that wore down the Boers, who accepted peace terms in 1902.

Back in England, he was created viscount and took up the post of commander in chief of the army in India. Although bitterly disappointed that he had not been appointed viceroy of India, he accepted the post of British agent and consul general in Egypt in 1911. As virtual ruler of Egypt, Kitchener devoted himself to developing its economic resources and protecting and improving the interests of the fellaheen (peasants). For his services he earned an earldom in 1914.

When it appeared that war with Germany was imminent in August 1914, Kitchener was appointed secretary of state for war. As he was the most acclaimed soldier in the land, his cabinet colleagues stood in awe of him and in the beginning allowed him to run the war as he saw fit. Kitchener alone believed that the war would last at least three years and that to win

Posters such as the one above, featuring Lord Kitchener, encouraged young men to enlist and support the armed effort against the Central Powers.

Britain would need to place a million-man army in the field. To that end, he would need to depend on patriotic enlistment, not conscription, which would not be adopted in Britain until the spring of 1916. Aiming for 70 divisions, as compared to the six available in 1914, Kitchener's recruitment campaign, highlighted by his famous poster "Your Country Needs You," drew in nearly 2.5 million volunteers. His second great service was to prevent Sir John French, commander in chief of the British army, from quitting the battle line in September 1914, a move that would have led to the piecemeal defeat of the Allies.

The onset of trench warfare at the close of 1914 gave rise to many unprecedented problems. Exacerbating the difficulties were the politicians, who intervened repeatedly in the conduct of the war, dragging the country into three disastrous expeditions in 1915: Gallipoli, Salonika, and Mesopotamia. Coinciding with the

ill-advised sideshows were the French's badly bungled operations on the western front, with each defeat contributing to the erosion of Kitchener's once immense reputation. Though they were hardly his fault, he was held responsible as the supreme warlord when things went wrong. An influential section of the cabinet came to see his methods as the principal cause of the defeats, rather than the outcome of their own interference, and gradually stripped him of much of his authority.

Late in May 1916, Kitchener accepted an invitation to visit Russia in the hope that he could use his influence to bolster the waning enthusiasm of the Russian armies. On June 5 the cruiser HMS *Hampshire*, carrying Kitchener to Archangel, hit a mine and sank, and practically everyone aboard, including Kitchener, were lost.

Recent scholarship has refuted many myths about Kitchener that his detractors circulated after his death. That he made mistakes is undeniable; he refused to admit his cabinet colleagues into his confidence, was unable or unwilling to delegate authority, and tended to ignore the Imperial General Staff. That said, his accomplishments greatly overshadowed his errors. He not only singlehandedly kept Britain in the war when the French wanted to cut and run, but also built a formidable army, which sustained the Allies in the war, stepping into the breach left by the collapse of Russia and the exhaustion of France. When everything is said and done, it can be fairly claimed that Kitchener contributed more to the victory of the Allies than any other single individual.

See also Afrikaners, South Africa; World War I.

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George H. Cassar

Konoe Fumimaro

(1891–1945) *Japanese politician*

Prince Fumimaro Konoe was born into the aristocratic Fujiwara clan and studied at Tokyo Imperial University and Kyoto Imperial University, graduating from the law faculty of the latter institution in 1917. In his political career he was a protégé of Saionji Kinmochi, a member of the court aristocracy who served two terms as prime minister. Early in his political career Konoe attended the Paris Peace Conference and later criticized the conference as an attempt by Western nations to preserve their already considerable spheres of influence.

Konoe's status as a prince allowed him membership in the upper house of the Japanese Diet (house of peers), where he served as vice president and then president. He first became prime minister of Japan in June 1937 and would serve three times in that post. Konoe was a moderate like his mentor Saionji and was particularly concerned with tempering the power of the military. However, after the Marco Polo Bridge incident led to the outbreak of an undeclared war between China and Japan, Konoe's unsuccessful attempts to end that conflict contributed to the downfall of his cabinet in 1939. Konoe was reappointed prime minister in July 1940 and was involved in intense negotiations with the United States, hoping it could act as a mediator in the conflict between Japan and China on terms favorable to Japan. He also negotiated a nonaggression pact between Japan and the Soviet Union in 1941. Konoe resigned as prime minister in October 1941 in favor of the war minister, General Hideki Tojo, and was not centrally involved in the Japanese government again until the conclusion of World War II.

After Japan's surrender in August 1945, Konoe served in the government of Prince Naruhiko Higashikuni. Konoe took his own life with potassium cyanide after it was announced by the American general Douglas MacArthur, supreme commander of the Allied Forces and supervisor of the postwar occupation of Japan, that Konoe would be tried as a war criminal. It allowed him to evade the disgrace of conviction and execution by hanging. Konoe's grandson, Morihiro Hosokawa, served as prime minister of Japan from August 1993 to April 1994.

See also World War I.

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Sarah Boslaugh

Ku Klux Klan

The Ku Klux Klan (KKK, or Klan) refers to two distinct organizations, separated in time by nearly half a

century. The first Klan, founded in December 1865 in Pulaski, Tennessee, by a handful of ex-Confederate soldiers, was only the most prominent among numerous white supremacist secret societies that formed in the U.S. South at the end of the Civil War in opposition to radical Reconstruction and dedicated to maintaining white supremacy through violence and terror. (Similar organizations included the Knights of the White Camellia, the Night Riders, the Order of the White Rose, the Pale Faces, and others.)

Wearing white sheets, conical white hats, and white masks, KKK members and officers were identified by a series of preposterous-sounding names (Grand Wizard, Grand Dragons, Hydras, Grand Titans, Furies, Grand Giants, Night Hawks, Grand Cyclops, Ghouls, and others). By the late 1860s, the Klan was active in almost every southern state and strongest in Piedmont districts where whites outnumbered blacks. Congressional investigations revealed that the organization was responsible for thousands of murders, burnings, lynchings, beatings, rapes, tar-and-featherings, and other acts of violence and terror. Weakened by the Enforcement Acts of 1870 and 1871, the organization played an important role in maintaining white supremacy in the South and was largely defunct by the formal end of Reconstruction in 1877.

The second Klan, founded in 1915 by Alabama-born salesman and preacher William J. Simmons, had only tenuous links to the first. This resuscitated Klan was propelled into prominence in 1915 by D. W. Griffith's epic film *Birth of a Nation*, in turn based on several novels by southern writer Thomas Dixon, Jr., most notably *The Clansman*. Griffith's blatantly racist film, following Dixon, portrayed the Klan as a heroic organization devoted to redeeming the Union and saving white womanhood from savage Negro hordes bent on sowing mayhem and destruction in the aftermath of the Civil War.

Despite the film's malicious misrepresentations, it was endorsed by President Woodrow Wilson as an accurate depiction of the Klan's role in Reconstruction. In the late 1910s and early 1920s the organization grew rapidly in power and numbers. At its height in the mid-1920s, this second Klan had become a national political force, with as many as 6 million members from all walks of life and chapters in nearly every state. Women played an especially important role in organizing women's chapters and spreading the Klan's message. In practice, this meant antipathy not only toward blacks but also Catholics, Jews, immigrants, atheists, socialists, communists, gamblers, homosexuals, divorcees, "fornicators," those opposed to Prohibition, and anyone not identified as white, Anglo-Saxon, appropriately Protestant, and conforming to Klan-defined "traditional values." Especially strong in the Midwest and South, in the mid-1920s the Klan became a major political player, electing thousands of its members to offices.

Klansmen in costume: The second Ku Klux Klan rose to prominence in part thanks to D.W. Griffith's epic film Birth of a Nation.

Divided and weakened after 1925 by scandals, infighting, and public backlash—especially the murder and rape charges brought against Indiana Klan leader D. C. Stephenson—by 1930 national membership had dropped below 6,000, and the Klan ceased being a national political force. The organization survived through the 1930s and after, witnessing a resurgence with the Civil Rights movement (the "Second Reconstruction") of the 1960s. In the 1980s, various civil rights organizations, most notably the Southern Poverty Law Center, used the courts to drive the Klan into bankruptcy and effectively destroy it as a national organization. In both its first and second incarnations, the Ku Klux Klan used violence, terror, and other illegal means to advance its conservative, racist, white supremacist agenda.

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Michael J. Schroeder

Kwantung Army

Japan's military presence in and domination of Manchuria in northwestern China received a major victory with the end of the Russo-Japanese War in 1905. Under the Treaty of Portsmouth, Japan was required to withdraw its troops from Manchuria proper but gained a leased territory of the Liaotung (Liaodong) Peninsula in southern Manchuria, renamed the Kwantung Leased Territory, which included the fortress and port of Port Arthur. The army unit assigned to garrison the area and the Japanese-owned South Manchurian Railway (SMR), as far as Changchun, was named the Kwantung Army. From this date this army became the spearhead of Japanese imperialism in China.

With the railway administration working as a colonial power, running ports, harbors, tax collection, mines, and utility companies, the SMR turned the railway zone into a semiautonomous state, and the Kwantung Army was its security and police arm.

After World War I, Japan gained control of former German holdings at Tsingtao in China's Shandong (Shantung) Province and deployed 70,000 troops from the Kwantung Army to Siberia to support the Whites in the Russian Civil War. The Japanese sought to expand their empire in Siberia, failed to do so, and withdrew in 1922.

In 1927, when Chiang Kai-shek's troops were marching on Shandong to break the power of local warlords in the Northern Expedition, Japanese troops were sent to Shandong (Shantung). Soon Chinese and Japanese troops were clashing. Chiang withdrew his forces from the city of Tsinan, but the Kwantung Army attacked it the next day, killing 13,000 civilians.

Chiang turned his troops away from conflict with Japan. Tokyo, however, supported the Kwantung Army, issuing warnings to Chiang and Manchurian warlord Zang Zolin (Chang Tso-lin) not to attack Japanese forces or civilians. However, the new commander of the Kwantung Army, General Chotaro Muraoka, had other ideas, moving his headquarters in May 1928 from Port Arthur to Mukden, Manchuria's main city, and preparing his troops to take control of the region.

Ready to move, Muraoka and his troops waited, firing telegrams to Tokyo asking permission to move. When Prime Minister Giichi Tanaka refused, the Kwantung Army's officers were stunned. Muraoka decided to kill Zang Zolin, blasting a bridge as the warlord's train crossed it on June 4, 1928. The Kwantung Army reported to Tokyo that Zang had been killed by Manchurian guerrillas. The truth came out anyway, and Tokyo could do seemingly little to control the insubordinate army and its officers, who had a lot of support in Japan.

But Tanaka was determined to punish the officers responsible for the assassination plot and recommended so to Emperor Hirohito, who agreed. But when the army as a whole objected, Tanaka temporized. He fired Muraoka and told the public that there was no evidence the Kwantung Army had been involved in the plot. Then Tanaka resigned. The Kwantung Army's officers had defied Tokyo and gotten away with it.

As the Great Depression wore on, the Japanese economy continued to crumble. Many Japanese army officers, angered by the economic situation, joined secret societies like the Cherry Blossom League, and a group of officers plotted to use the Kwantung Army to seize Manchuria for its rich resources. One of the key men was Colonel Doihara Kenji, who prepared a "Plan for Acquiring Manchuria and Mongolia."

Chiang Kai-shek, meanwhile, had succeeded in unifying China under the Kuomintang, and Zhang Xueliang (Chang Hsueh-liang), Manchuria's new warlord, supported the Nationalist, or Kuomintang, government. In 1931 clashes broke out between Korean farmers who were Japanese subjects and Chinese farmers over water rights.

Doihara went to Manchuria and determined that a Japanese attempt to seize Manchuria would result in international condemnation. An "incident" had to be manufactured to make a Japanese occupation of Manchuria seem China's fault. In 1929 the Kwantung Army began to plot an incident under their new boss, Lieutenant General Shigeru Honjo, with Doihara as mastermind.

Japan's civilian leaders did nothing to control the insubordinate Kwantung Army. The emperor, however, ordered Major General Yoshitsugu Tatekawa to bring a message from him on September 15, 1931, ordering the Kwantung Army not to take any unauthorized action. Unfortunately for Hirohito, Tatekawa's assistant, Colonel Kingoro Hashimoto, was among the plotters, and he sent a message to officers of the Kwantung Army to let them know that Tatekawa was coming with imperial orders. When Tatekawa arrived in Mukden on September 17, Kwantung Army

officers took the general to a party, where he became drunk.

That night Kwantung Army officers blew up a section of track on the South Manchurian Railway 1,200 yards from a Chinese army that failed to derail the night express. Kwantung Army troops then attacked and shelled the Chinese barracks, killing many soldiers. By 10:00 A.M. on September 18, 1931, Mukden was under Japanese control, Chang's headquarters were ransacked, and his banks and government offices were occupied, as were a dozen other cities in southern Manchuria in a coordinated attack by Japanese units. Some 12 hours after their blast, Kwantung Army officers displayed to Western reporters the "proof" that the Chinese had tried to destroy the railroad, which was bodies of Chinese soldiers shot in the back lying facedown, supposedly cut down while fleeing the scene. The world was outraged by the political adventurism, and Tokyo was stunned. The emperor reminded Prime Minister Reijiro Wakatsuki that he had forbidden such action, and the foreign and finance ministers also objected. But Wakatsuki did not overrule his generals and colonels. The attack and subsequent conquest of Manchuria were accepted as a fait accompli.

From October to December 1931, the Kwantung Army, now empowered by Tokyo and advised by units of the Japanese army in Korea, expanded conquest of Manchuria, even plotting a coup in October to overthrow the civilian government in Tokyo. This attempted coup was ended when the leading plotters were secretly arrested. In December Wakatsuki resigned. Ki Inukai became the new prime minister, but General Araki, leader of the Kodo Ha faction, became war minister, effectively providing the military's endorsement to the Kwantung Army's actions. The Kwantung Army now became an occupation force in Manchuria, and its officers became heroes for all of Japan.

The Kwantung Army continued to seize Chinese territory, taking Rehe (Jehol) province in 1933 and Chahar province in 1934. Officers of the Kodo Ha movement were assigned to the Kwantung Army, strengthening its radicalism; among them was HIDEKI TOJO, who would become Japan's prime minister during WORLD WAR II.

In February 1936, the Kwantung Army showed its powerful influence when a group of Kodo Ha officers attempted a coup d'état in Tokyo. It failed, the ringleaders were shot, and the civilian leaders regained some control over the Kwantung Army.

Leaving Chinese unity under Chiang Kai-shek's leadership, the Kwantung Army set to create an "incident" between Chinese and Japanese forces on July 7, 1937, at a railway junction near Beijing (Peking) in northern China, called the MARCO POLO BRIDGE INCIDENT. This led to the outbreak of the SINO-JAPANESE WAR, in which Japan committed unspeakable attrocities, such as the Rape of Nanjing. It became World War II in Asia. The Kwantung Army promised Tokyo victory in three months.

As World War II began and dragged on, the Kwantung Army remained in occupation of Manchuria, "Asia's Ruhr," against Soviet invasion. Over time, the army was stripped of most of its equipment and men, which were needed on other battlefronts.

When the Soviet Union declared war on Japan on August 8, 1945, and invaded Manchuria, the Kwantung Army had 1 million men under arms equipped with 1,155 tanks, 5,360 guns, and 1,800 aircraft. On paper, this was a match for the Soviets' 1.5 million men, but the Soviets also fielded 26,000 guns, 5,500 tanks, and 3,900 planes. In addition, the Kwantung Army was short of gasoline, ammunition, and transport.

Yet some of the Kwantung Army's hotheaded leaders refused to surrender when Japan surrendered to the Allies on August 14, 1945. Commanding general Otozo Yamada refused to obey the Imperial Rescript to surrender, summoned his officers to his headquarters at Changchun, debated the news from Tokyo, and by a majority vote chose to go on fighting.

In the end, the Kwantung Army did obey an imperial command and surrendered to the Soviet Army. Several of its leaders, including Doihara and Tojo, were tried, convicted, and executed at the Tokyo International Court.

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DAVID H. LIPPMAN

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LaFollette, Robert M.

(1855–1925) *U.S. progressive politician*

"Fighting Bob" LaFollette earned his sobriquet as the progressive political leader of Wisconsin, where he was elected governor and later represented his state in the U.S. Senate. A Republican, he attacked corporate privilege and worked to expand voting and consumer rights.

Born in Primrose, Wisconsin, to a farming family, LaFollette earned a law degree at the University of Wisconsin at Madison and served as district attorney of Dane County before winning three terms in the U.S. House of Representatives. Always controversial within his own party, he lost his House seat in 1890. He ran twice for governor before winning the first of his two-year terms in 1900.

Governor LaFollette supported "insurgents" and reformers who struggled to wrest leadership from corporate-influenced interests. By his final term he had successfully legislated an ambitious reform program called the "Wisconsin Idea." A key target was the railroads, blamed by a desperate farming constituency for unfair rates and predatory business practices. New corporate taxes enabled Wisconsin to pay its bills, including enhanced spending on public education.

Under LaFollette, Wisconsin became the first state to replace a restrictive political caucus system with direct primary elections. The state set up a civil service system and limited lobbying activities, curtailing the power and influence of both corporations and political bosses.

Elected by Wisconsin lawmakers to the U.S. Senate in 1905, LaFollette took his fiery reformism to the national stage. He opposed the Payne-Aldrich tariff as a protectionist measure that helped wealthy eastern interests at the expense of farmers and other small producers. He fought for direct election of senators. He regularly sided with organized labor.

By 1911 LaFollette was determined to make a run for the presidency against his party's incumbent, William Howard Taft. To his dismay, the ever-popular Theodore Roosevelt reentered politics to run under the "Bull Moose" banner, forcing a resentful LaFollette out.

As a midwesterner, LaFollette tended toward isolationism and also represented a large German-American constituency. When war broke out in Europe, LaFollette was among those who feared that big business and wealthy speculators would gain riches while the common man fought in World War I. He was widely criticized for voting against President Woodrow Wilson's declaration of war in April 1917.

After the war, with the progressive movement fading, LaFollette worked to expose the Teapot Dome oil reserves scandal of the Warren Harding administration. In 1924, LaFollette finally ran for president as a progressive. He won almost 17 percent of the popular vote and his home state's 13 electoral votes in a three-way race, but the campaign left him exhausted. LaFollette died in 1925 in Washington, D.C., and is buried in Madison.

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John M. Mayernik

Lansing-Ishii Agreement (1917)

The scramble for concessions in China opened in 1898 when Germany established a sphere of influence in Shandong (Shantung) Province. In 1914 Japan joined World War I against the Central Powers in accordance with the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, conquered German-held islands in the northern Pacific, and drove the Germans out of Shandong. China remained neutral partly due to Japanese pressure. To ensure its right to Shandong, Japan presented a set of Twenty-one Demands to China in January 1915. They included China's agreement to the transfer of German rights in Shandong to Japan. China leaked the terms of the demands to the United States, hoping for its intervention in vain, partly because the administration of President Woodrow Wilson was preoccupied with events in Europe. Unable to resist Japanese pressure, China acceded to most of the terms of the Twenty-one demands in May 1915.

Japan subsequently negotiated secret agreements with Russia, Great Britain, France, and Italy that secured its claims to Shandong in postwar peace negotiations. In November 1917 Japan sent special ambassador viscount Ishii Kikujiro to Washington, ostensibly to congratulate the United States for joining the Allied cause but also to obtain U.S. agreement with Japan's claims on Shandong. In the resulting Lansing-Ishii Agreement (negotiated with U.S. secretary of state Robert Lansing), the United States recognized that "geographic propinquity creates special relations between nations," thus tacitly acknowledging Japan's special position in China. They also signed a secret protocol in which both nations pledged not to seek special privileges in China that would infringe on the existing rights of friendly nations. While the United States believed that the agreement upheld Chinese interests and the Open Door policy, Japan took it to mean the United States had accepted Japan's "paramount interest" in China. Its future in Shandong secure, Japan then allowed China to declare war against Germany and other Central Powers. Japan further consolidated its position in Shandong in 1918 by signing a secret pact with the warlord then in power in China whereby in exchange for a Japanese loan, that warlord agreed to additional concessions to Japan in Shandong.

Japan came to the Paris Peace Conference after World War I as one of the Big Five powers, while China had the lowly status of an associated power. Japan also came armed with secret treaties bolstering its claim to Shandong. China pleaded for the return of Shandong based on President Wilson's support of the right of national self-determination and the fact that its declaration of war with Germany had terminated previous treaties and agreements between the two nations. Wilson's eventual acquiescence to Japan's demands on Shandong, over the objections of Secretary of State Lansing and other U.S. delegates, became an important issue when the Versailles Treaty with Germany was presented to the U.S. Senate for ratification and factored in its rejection. Thus the Lansing-Ishii Agreement further embroiled the United States in East Asian international relations.

See also Shandong Question (1919); Yuan Shikai.

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Jiu-Hwa Lo Upshur

Lateran Treaty (1929)

Between 1924 and 1926, the Italian Fascist leader Benito Mussolini consolidated his power until he had dictatorial control over the nation of Italy and was formally designated as Il Duce, the leader. No longer did Mussolini have to answer to parliament; only the monarch, Victor Emmanuel III, could dismiss him from his post. Once Mussolini became dictator, he turned his attention to societal issues. As part of this process he began discussions with the Holy See, the political entity of the papacy and Vatican City, in order to improve relations between the two parties.

The support of the papacy was extremely important to Mussolini's continued domination over the Italian people. However, the papacy had remained estranged from outright support for the Italian government following the confiscation without compensation of the Papal States during the process of Italian unification. This estrangement had a serious impact on the

relations between the papacy and the Italian government and resulted in 1874 in the pope's calling for all Catholics to boycott the political process and to refuse to take part in elections or join political parties. This situation persisted until the end of World War I, when the pope revoked the earlier decree. The Vatican still held tremendous power, both real and symbolic. Therefore, in August 1926 Mussolini began a dialogue between state and church to reinforce his own power and from the point of view of the Vatican to preserve some of its own.

This dialogue was largely prompted by the establishment of the Opera Nazionale Balilla (ONB), the Fascist youth organization, and its actions to eliminate all other youth organizations and activities within Italy, including those run by the church. The church viewed these developments with alarm, since they would act to reduce its role in the formation of the character of youth. Although the government officially dissolved the Catholic Boy Scout organizations in 1927, the church, as part of the larger Lateran Treaty, did secure the continuation of Catholic youth groups. Under pressure from the ONB in the early 1930s, Mussolini toyed with the dissolution of these youth groups, which were increasingly seen as an alternative source of authority and indoctrination. However, he chose not take this step, which would have violated the terms of the Lateran Treaty.

On February 11, 1929, Mussolini, on behalf of King Victor Emmanuel III, and Cardinal Pietro Gasparri, on behalf of Pope Pius XI and the Vatican, signed the Lateran Treaty, which ended 60 years of dispute between Italy and the Vatican. This document was divided into three main sections: the conciliation treaty, the financial convention, and the concordat.

The conciliation treaty essentially established official diplomatic relations between the Vatican and Italy and affirmed Catholicism as the "state religion." The financial convention stipulated that the Italian state would pay the Vatican the sum of 750 million lire in cash as well as 5 percent Consolidated Bearer Bonds of 1 trillion lire to compensate the Holy See for the loss of lands in 1870. This payment would be made in full by June 30, 1929, and would not be subject to any tariffs or taxes. The concordat gave the Vatican power over religious teaching in public schools at both the primary and secondary school levels (taught by priests); extended papal control over marriage laws and wills; reiterated the sovereignty of the Holy See over its property, its ecclesiastical members and seminarians, and its message; and preserved the organization Catholic Action, which was a branch of the Vatican, as the only independent organization left within Fascist Italy.

The Lateran Treaty as a whole provided benefits to each party. For Mussolini, reconciliation with the church brought his government further internal stability, as it broadened the base of support for the state by eliminating the rift that had persisted for six decades. In terms of its larger, international impact, the treaty elevated Mussolini and thereby his style of government in the eyes of the world and gave both additional legitimacy. For the Vatican, its power over key societal institutions such as marriage and education were extended and reaffirmed. Its terms were incorporated into the postwar constitution and remained in effect until 1985.

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Laura J. Hilton

Latin American cinema

Motion pictures arrived in Latin America not long after the Lumière brothers debuted their invention in Paris in 1859. Lumière agents fanned out across the globe to sell projection equipment, cameras, and film stock wherever there was a market to support it; in Latin America, this meant chiefly the large, stable economies of Argentina, Brazil, and Mexico.

Early filmgoers in South America invariably saw European imports; Italy had become the dominant force in the fledgling film industry by 1912. During World War I, however, American companies used the disruption of the European film industry to gain a foothold in the market, and by 1926 an estimated 95 percent of screen time in South America went to American-made films. Local filmmakers could barely compete in this monopolized marketplace. Most were restricted to newsreels and documentaries.

The situation was particularly bad in Mexico, which was dominated from the start by the nearby U.S. film machine. Promising young stars like Lupe Velez and Dolores del Rio were lured to stardom in nearby Hollywood, while American directors exploited Mexican locales (and locals) for increasingly popular westerns.

During the Mexican Revolution, rebel army leader Pancho Villa signed with an American film company to film him in action—even going so far as to restage battles and skirmishes if cameramen had failed to get good shots during actual combat.

Appalled by being shown to world audiences as uncultured savages, early Mexican film directors like Manuel de la Bandera and Mimi Derba dedicated themselves to producing films that showed the "goodness and greatness" of their culture. Without the backing of the state, there was little they could do to counteract the endless output of American studios.

Things were only slightly better in Brazil and Argentina. Local feature films were eschewed by theater owners in favor of more profitable and American imports. However, film historian John King notes that several films produced during the period showed glimmers of what was to come. In Brazil, a 22-year-old director named Mario Peixoto created *Limite* (The boundry, 1931), chronicling the struggle for survival on a small boat after a wreck at sea. In Argentina, King identifies three films that presage the socially conscious films of the 1960s and 1970s: *El ultimo malon (*The last Indian attack, 1917), a fictionalized retelling of a turn-of-the-century uprising; *Juan sin ropa* (Juan without clothes, 1919) by the French Georges Benoît about a massacre during a contemporary strike; and Frederico Valle's *El apostol* (The apostle, 1917), a political satire of the presidency of Hipolito Yrigoyen and the first full-length animated feature in film history.

Sound films arrived in Latin America in the late 1920s, but the technology was expensive and its distribution uneven. Many countries would not have "talkies" for years. Even in the few countries that had a well-developed film industry, it was a struggle to compete against the hegemony of the U.S. industry. But the period also saw the rise of Latin American musicals, including the *tanguera* in Argentina, the *chanchada* in Brazil, and the *ranchera* in Mexico, that blended indigenous songs and dance traditions of those countries with the formulas popularized by North American studios.

Thanks to wartime changes in the U.S. film industry and a decline in the powerful Argentine film industry, the 1940s became known as the "Golden Age" of Mexican cinema. The key film of the era was *Maria Candelaria* (1943), which brought together famed director Emilio "El Indio" Fernández, cinematographer Gabriel Figueroa, and actress Delores del Rio. With the end of World War II, Mexican film slipped back into decline, where it would remain for more than a decade.

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Heather K. Michon

Latin American feminism and women's suffrage

Feminism and women's suffrage in Latin America blazed a different trail than their European or U.S. counterparts, although these movements provided inspiration. Latin American feminism is marked by diversity, as the region itself spans many ethnic and cultural zones, and class differences among Latin American women are pronounced. However, common threads do exist. Many Latin American feminists held to the idea that women are as *good* as men but not the *same* as men. Rather than demanding complete equality, these women advocated strengthening their power and prestige through traditional paradigms of gender, notably motherhood. They used conventional gender norms that constructed women as morally superior to men to demand special rights and a voice in the public realm. Suffrage came over a period of 30 years, with Ecuador first in 1929, followed by Brazil in 1932, Cuba in 1934, Argentina in 1947, Mexico in 1953, and Paraguay in 1961.

The construction of women's gender roles throughout Latin America is central to understanding the Latin American women's movement. The legacy of Spanish colonialism served as the basis for men and women's roles in society and thus influenced Latin American feminism. Traditional gender roles stemming from the colonial period dictated women's place in the home and men's place in the public realm. The Virgin Mary served as the model for ideal womanhood, encouraging self-denial, piety, humility, purity, and obedience in women. Family, honor, and the home were the central tenets of the patriarchal family structure and dictated that women would remain in the home as wives and mothers. Honor was paramount to the family and impacted social standing and business ties, and women's sexual purity in particular served as a marker of that honor. This focus on women as indicators of family honor created a double standard, as men's sexual

prowess served as a marker of masculinity and did not impact family reputation. Women had no legal rights in the public realm of law and government, including rights to divorce, children, or property.

After Latin America's independence from the European colonial powers in the early 19th century, the newly created liberal states mostly adhered to the Spanish legacy of gender inequality. These new states used the patriarchal structure of the family as a basis for their power. However, the prevailing political ideology of liberalism, based on liberty, equality, and popular sovereignty, did create some new prospects for elevating the status of women in society. Motherhood in particular and its importance to rearing the next generation of liberal citizens created opportunities for women. This emphasis on women's roles as mothers did buttress the patriarchal system but simultaneously allowed women access to power.

The nationalist and state-building period, from the early to mid-20th century, promised change in Latin America, including new gender roles adapted to fit nationalist aims of industrialization and progress. Industrialization translated into a need for workers, including women, which required their entrance into the masculine public realm. The pursuit of progress and modernity to compete on a global scale required women's work, justified by both economic necessity and social utility. Increased opportunities in the public realm through work and education allowed women some gains but overall constrained their aspirations within normative frameworks of gender. The number of middle-class women in the workforce did facilitate women's organizing around suffrage, and Brazilian women in particular boasted the largest and best-organized movement in Latin America.

Brazilian feminists worked to modernize women's gender identities without drastically altering the status quo of gender roles and relations. The Federação Brasileira pelo Progresso Feminino (FBPF), founded by Bertha Lutz, advocated for a modernization of women's roles that would not be considered radical by modern standards. The FBPF did not seek to eradicate women's traditional place in the home nor the qualities they believed were inherent to the female sex. They used these things as strengths toward women's greater participation in the public realm, and women in Brazil gained the right to vote in 1932 as a result of the work of these middle-class feminists.

The Cuban Revolution in 1959 introduced the Marxist definition of womanhood into Latin America, promising change for women in terms of gender equality and their status in society. The National Federation of Cuban Women (FCW) advocated full and equal incorporation of women into all aspects of society. Vilma Espín, a woman who fought with guerrilla forces during the revolution, headed the organization. The FCW improved education for women and boosted female numbers in the workforce. It became a model that other Latin American countries would emulate. Despite such gains, some Latin American feminists argue that Cuban women still do not enjoy complete equality and are often relegated to auxiliary roles and activities.

Latin American women in the recent past have continued to fight for women's status in society and expanded rights in the public sphere, often from their traditional base of power as mothers. By the 1980s women's concerns and feminism began to become part of the mainstream media, drawing greater attention to women's issues. Although Latin American feminism continues to be divided along class lines, with different groups of women seeking different agendas, it continues to thrive, as evidenced by the many meetings Latin American women hold every year across the region to better their lives and those of their countrywomen.

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Kathleen Legg

Latin American import substitution

The term *import-substitution industrialization* (ISI) refers to the economic development strategy implemented by several Latin American governments in the period between the Great Depression and the debt crisis of 1982. Intended to encourage the growth of domestic industry, ISI emphasized an active role for the state in subsidizing and orchestrating the production of domestically produced goods. State-owned enterprises were

formed in such large-scale industries as petrochemicals, telecommunications, aircraft, and steel. In addition, high tariff walls and trade restrictions, including import licensing requirements, were imposed in order to protect infant industries from foreign competition. At the same time, the governments of the developing Latin American countries imposed foreign exchange controls to promote the import of intermediate products deemed critical to the industrialization process while restricting the quantity of nonessential imports.

The origins of the ISI model can be traced back to the late 1920s and 1930s. Prior to that time the Latin American economy depended on exporting raw materials to—and buying manufactured products from—the more industrialized nations in Europe and North America. With the stock market crash of 1929 and the onset of the Great Depression, Latin America's export markets were greatly diminished. The collapse of commodity prices undermined the export-oriented economies and led economic strategists to search for a strategy that would render Latin American countries less susceptible to the future fluctuations of the world market. Arguments for a change in policy were strengthened during World War II, when a shift to wartime production in industrialized nations left developing countries vulnerable to shortages in consumer goods. In the years following the war, declining real prices for primary commodities further disadvantaged developing countries and led many third world leaders to search for an alternative to export-led economies.

The theoretical underpinnings for a policy of inward-looking development were articulated above all by Argentine economist Raúl Prebisch. As head of the United Nations (UN) Economic Commission for Latin America (ECLA), Prebisch greatly influenced Latin American economic policy in the 1950s. He and other dependency theorists posited an inherently unequal relationship between the "center" (industrialized nations) and the "periphery" (developing nations) and argued that unfettered international trade would consistently work to the disadvantage of the periphery. Proponents of ISI therefore advocated an active state policy to counteract the natural tendencies of the international market. State intervention was deemed justified by the apparent failure of market forces to produce sustainable growth in Latin America during the first several decades of the 20th century. Economic nationalists, eager to reduce dependence on the international market, turned to the state as the only economic actor with sufficient resources to compete with powerful multinational corporations.

The overarching goal of ISI was to develop domestic industries capable of producing substitutes for manufactured imports. State-owned enterprises proliferated in the three decades following World War II, particularly in industries that required heavy capital outlay. In some cases, rather than full state ownership, Latin American governments offered industrial incentives in the form of direct payments or tax breaks for firms engaging in import-substitution production. In addition, states used a combination of tariffs, quotas, and import licensing requirements to facilitate the industrialization process.

The effectiveness of ISI strategies varied considerably from one country to the next within Latin America. In general, countries with larger populations and at least some degree of industrial development in place had more success with ISI. In Mexico and Brazil, for example, the economies during the ISI period experienced rapid growth and diversification. Relatively poorer countries with smaller populations, on the other hand, often lacked a sufficient domestic market to support the profitable production of certain manufactured products, such as automobiles.

Even in relatively successful cases, the ISI model carried with it a number of interrelated problems, including overvalued exchange rates, inadequate export growth, and a large foreign debt. Dependence on imported consumer goods was simply replaced with dependence on imported capital goods such as heavy machinery. Trade deficits continued and in some cases even worsened as exchange controls created disincentives for exports. In addition, the lack of competition in a protectionist climate fostered inefficient enterprises. ISI also failed to remedy unemployment, and the rapid urban growth that resulted from industrialization created additional burdens on increasingly interventionist states. When governments responded by printing more money, rampant inflation resulted. One by one, Latin American countries abandoned the inward-looking strategy of ISI in favor of "neoliberal" economic policies.

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Kathleen Ruppert

Latin American *indigenismo*

Indigenismo refers to an artistic, literary, and political movement in Latin America that began in the late 19th century but reached its height during the nationalist period of the 1920s and 1930s. It coincided with the rise of nationalism as Latin Americans rejected European cultural superiority in favor of seeking out a unique Latin American identity that corresponded with the region's cultural and racial diversity. *Indigenismo* functioned as a rallying point for nationalism, especially in Mexico and Peru, nations home to large and diverse Indian populations. It glorified aspects of indigenous culture considered positive as symbols of national roots while simultaneously working to assimilate native peoples into a cultural mainstream often centered on a *mestizaje* identity, a social and biological designation meaning mixed race.

Latin America's colonial legacy lumped indigenous peoples together as a monolithic primitive group distinctly separate from mestizo culture. Spanish colonizers literally divided the population into two, creating a republic of Spaniards and a republic of Indians. The broad movement of *indigenismo* hoped to erase this divide to create homogenized social bodies. However, the movement suffered from the racist paradigm set by the colonizers by continuing to view indigenous peoples as an undifferentiated mass. Many *indigenistas* were elite white and mestizo individuals, and they imposed the ideology of *indigenismo* on Indian peoples without any prompting by such groups to do so. As a result, *indigenismo* was unable to escape Latin America's colonial legacy of social hierarchies predicated on race, and consequently *indigenismo* policies functioned with unintended paternalism and racism.

Mexico embraced *indigenismo* and thus serves as an important case study. The Mexican constitution of 1917 enshrined *indigenismo* as an official ideology by demanding an end to the exploitation of Indians by landowners and priests while encouraging their assimilation into the social body. The postrevolutionary Mexican state sought to create a new national identity, and indigenous groups would have to be united with the rest of Mexican society to achieve that goal. José Vasconcelos, the first minister of culture after the revolution, initiated the government effort to form a Mexican national culture by bringing the Indian and the mestizo together. During the 1920s, Vasconcelos hired artists such as Diego Rivera to paint murals in public areas and on government buildings that glorified Mexico's indigenous roots and depicted the darker side of European conquest and colonization. Elements of indigenous culture, such as music, dance, folk art, and myth became celebrated aspects of Mexican nationalism. Vasconcelos believed that Mexico's future lay in the creation of a "cosmic race," a fusion of racial and ethic groups. The cosmic race combined positive elements of different cultures to create a unique "Mexican" identity. *Indigenismo* and the idea of a cosmic race represent early attempts in Mexico to overcome the deep racial divides of the nation. The postrevolutionary government believed Mexico could not move forward without a unified social body and that if Indian peoples remained separate from the rest of society, the entire country would be negatively affected. Separate Indian nations or enclaves like the Native American reservations in the United States would work against unifying the Mexican nation, and as such, Indians were encouraged to become mestizo.

"THE INDIAN QUESTION"

The postrevolutionary Mexican state implemented a range of policies influenced by *indigenismo*. Although policy makers held a wide range of opinions on the "Indian question," they agreed that Mexico's indigenous populations needed to be integrated into the national mainstream respectfully and without coercion. The Instituto Nacional Indigenista was a government ministry created specifically to implement *indigenista* policies aimed at assimilation. Rural schools functioned as one of the key elements in bringing Indian peoples into mestizo culture. These schools trained bilingual Indian teachers and served as sites to indoctrinate postrevolutionary nationalism.

Despite the declarations of a noncoercive and respectful approach to assimilation, subtle racism pervaded *indigenismo* policies. *Indigenismo* tended to invert the very racist paradigms the movement sought to eradicate. In attempting to break away from colonial models that degraded everything Indian, *indigenismo* instead glorified indigenous cultures to a point that bordered on exoticism. *Indigenismo* often characterized Mexico's pre-Columbian past as a simpler, more pure way of life. This racism disseminated the idea that Indian cultures were innately superior to European and mestizo civilization. Such thinking depended on ideologies about race that attributed innate qualities to different races rather than breaking away from deterministic models as the movement hoped to do. Furthermore, *indigenismo* as an artistic, literary, and political movement lay in stark contrast to the social reality of Mexico's (and other Latin American) indigenous groups. Racism and

Pueblo perform a snake dance in northern Mexico in 1900. Indigenous cultures in Latin America were threatened throughout the 20th century, and European-based culture continues to dominate the region today.

prejudice against Indians in daily life continued, and the "whitening" of Latin America persists to the modern day as evidenced by Latin American film, television, and advertising.

In Peru, a stark division exists between the country's indigenous groups in the highlands and the white, black, and mestizo population of the coastal region. Peruvian Indians literally existed outside the national community. The middle-class *indigenismo* movement of Peru advanced national solidarity by calling for the integration of these two distinct populations. Men such as Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre took the ideas of *indigenismo* and created a political movement based on the belief that true national values came from Peru's indigenous cultures. Haya de la Torre and others rejected European culture in favor of building a national identity from the cultural heritage of Peru's Indian peoples. In addition, Peru's constitution, promulgated on January 18, 1920, recognized the legal existence of Indian communities and protected these groups through special laws aimed at indigenous development and culture. The creation of the Indian Affairs Department in the Ministry of Development was charged with supervising the implementation of the constitutional measures designed to protect the rights of Indian peoples.

Despite such seeming advances in Indian legal rights, reality painted a different picture. Change was very slow, and many of the constitution's laws designed to protect Indians were delayed or only partially enforced.

Although the adherents of *indigenismo* likely felt they acted with the best intentions, *indigenismo* in Latin America existed as a construction of the white

and mestizo elite, an ideology imposed on indigenous groups tinged with subtle racism. By envisioning Latin America's Indian peoples as monolithic groups with homogenized experiences, *indigenismo* followed a philosophy that certain Indian traits were good and others bad. However, the state's institution of these values would later provide Indian peoples with the tools to appropriate the movement for themselves. By the 1970s *neoindigenismo* became the new creed, with indigenous peoples at the helm rather than a white and mestizo elite.

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Kathleen Legg

Latin American modernism

Modernism in Latin America was a literary and cultural movement developed at the end of the 19th century. In Latin America, the word was adopted at the end of the 19th century to identify a cultural proposal intended to respond to the demands and requirements of modern times. Modernism represented a complex concept at the time, since it recovered the aesthetics and ideology of romanticism but aimed to connect Latin American culture with major traditions of the Westernized world. The modernization, democratization, and industrialization of Latin American capitals created a new public realm in which culture diversified and reached a new audience. Its main representatives were Rubén Darío (1867–1916), Manuel Gutiérrez Najera (1859–95), José Martí (1853–95), Ramón López Velarde (1888–1921), and José Asunción Silva (1865–96).

Octavio Paz (d. 1974) characterized modernity as a philosophical concept as well as a condition that had its beginning in the romanticism of the late 19th century. Modernity is founded in the construction of the notion of progress and human-generated change, which envisions a better future. The idea of modernity in Latin America was inherited from 19th-century Europe, particularly France.

There is little doubt that Baron Haussmann in Paris had huge success as an urban strategist in Latin America. The baron's spectacular interventions in Paris were soon embraced as urban savoir faire and strengthened French predominance not only in social and political thought but also in the fine arts and city design. Latin American elites worshipped Haussmann's Paris as the ultimate model to follow in order to join the capitalist circuit of world cities. Urban reforms in general and urban renovation in particular were part of a package to modernize urban structures.

Urban planning in Latin America has been legitimized by ideological frameworks that nevertheless have been used to manipulate and enhance power structures over time. The idea of planning became part of the political agenda at the end of the 19th century, when national caudillos (dictators) ruled their countries following enlightened and hygienist models from Europe in order to "modernize" the countries.

Nevertheless, at the beginning of the 20th century, a more European model started when residential *colonias* (residential districts) around public spaces and modern infrastructures and services emerged. The districts were developed by private international investors, who profited from the government provision of licenses and tax benefits to enhance real estate developments. Under different dictatorships and with a stable economy, the cities aspired to access world-class circuits, even when income disparities and social inequalities were developing and strengthening a dual socioeconomic system. Planning had been characterized by hierarchical decision making, the legitimization of plans by groups of "experts," and international businessmen taking a leading role.

However, at the time, Mexico City and San Salvador were the only cities with more than 100,000 inhabitants, which showed the limited diversity of economic development they had achieved when mining became no longer profitable. At the end of the 19th century, French urbanism was very influential all over the continent, especially after Baron Haussmann's interventions in Paris, which were considered compelling high-profile urban operations to transform capital cities, such as Buenos Aires, Rio de Janeiro, and Caracas, into world-class cities. Later in the 20th century the continent experienced considerable economic expansion, the modernization of infrastructures, and a process of urbanization without precedent. Even when a rapid process of adaptation and assimilation of modernity occurred, leading to cultural integration

of different societal groups, it is also true that this could only be achieved through a certain amount of alienation and displacement of the local culture and traditional society. The history of modernity has been the quest for progress, which represents a long-sought aim and a recurrent framework that is never to be achieved in its totality.

In the late 19th century science and industrialization were considered the foundations of progress, embodying a rational, objective, and unquestionable tool of production and human knowledge. Modernity represented an ideal image of progress and the idea of an advanced model of living according to the economic, political, and intellectual elite. As reality was demonstrated to be far more complex, the idea of modernity became a supreme metaphor for a homogeneous and harmonic reality. Along with this cultural movement, positivism provided the philosophical grounds to maintain the idea of progress through the actions of the elites as representatives of a Darwinian natural selection. This philosophical approach also provided a general plan of government with the slogan "liberty, order and progress," where liberty would be the means, order the general framework, and progress the ultimate end.

See also Latin American nationalism; Porfiriato.

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Alfonso Valenzuela Aguilera

Latin American nationalism

Latin America's nationalism emerged as a reaction to the injuries inflicted during the colonial period and later with the wars of independence, revolution, and expansionism that—not surprisingly—generated a defensive stance toward the outside world. After independence, nationalism embraced modernity as a major state-related historical movement toward economic progress, technological innovation, and political liberty. This nationalism tended to be radical yet double ended, since while aiming to vindicate the historical past it also embraced a political project for the future that would solve the modernization imperative.

The origins of nationalism in Latin America can be traced to two key periods: independence and modernization. After independence from the European powers in the 19th century, the need to define a new identity started to shape an image that responded to a sovereign national identity. The colonial period in the Americas extended from the 16th to the early 19th century, a period of nearly 300 years during which different developmental stages followed. It is not necessary to credit the Spaniards for introducing urbanization to America since the Aztec capital already featured monumental architecture, advanced infrastructure networks, highly specialized manufacturing, and a sophisticated administrative urban structure. However, a European city planning framework was implemented following Spanish regulations and building codes (Leyes de las Indias and the Ordenanzas), which dictated basic land, use zoning, streets' orientation and width, and various forms of land tenure.

Latin American countries gained their independence in the 1800s, when cities were already consolidated as socioeconomic and political centers on the continent. Likewise, at different stages in Latin America, the drive to become "modern" emerged as a requirement to accessing the world-class circuits and financial markets. However, in both cases the creation of national representation responded to the interaction among the networks of power. The glorification of the past is usually framed to convey sentiments and references that sustain a specific power structure. In most cases, the creation of a national image in each country was constructed by the people within the power circle (political, economic, or cultural), who, after considering several national images, identified the desired pattern of modernity. However, it is also clear that popular traditions, beliefs, and aspirations were also included in the construction of the national concept, even when choices were made among the different ways to frame the historical background of the country.

In various Latin American countries at the end of the colonial period in the 19th century, as well as during the industrial drive of the early 20th century, nationalism was modeled after a collage envisioned by the economic and military elites, which centered their aims within the transformation of the capital cities. These images served as a global outlining force that provided coherence and unity to the changing conditions of the territory. The creation of national images at the turn of the 20th century pursued the model of urban

cosmopolitanism and modern nationalism epitomized by France. In this sense, the nation represented a Westernized, homogeneous construction oriented toward international markets and ruled and organized by scientific means. However, Latin American nations were also shaped according to the reorganization, invention, and reinterpretation of their past, following the national rhetoric that originated in colonial times. Nationalism had political uses, such as obtaining international acceptance, achieving internal cohesion, and concentrating and consolidating the new political elites. It is also ironic that the search for a flagship identity led individuals to explore their national heritage and history but also opened new means of expressing their identity through new images of modernity. For instance, Latin American countries embraced modern architecture in order to express their cosmopolitan modernity through novel design and avant-garde construction technologies. However, the reaction to recent aesthetic and cultural values was often hatred directed against cultural memories associated with past regimes more than against foreign ideas, recreating the new national identity in this way.

An important element in the construction of modern nationalism was the transformation of capitals into world-class cities. Since modernity demanded infrastructures, communication, and compelling urban environments, cities became the materialization of the national aims themselves. Following Baron Haussmann's transformation of Paris at the end of the 19th century, Buenos Aires expanded its parks and green areas, Mexico City built its Paseo de la Reforma Boulevard, Santiago created its Santa Lucia and Forestal parks, and Montevideo defined the Prado's grounds as the next Bois de Boulogne. In most capital cities, Haussman's ideas were used selectively and limited to specific solutions and projects. However, a strong French influence was always present in the Latin American imagination, also present in education (most Latin American schools were modeled after the Ecole des Beaux Arts in Paris) and through professional consultancies (Forestier, Rotival, etc.).

Later in the 20th century the continent experienced considerable economic expansion, the modernization of infrastructures, and a process of urbanization without precedent. In the 1930s the industrialization of Mexico, Venezuela, Colombia, Panama, Peru, and Brazil took place and increased right after World War II, when national policies to substitute imports fostered development. The economic centralization of power was to overtly favor national capitals as engines of growth. With World War II, industrialization policies in Latin American cities followed the North American urban model of introducing industrialized construction technology as well as automobile-oriented urban schemes that epitomized the ultimate instruments of modernity.

In the 20th century U.S. intervention in Latin American countries expanded, such as in the case of the Panama Canal, the Cuban missile crisis, and the assassination of the democratically elected Salvador Allende in Chile. As a consequence of the growing awareness of interdependence, the Bogotá Conference of 1948 produced the Organization of American States (OAS) to promote hemispheric unity. In short, the biggest challenge that postcolonial states in Latin America have had to face has been their fragility. Right after their independence, the new governments had to substitute the prenational links with a sense of identity and a national commitment to the emerging nation. However, and in order to protect the nation's vulnerable condition, the states often favored a centralized administration, emphasizing the integration of the territory and stressing the need for political governance despite the different degrees of cohesion. It is not surprising that economic development represented the preeminent way to legitimize diverging loyalties in the territory and transfer them to the new state. In the late 19th century and early 20th century, industrialization led the way to modernity, which for a premature state meant more than a challenge; it was an imperative. In Latin American countries, the governments designed political projects that integrated a common past with a long-desired future, creating a sense of continuity in which the transcendent character of the nation would be revealed.

See also Latin American modernism; Porfiriato.

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Alfonso Valenzuela Aguilera

Latin American populism

Populist movements flourished in many Latin American nations from roughly 1920 until the mid-1960s. Populist regimes took a variety of forms in diverse national contexts, even within Latin America. Variations within populism were particularly pronounced because populist movements were based on ad hoc responses to circumstances rather than on any coherent or consistent ideology. Nevertheless, populist movements within Latin America did share several defining features. Overwhelmingly urban based, Latin American populist movements were characterized by multiclass, nonrevolutionary coalitions that aimed at the development of domestic industry, the redress of popular grievances, and the peaceful integration of the urban masses into a political arena hitherto controlled almost exclusively by elites. Populism in the Latin context had preconditions of both rapid urbanization and the rise of welfare states, both of which contributed to new understandings of the state's role in addressing social issues. In most cases the leaders of populist movements were charismatic figures who employed a personalist style of leadership to garner support. Examples of populist leaders include Juan Domingo Perón in Argentina, Getúlio Vargas in Brazil, Lázaro Cárdenas in Mexico, Jorge Eliécer Gaitán in Colombia, Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre in Peru, and José María Velasco Ibarra in Ecuador.

Unlike its rural counterpart in North America, populism in the Latin American context was predominantly urban based. Occasionally, as was the case in Peru, plantation workers might be included in the movement if they worked in close proximity to the towns. Populism was largely a reaction to the phenomenal growth of cities between 1880 and 1930 and the social dislocation that resulted from this so-called metropolitan revolution. Although these factors were not sufficient to ensure a populist response, they did create an environment favorable to the proliferation of populist movements. Significant agrarian reforms occured in Mexico under the presidency of Lázaro Cárdenas (1934–40). Cárdenas's agrarian policies were atypical of populist leaders, however; much more typical was his support for organized industrial labor in Mexico's cities.

The meteoric rise to power of Argentinian populist leader Juan D. Perón was due in large part to the charisma of Péron and his second wife, Eva Duarte de Perón, both of whom made extensive personal contact with workers throughout Argentina. Populist leaders frequently took advantage of advances in media technology in order to deliver their message to the populace. Pedro Ernesto, mayor of Rio de Janeiro and leader of Brazil's first populist movement, was among the first to explore the political potential of the radio as a means of mobilizing large segments of the population, as was Jorge Eliécer Gaitán in Colombia. In addition to making use of the airwaves to reach his followers, Gaitán also produced his own newspaper. In later years the Brazilian Department of Press and Publicity became a major source of propaganda on behalf of Getúlio Vargas, who embraced populist politics in the final decade of his career. José María Velasco Ibarra, five-time president of Ecuador, used various forms of propaganda to project a populist image throughout his lengthy career.

SOCIAL BASE

Another defining characteristic of Latin American populism was its multiclass social base. Although many of the movement's objectives appealed primarily to the working classes, supporters were recruited from all levels of society. Unlike socialism, which aimed at the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, populism sought the political integration of the masses without fundamental change to the social structure. Particularly in the early years of populism, known as the reformist or consensual era, members of the middle and elite classes often supported populist movements as an effective means to curb lower-class agitation. In many cases the middle classes stood to benefit materially from populist reform as well. The expansion of social services, for example, created thousands of professional jobs, while policies aimed at promoting industrial growth appealed to a broad spectrum of society. Peru's Aprista movement, founded by Haya de la Torre in 1924, exemplifies the type of multiclass coalition that characterized Latin American populism.

Populism became especially prevalent in Latin America during the 1930s and 1940s, in the wake of the stock market crash and the global Great Depression that followed. The virtual collapse of several Latin American export economies during the Great Depression prompted policy makers to impose high tariffs and consider methods of diversifying the Latin American economy, thus reducing dependence on the international market.

Although populism followed no consistent ideology, Latin American populist movements tended to include the expansion of state activism in order to promote accelerated industrialization. Several populist leaders, including Perón in Argentina and Vargas in Brazil, established state-owned enterprises in areas formally controlled by the private sector. In the case of Argentina, the Fabricaciones Militares was founded in 1943

to manufacture military equipment but quickly expanded to include such nonmilitary enterprises as mining and real estate. The Peronist regime also pursued the nationalization of crucial sectors of the economy such as public utilities, transportation, and foreign trade. Vargas for his part attempted to lay the foundations for industrial growth by infusing capital into projects to improve the nation's infrastructure and by organizing state marketing systems, in addition to developing state-owned petroleum and steel enterprises.

Although specific policies were not without their critics, the populist desire to strengthen domestic industry was certainly shared by a broad spectrum of society. The labor movement typically supported a protectionist policy, while middle-class industrialists as well as the military championed economic nationalism and domestic industrial development. As long as the economies continued to expand—as, for example, during the wartime and immediate postwar export boom in 1940s Argentina—such support was relatively easy to maintain.

ZERO-SUM GAME

Populist governments were able to dispense benefits to certain segments of society without reducing the incomes of other sectors. A much different picture emerged in the later phases of growth, when populist regimes faced a zero-sum game: Without an absolute rise in national income, policy makers were forced to decide whether to become genuinely redistributive. To do so was to risk alienating the middle classes, while failure to do so meant the loss of the working-class support on which populist regimes likewise depended. Either way, a broad-based coalition became increasingly difficult to maintain in the later years of the movement.

The results of economic stagnation, growing inflation, and increased social tensions were disastrous for Latin American populist leaders. Gaitán, who was widely expected to accede to the Colombian presidency in 1950, was murdered in downtown Bogotá before he could take office. Velasco, who had dominated Ecuadorian politics for nearly five decades, was forced into exile at the end of his fifth and final term. Perón also went into exile after he was ousted by a military coup in 1955. He spent the next 17 years in exile before returning to Argentina in 1972.

Perón was elected to a third presidential term the following year but was rendered nearly powerless by out-of-control inflation and factional violence; he died in 1974. Cárdenas's presidency ended amid dissent and controversy, and Vargas concluded his second term (1951–54) by committing suicide. By the late 1960s the armed forces had outlawed populism in most of Latin America and established military regimes instead.

Several factors can be adduced to help explain populism's failure to live up to its initial promise. Above all, the changed economic circumstances following World War II rendered the policies difficult, if not impossible, to sustain. Several Latin American countries faced economic crises in the early 1950s due to rising inflation and lagging economic growth. Promises of continually expanding social benefits could not be met in a period of relative economic stagnation, at least not without exacerbating the already rampant inflation.

At the same time, the very nature of populism as an expansionist movement and a great mobilizing force contributed to mounting instability as a larger and more confident working-class electorate pressed the populist regimes for more increasingly radical redistributive policies. In some cases the regime's capitulation to such radical demands prompted the middle classes to withdraw their support from what was formerly a multiclass coalition. Elsewhere the fear of widespread uprisings, particularly in the aftermath of the Cuban revolution, provided the armed services with a pretext for launching military coups to oust populist leaders.

Although the prevalent instability in several Latin American nations can be regarded as the unfortunate legacy of populism in that region, the movement had positive repercussions as well. Above all, the populist era ushered in mass participation in the electoral process on an unprecedented scale. The vote was extended to lower- and working-class citizens as well as to women, and these formerly marginalized groups were drawn into the realm of public discourse and debate.

Additionally, the effort to integrate and unite various classes through an inclusive national identity fostered a revived interest in native culture that has continued to the present day.

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Kathleen Ruppert

Latin American U.S. interventions

On September 20, 2006, the president of Venezuela, Hugo Chávez, addressed the United Nations General Assembly and spoke of the "hegemonic pretensions of the American empire." In a speech that also referred to the president of the United States as a devil, Chavez gave voice to what many Latin Americans may have felt at one time or another in the nearly 200 years of U.S.-Latin American relations. Those relations have been characterized by the dynamic of a much stronger nation imposing its will on a collection of states that, in most instances, had no choice but to comply. Making the situation more complex, American intervention, while frequent and used to gain political, military, and economic benefits for itself, has also been frequently mixed with an honest desire to improve life for Latin Americans.

Latin America, including South America and the Caribbean, which have Spanish, Portuguese, and French as their native languages, achieved its independence from Europe a generation after the United States. By the 1820s, most of these nations were independent, but that was in jeopardy when a group of European powers styling themselves as the Holy Alliance embarked on a program of undermining U.S. influence and exploiting the newly independent nations of Latin America. The American response was issued in 1823 in a statement by the American president in what has since been referred to as the Monroe Doctrine.

The Monroe Doctrine, which stated that European powers were not to intervene in the affairs of the Western Hemisphere, was the point at which the United States began to exert a sometimes indirect, sometimes interventionist, policy of exercising control over the economics and politics of Latin America. Through the years the imperative behind America's action as well as the corollaries or interpretations of the Monroe Doctrine have changed, but the willingness of the United States to intervene in Latin American affairs has been a constant.

MEXICO

Mexico, "so far from God, so close to the United States," was the first Latin American nation to be fully affected by American diplomacy and military action. After winning its independence from Spain, Mexico took possession of a large portion of what would become the southwestern part of the United States. In order to secure its northern border from the Indians, Mexico in the 1820s invited American settlers to come to Texas. The results of that policy finally resulted, in 1836, with the loss of that part of Mexico when Texas seceded and became an independent republic. Mexico could tolerate, though just barely, this independent entity on its border, but the likelihood of Texas becoming part of the United States was unacceptable.

Texas did become a state in 1845, and a border clash between Mexican and U.S. troops sent to guard the border in 1846 began the Mexican-American War. The American army, by a series of brilliant campaigns, won that conflict and as a result took approximately one-third of Mexico's territory. While the victory was total, it was not without difficulty, and the victory of the United States had not been a foregone conclusion. The war demonstrated that the very high technical and tactical proficiency of the Americans and their ability to project their forces over great distances made them the most significant force in the Western Hemisphere.

In the last part of the 19th and early part of the 20th centuries, Mexico remained fairly stable until a revolution in 1914. To keep Europeans from intervening on the side of the Huerta government, President Woodrow Wilson sent military forces to capture the port city of Veracruz. This was done, and when American troops left they turned warehouses with arms over to the Carranzista, anti-Huerta forces. In 1916, the Mexican leader Pancho Villa attacked the American town of Columbus, New Mexico. This attack met with the response of an American expeditionary force unsuccessfully attempting to capture Villa. The expeditionary force stayed until January 1917. Just prior to World War I, Germany offered Mexico the opportunity to retake the land it had lost in the 1840s if it would assist Germany against the United States. This offer, known as the Zimmermann Telegram, alienated U.S. relations with Germany, helping lead to America's entry into the war.

In the years after the war, Mexican and American relations were brittle until Franklin Roosevelt's Good Neighbor Policy of 1934 was tested by the Mexicans. In 1938, the Mexican government took possession of all private petroleum company holdings. Franklin Roosevelt did not intervene militarily or diplomatically to retrieve American assets that had been nationalized. The significance of this action, so different from prior American actions, raised the credibility of Roosevelt's policy in Latin America as well as improving America's image in the region.

CUBA

America's expressed interest can be dated to at least as far back as the 1850s. The Ostend Manifesto, a document

drawn up by three American diplomats in 1854, was a plan to either purchase Cuba or take it from Spain. The plan never came to fruition because, among other reasons, the assumption underlying its annexation was that it would become a slave state. American interest waned in the following years but by the 1880s and 1890s had revived.

Many members of Congress were on record as desiring to go to war with Spain to take Cuba. The president at that time, Grover Cleveland, stated that if Congress declared war nothing would happen because he would not mobilize troops to gain Cuba, an interesting and rare instance of deliberately not seeking to influence a Latin American region. By the William McKinley administration, however, popular opinion in America, encouraged by the prowar "Yellow Press," was in support of just such a venture. All that was needed was a pretext, and when the U.S. battleship *Maine* blew up in Havana harbor, Americans had their war.

In the end, Cuba received its freedom, but the United States exercised considerable control for the first third of the 20th century. A written statement known as the Platt Amendment to the Cuban constitution gave the United States financial control as well as the right to intervene in Cuba's affairs. In 1934, as part of Roosevelt's Good Neighbor Policy, the Platt Amendment was revoked. Until that time, however, U.S. control was exercised on a number of occasions to include the deployment of American troops from 1906 to 1909 and again in 1912 and 1917.

Cuba operated as a dictatorship through the 1920s through 1950s, but toward the end of this period there started to be serious opposition. Fidel Castro, a Cuban revolutionary who had been imprisoned earlier and then left for exile in Mexico, returned to Cuba in 1956 and by January 1, 1959 had established control over the government.

HAITI AND THE DOMINICAN REPUBLIC

The island of Hispaniola in the Caribbean is the location of two nations that have seen U.S. interventions on many occasions: the Dominican Republic and Haiti. Haiti was originally a French colony on the western part of the island that won its independence from France in 1804. The Dominican Republic won its independence in 1844, returned voluntarily to Spanish rule for two years in the 1860s, and reestablished its independence in 1865. Both nations are highly agricultural and since the 19th century have been of great interest to the United States. In the 1870s, there was some interest on the part of the United States in annexing the Dominican Republic, an idea that died when faced by the prospect of integrating an area with a Spanish culture into the U.S. political system.

The United States maintained a high degree of economic interest and sent troops to keep order in 1904, 1905, 1912, 1914, and 1917 through 1924. From 1917 to 1922, the U.S. military used aircraft for the first time to support counterinsurgency operations. Stability was maintained with the rise of Rafael Trujillo, who ruled from 1931 until his assassination by the CIA in 1960.

Haiti's liberation was led by a former slave named Toussaint Louverture. In the 19th century the government was not stable, but the unrest was sufficiently low in intensity to allow substantial foreign investment. A combination of wishing to safeguard investments and curbing European influence led the United States to intervene in 1915. In that year the president of Haiti was overthrown and killed. Woodrow Wilson sent in both ships and ground troops to keep order. Through 1918, the marines were very busy in stabilizing operations and managed to impose a degree of stability, although they remained in that country until 1934. U.S. troops departed the country, but the United States would control the country's finances until 1947.

PANAMA

What is now the nation of Panama was originally part of Colombia. The U.S. interest in this region dated back to the time of the California gold rush, which had commenced in 1849. With the flood of Americans traveling to find gold, crossing through Panama (or Nicaragua) became one of the main ways to get to the West. By 1855, the United States signed a 20-year agreement with Colombia to allow Americans to cross without paying fees. There was soon a railroad running from Panama's east coast, where passengers would leave ships to cross the isthmus and then embark on ships docked on the west coast to continue the journey.

Nicaragua had also been a transportation link, but Panama was where the first attempts at a canal were made. An attempt to dig a canal in Panama in the late 19th century added to this interest. In 1903, the United States encouraged a revolt and assisted by sending 10 warships to the area. The effect was to keep the Colombians from sending help to their army fighting the rebels. The canal itself was bounded on each side by land under U.S. administration and known as the Canal Zone. There were also forts in the area to safeguard the canal from internal or external attack and as bases for counterinsurgency operations.

NICARAGUA

Nicaragua, the focus of so much U.S. attention and intervention in the 1980s, was also an area of American political and economic interest in the 19th century. Like Panama, crossing Nicaragua was relatively easy and served as a way for gold seekers on their way to California to reach the gold fields without taking the long and dangerous journey around Cape Horn. William Walker briefly set up a government there and tried to get Nicaragua admitted to the union. Nicaragua, while it never entered the union, was treated as an area in which Americans could do as they wished. On one occasion in 1853, an American gunboat commander, having a disagreement with a village on the coast, fired upon it on his own authority. His action was approved by Franklin Pierce, the president of the United States at the time.

By the beginning of the 20th century, the stability of Nicaragua, particularly as an area of American investments and other economic activity (such as the United Fruit Company) justified intervention in the minds of Americans. American troops were sent into Nicaragua in 1909–10, 1912–25, and 1926–33. In the latter intervention, the United States assisted the Nicaraguan government against the rebel leader Augusto Sandino, who would become the namesake not only of his contemporary rebels but also of a later generation of foes to American policy in the 1980s.

In the 1930s, the U.S. government supported the Somoza family (who had executed Sandino in 1934), which ultimately ruled Nicaragua from 1936 until the late 1970s.

CONCLUSION

The economic interests and dollar diplomacy were replaced after World War II by the concern that Latin America could come under control of the Soviet Union. That cold war imperative has since become dominated by concerns with terrorism, illegal immigration, and the drug cartels. Based on past history, it may be safe to assume that any relations between the United States and Latin America will not be a meeting of equals.

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Robert Stacy

Laurier, Wilfrid

(1841–1919) *Canadian prime minister*

Wilfrid Laurier, a political child of the 19th century, led his Liberal Party into the 20th century as Canada's first French-Canadian prime minister. Equally adept both in his native French and in English, Laurier promoted growth in prairie provinces and predicted a golden century for Canada. But his leadership foundered on trade and military issues related to U.S. economic power and British imperialism.

Laurier became politically active while at Montreal's McGill University. As a young lawyer he joined the Parti Rouge, Québec's homegrown liberal organization. He spoke eloquently against the 1867 British North America Act, which created a confederated Canada. Months before it became law he wrote, "Confederation is the second stage on the road to 'anglification.' … We are being handed over to the English majority. …"

His embrace of French-Canadian separatism proved a passing phase. Winning election to Québec's provincial parliament, Laurier worked to make Canada's new federal system advantageous to fellow French speakers. He also began to develop a new kind of politics, similar to that of Britain's Whigs, and cofounded the Parti National to attract like-minded politicians.

When a railway scandal brought down John A. Macdonald's Liberal-Conservative government in 1873, Laurier won a seat in parliament. By 1877 the young Liberal headed the internal revenue ministry and had been chosen to lead his party. Although the Liberals were soon swept out of power by a resurgent Macdonald, Laurier remained as leader and was well positioned to take advantage of Conservative fatigue after Macdonald's death in 1891. Laurier became prime minister in 1896.

Among Laurier's goals during his 15-year tenure were trade reciprocity with the United States and robust western immigration and agricultural development. Like Theodore Roosevelt, his counterpart to the south, Laurier sought to safeguard Canada's environment. He reached out to labor interests while cautiously reining in corporate abuses. To foster western growth, Laurier proposed a second transcontinental railway. It

was, like its predecessor, beset by competing interests, but Laurier crafted a compromise that made the Canadian National Railway a reality. In 1905 he overcame tough opposition to create the western provinces of Alberta and Saskatchewan.

Although knighted during Queen Victoria's 1897 Jubilee, Laurier encountered difficulties with Britain that were only partly due to his continuing French-Canadian attachments. The British Empire was at its pre–World War I zenith. Laurier's compliance with British demands for Canadian soldiers in the 1899 Boer War outraged nationalists, especially in Quebec. His 1909 proposal to create a semiautonomous Canadian navy deeply alarmed Britain and many Anglo-Canadians, showing that Canada, for all its growth, remained dependent.

The United States also disappointed Laurier and helped bring an end to his government. An Alaskan boundary dispute, made urgent by the 1897 gold rush in Canada's neighboring Yukon Territory, ended with most Canadian claims denied. In 1911 Laurier negotiated an agreement that would have been the first comprehensive trade measure between the two nations since 1866. But Conservatives, joined by many of Laurier's Liberals, attacked the reciprocity pact as a sell-out that portended Canada's annexation. Within weeks it and Laurier's government had failed.

Laurier remained party leader until his death of a cerebral hemorrhage but never again held power. Thousands accompanied his funeral bier to Notre-Dame Cemetery in Ottawa, where he had spent the best and worst years of his life.

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Marsha E. Ackermann

Lawrence, T. E.

(1888–1935) *British officer and writer*

Thomas Edward Lawrence, the second of five sons of his unmarried parents, was born on August 16, 1888, in Tremadoc, Wales, and died on May 19, 1935, in Dorset, England. From 1896 to 1907 he attended the Oxford High School for Boys, where he made rapid academic progress. His major interests included military archaeology, brass rubbing, and coin collecting. Owing to these interests he became friends with D. G. Hogarth, keeper of the Ashmolean Museum. From 1907 to 1910 Lawrence studied at Oxford, where his mentor, Hogarth, encouraged his interest in the Arabic language and the Near East. After graduation Lawrence worked for three years under Hogarth and C. Leonard Woolley at a dig at the ancient Hittite city of Carchemish in Mesopotamia. Early in 1914 Lawrence was involved in a survey of the desert that was actually a cover for British intelligence spying on the Turkish defenses in southern Palestine.

In World War I Lawrence served as a captain in the British military intelligence service operating out of Cairo, where he made maps and had contact with spies. In 1916 he was transferred to the Arab Bureau, a branch of the intelligence service concerned exclusively with Arab affairs, particularly with the revolt of Sherif Husayn of Mecca against the Ottoman Empire. Prince Faysal, son of Sherif Husayn, was chosen by Lawrence to lead the revolt with British backing. During the revolt, Lawrence donned Arab dress and was given the nickname "Lawrence of Arabia." His preferred method of warfare included railway attacks and guerrilla warfare instead of more conventional methods of war. With the help of Auda abu Tayi, the Homeric Bedouin desert fighter, Lawrence devised a brilliant plan of attack on Aqaba against the Turks. He gradually progressed from being an adviser and observer to being one of the principal participants in the revolt. In the midst of the revolt, Lawrence was captured at Deraa after a failed raid on the bridges over the Yarmuk River. During his capture he was tortured and sexually abused by the Turks.

In January 1919 Lawrence began writing the *Seven Pillars of Wisdom,* which he continued revising until 1926. The book was an account of his time spent during the Arab revolt, included essays on military strategy, and also served as a vehicle for expressing his bitterness toward the political outcome in the Arab provinces. His bitterness stemmed in part from his position as Faysal's adviser during the Paris Peace Conference of 1919, in which he watched France gain control over Syria despite promises made to Faysal by Lawrence and the British government. In January 1921 Lawrence became an adviser to Winston Churchill in the Colonial Office. He resigned in1922, declaring that he was satisfied that Britain had fulfilled its promises to the Arabs by placing Faysal in control of Iraq and by installing Abdullah on the throne of Transjordan.

In August 1922 Lawrence, under the name John Hume Ross, joined the Royal Air Force. In January 1923 he was discharged after reporters discovered his

real identity. A month after being dismissed by the air force, Lawrence reenlisted in the Tank Corps under the name T. E. Shaw. He stayed until 1925, when he succeeded in getting himself retransferred to the Royal Air Force serving in India. In January 1929 he was ordered back to England, where he remained in the Royal Air Force until shortly before his death. On May 13, 1935, T. E. Lawrence was fatally injured while speeding on his Brough Superior motorcycle in Dorset, and six days later he died.

See also Hashemite dynasty in Iraq; Hashemite monarchy in Jordan; Sherif Husayn–McMahon correspondence.

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Brian M. Eichstadt

League of Nations

Founded on idealism and championed by U.S. president Woodrow Wilson as part of his Fourteen Points plan for international peace, the League of Nations foundered on the geopolitical realities of the interwar period. Designed to prevent war as a means of resolving disputes between countries, the league proved unable to halt the Italian conquest of Ethiopia, the Japanese invasion of Manchuria, or Nazi Germany's rearmament. Yet even given its failures the League of Nations inspired leaders to rethink traditional diplomatic practices and embodied the pacific, cooperative ideals that another generation would try to realize through the United Nations.

Prior to the league's creation, international relations had been the province of ambassadors exchanged between governments who then lived in the country to which they had been posted. Although these diplomatic procedures did not disappear, the league sought to build on another, more recent development in diplomacy: the international conference. Institutions such as the International Court of Arbitration at The Hague had lacked the power to halt the slide into World War I. Nevertheless, international conferences of the later 19th and early 20th centuries had established rules for war, standard time, and policies on matters of common interest. The league's creators drew upon such precedents, though the great powers themselves did not abandon the more traditional modes of secret diplomacy.

The idea for the league came originally from Woodrow Wilson, who wished to create a real and lasting peace. The creation of the league was an integral part of his Fourteen Points and was the only point to be approved by the Allies. At home, a group of senators and representatives headed by Henry Cabot Lodge opposed U.S. membership in the league and effectively prevented the country from joining. In Wilson's vision, the League of Nations would act as a force to prevent the outbreak of war and create stability on the global stage.

The covenant upon which negotiators agreed in 1919 included article 10, in which league members undertook collectively to defend "the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all Members." Actual practice departed from this principle, in part because article 5 required binding resolutions to receive unanimous consent and in part because the league had no army in its service nor any other means to impose its will on an aggressor. When the U.S. Senate rejected the treaty and refused membership in the League of Nations, the institution experienced a significant setback in its efforts to acquire legitimacy and real power to pursue its peaceful agenda.

The League of Nations was composed of a secretariat, a council, and an assembly. Sir Eric Drummond, formerly of the British Foreign Office, served as secretary-general for the first 14 years (1919–33) and helped to attract 675 men and women to work as an international civil service. The council met at least annually. At its foundation the body included France, Britain, and Italy as permanent members, along with other smaller powers. The council grew to 10 in 1922 and to 14 in 1926, when the additional members were supposed to counterbalance Germany's admission to the council. The membership of the assembly was largely European and South American, as most African and many Asian countries remained under European rule until after World War II.

Although best known for its failures in the area of collective security, the league began its existence with several successes. The league council prevented war between Sweden and Finland over the Aaland Islands (1920), between Germany and Poland over Upper Silesia (1921), and between Greece and Bulgaria over the exact location of their shared border (1925). This raised some questions about whether the league would be able to deal with disputes that touched the interests of a country such as Britain or France. In fact, the great powers continued to pursue old-fashioned diplomacy and treaties, such as the Locarno agreements.

Britain would not accept measures to reinforce the league's powers to react against aggression. The league-sponsored Disarmament Conference met during the late 1920s and early 1930s until Hitler withdrew Germany from the conference and from the league in 1933.

The weaknesses of the league became especially apparent in 1931. During its meeting in Geneva, the assembly learned that Japan had begun to attack the Chinese in Manchuria. As the days passed news grew worse, and the Chinese representative called upon the league council to authorize a response. After vacillating and accepting disingenuous assurances from the Japanese representative about his country's intentions, the league sent a commission of inquiry under Lord Lytton that arrived in April 1932. The Japanese army already exercised effective control over much of "Manchukuo." The Lytton Commission submitted a 100,000-word report on September 4, 1932. The assembly accepted its conclusion that the Japanese had violated the league covenant. It condemned the aggression against China but did nothing further. Japan simply withdrew from the league in March 1933.

Similar instances of impotence occurred after Italy invaded league member Ethiopia in 1935. Pierre Laval, the French foreign minister, and Sir Samuel Hoare, his British counterpart, went outside of the league framework to seek ways to appease Benito Mussolini, to serve their own interests, and to avoid war. These secret negotiations later became public knowledge, much to the chagrin of the participants, but the unwillingness of Britain and France to support the league did not change. The league first attempted conciliation and then studied the crisis. The assembly agreed that blame fell upon Italy, yet it could do nothing more than impose economic sanctions. The completion of Italian conquest indicated the failure of the sanctions, so the British pressed for them to be lifted in 1935. League members quietly accepted Italy's annexation of Ethiopia.

The League of Nations continued to meet in the late 1930s. It dissolved in 1946, when the United Nations came into existence. Founders of the United Nations attempted to learn from the supposed shortcomings of the league, especially with regard to collective security and the composition of the council.

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Melanie A. Bailey

Lebanese independence and the Confessional System

The Lebanese Confessional System refers to the political and legal structuring of the Republic of Lebanon according to religious affiliations. The Lebanese government acknowledges over 17 different religious sects, but the main divide is between Christians and Muslims. The Confessional System was introduced prior to Lebanon's independence during the years of the French mandate (1917–1943). The French colonial authorities distributed governmental posts based on the population count in the 1932 census, which favored Christians over Muslims in a 6 to 5 ratio. There was not another census for the rest of the century. By the time Lebanon gained independence in 1943, the Lebanese population had become further polarized and identified along confessional lines.

In 1943, the independent Lebanese state enacted the National Pact (Al-Mithaq al-Watani), reinforcing the sectarian system of government by distributing the three top political positions along confessional lines. The national pact is an unwritten agreement and the result of numerous meetings between Lebanon's first president, Bishara al-Khoury (a Maronite Christian), and the first prime minister, Riyad Al-Solh (a Sunni Muslim). Khoury and Solh allocated government posts in a confessional manner in an attempt to please all religious communities and guarantee their participation in the newborn state.

The prime position of president was reserved for Christian Maronites, the post of prime minister was allocated to a Sunni Muslim, the position of speaker of the parliament was allocated to Shi'i Muslims, and the titles of deputy speaker of the house and deputy prime minister went to Greek Orthodox Christians.

The core of the national pact aimed to address the Christians' fear of being overwhelmed by the Muslim communities in Lebanon and the surrounding Arab countries, Syria in particular, and the Muslims' fear of Western hegemony. In return for the Christian promise not to seek foreign—specifically French—protection and to accept Lebanon's "Arab face," the Muslim side agreed to recognize the independence and legitimacy

of the Lebanese state in the 1920 boundaries and to renounce aspirations for union with Syria.

In addition to the national pact, the parliamentary electoral law equally enforced the sectarian system. The representatives in the parliament were divided equally between Christians and Muslims by the Taif Accord, with each sect occupying seats in proportion to the population percentage.

The religious communities represented in parliament, with the number of seats each occupies, is as follows: Maronite Christians (34), Sunni Muslims (27), Shi'i Muslims (27), Greek Orthodox (14), Greek Catholics (8), Druze (8), Armenian Orthodox (5), Alawites (2), Armenian Catholics (1), Protestants (1), and other Christian groups (1).

The confessional system outlined in the national pact was a pragmatic interim to override philosophical divisions between Christian and Muslim leaders at the time of the French withdrawal and independence. However, the frequent political disputes in recent history, the 1958 civil war, and the far bloodier 1975 civil war are testaments to the failure of the national pact to achieve the anticipated social and political integration.

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Ramzi Abou Zeineddine

Lenin, Vladimir

(1870–1924) *Russian revolutionary leader*

Among the savviest and most single-minded politicians of the 20th century, Vladimir Lenin capitalized on the chaos in Russia caused by World War I and the resentments spawned by the advent of industrial capitalism. By imposing discipline and a radical agenda on his Bolshevik Party and by providing a clear alternative to the repressive autocracy that had acquiesced before, if not abetted, Russian economic and social backwardness, Lenin acquired the power to lead his country toward socialism.

The Soviet regime established after the Russian Revolution in 1917 did not meet Lenin's ideals, but he continued to strive to enact the reforms he deemed necessary for modernizing Russian culture, the economy, and society. Ruthless yet compassionate, pragmatic yet idealistic, Lenin was a paradox who knew how to recognize the opportunity for revolution when others did not.

Vladimir Ilych Ulyanov grew up in Simbirsk, on the Volga, where his father was a school inspector. Born on April 22, 1870, he had two brothers and three sisters with whom he had a close relationship. Along with others of similar education and professional attainments, Lenin's father hoped for major reforms to the Russian political, economic, and social systems. Yet Lenin's revolutionary aspirations and Marxist principles, which were avidly supported by his sisters, far transcended the reformist goals of his father.

Around 1886 Lenin began to develop his political thought and committed to revolution as a means of bringing about substantive, profound change in Russia. His brother Alexander was arrested in that year for having plotted to assassinate Czar Alexander III; his execution marked the young Vladimir and made him more politically conscious. He yearned for an end to crass materialism, the sexual double standard, and the corrupt values of late 19th-century Russia. Perhaps as a consequence of his brother's experience, Vladimir opted against terrorism and assassination; instead he cultivated the persona of a self-conscious, professional revolutionary.

As a consequence of his brother's conviction, Lenin endured police surveillance. Although he was among the best students in Russia, he could not obtain a place at any of the major universities; he settled for the local university in Kazan. He was soon expelled, however, along with all "risky" students. He later studied law by correspondence at the University of Saint Petersburg, but conventional careers were clearly closed to him.

As he began his sporadic work as a legal assistant in late 1893, Lenin continued his voracious reading. He delved even further and more deeply into the works of intellectuals such as George Plekhanov, the founding father of Russian social democracy, and Karl Marx. In 1889 he translated the *Communist Manifesto*.

While Lenin continued to mourn the loss of his much-loved sister Olga, who died in 1891, he met the woman who would become his longtime companion and wife, Nadezhda Krupskaya. Together they studied Marx, contemplated social democratic strategy, and started to practice the tactics required of political subversives in czarist Russia. Around the same time Lenin appeared in police surveillance records on his own account, having defended Marxist views in a debate

with a populist in 1894. He also wrote his first pamphlets and articles around this time.

Lenin made his first trip outside Russia in 1895, when he met with social democrats such as Wilhelm Liebknecht in Germany and Paul Laforgue in France. Upon his return to Russia, he cofounded a social democratic group and established a newspaper. These activities attracted police attention, and Lenin was arrested in December along with many of his colleagues. He spent about a year in Saint Petersburg, where he was interrogated four times, before being sentenced to three years in Siberia. Krupskaya was arrested while Lenin was in jail, and she received permission to join him in exile. Lenin spent the years in Siberia (1897–1900) reading, writing, and giving legal advice to local peasants. He began to develop his own interpretations of Marxism and to interpret Russian conditions in that light. Lenin and other Russian social democrats rejected the populist argument that peasants were proto-communists.

Lenin rigorously opposed the notion that socialism would "just happen" or even come about as a consequence of a series of incremental reforms to capitalism. He maintained that both dramatic political change and dramatic socioeconomic change would have to occur; social democrats had to fight for them all simultaneously. Lenin's perspective was influenced by the ideas of Russian revolutionary and anarchist Mikhail Bakunin, who had focused criticism on the state and the church as the major sources of oppression in Russia. Lenin shared Bakunin's antipathy toward religion and the Russian Orthodox Church, though he thought that the state could be captured and directed to serve the working class.

STRONG EXECUTIVE

When Lenin finished his period of exile in Siberia, he settled briefly in Pskov, where he worked in the Bureau of Statistics. He visited Nuremberg, Munich, Vienna, London, and other European cities. After he and Krupskaya settled in Geneva, they became central to the project of building an effective, disciplined Russian social democratic party.

Although Lenin occasionally sought reconciliation, the 1903 split between his Bolsheviks and the more reformist Mensheviks became permanent. Lenin averred that Russian social democracy most needed a tightly disciplined party with a strong executive. As events showed, his organizational model proved valid.

The Russian Revolution of 1905 disappointed Russian radicals and revolutionaries, though they did find their way back into the country for a few years. Lenin saw the beginnings of a bourgeois revolution, though the ephemeral character of constitutional reforms granted by the czar indicated that Russians had much revolutionary ground yet to travel. After returning to exile in Europe, where he would remain for the decade prior to 1917, Lenin resumed his efforts to push Russia out of its czarist rut.

The International Socialist Bureau did not recognize Lenin as sole leader of the Russian socialists, though he did gain control over the key newspapers of the group. In the years prior to World War I, Lenin organized, read, and wrote. He published articles on party organization, socialism, religion (in which he recommended that the party oppose religion, even as a private affair), and socialism in Asia.

The outbreak of World War I found Lenin and Krupskaya in Kraków, Poland. Lenin had taken an interest in the implications of foreign affairs for social democracy in Russia since the turn of the century, and he reservedly predicted that the war would hasten the advent of socialism in Europe. Although unafraid of class, civil, or revolutionary wars if they would promote socialism, Lenin could not abide imperialist, bourgeois international wars. Lenin envisioned a Socialist International that would recognize national cultures as equal and sovereign while emphasizing the shared character of the socialist struggle. Lenin continued and further elaborated his thought on wars and the overall international situation in *Imperialism* (published in 1917) and *State and Revolution*.

When the revolutionary year of 1917 dawned, Lenin seemed a rather marginal figure on the Russian political stage. Having been out of Russia for decades and with only a relatively small group of ardent supporters, Lenin returned to Petrograd in April with apparently little prospect of acquiring power. He surprised even his allies, many of whom had greeted him upon his arrival at Finland Station, with his April Theses; the party did not fall into line with his radical demands until three weeks of debate had passed. Lenin's refusal to endorse participation in the provisional government contravened the desire of many Bolsheviks (including Joseph Stalin) to exercise influence in any way they could. He advocated an immediate end to Russian participation in World War I.

GRADUAL SOCIALISM

He encouraged Bolsheviks to cultivate close relations with the soviets that had formed in the cities and the countryside. Lenin wanted to destroy the state institutions that were oppressing Russians, though he did not

Revolutionary leader Vladimir Lenin addresses the Second Soviet Congress in Smolny Palace, St. Petersburg, October 25–26, 1917. Lenin called not only for the end of czarist rule in Russia but also more ambitiously, he envisoned worldwide worker revolution.

state that he aimed to eliminate the police, the bureaucracy, and the army for good. Lenin further recommended the confiscation and redistribution of landed estates; he hoped to prevent small peasant farms from replacing them by immediately nationalizing the land. He planned to introduce socialism gradually, first by giving control over production and distribution to the soviets of workers' deputies.

As the days and months of 1917 passed, Lenin became an increasingly important leader, even after the provisional government began to hound the Bolsheviks. His decisive moves to capitalize on the weakness of that government enabled his party to seize power in October, even though the Bolsheviks had not yet converted even a minority of Russians to their ideology. The Bolsheviks did not have control over the countryside in 1917 or immediately thereafter, with the result that peasants had proceeded to form smallholdings; some of them had already begun to amass considerable acreage. Hence, collectivization could not occur as Lenin had hoped. The Ukraine and other provinces under the control of the Russian government experienced a revival of nationalist sentiment. The economy remained in shambles. World War I had already demonstrated the incapacity of Russian infrastructure and industry to provide for the people, but Russia's gross national product suffered even further after the Bolsheviks gave control of factories to workers who had no training in management and little real knowledge of the overall production process. Lastly, the party abandoned real democracy; Lenin declared that the Bolsheviks had to direct the government and the economy until such time as the Russian people had experience with the new system and had enough education to appreciate the communist ideal. The Bolsheviks enacted legislation that gave equal rights to women, though the people had not pushed for such changes.

Lenin suffered a debilitating stroke in 1923 after having previously suffered two less harmful attacks. By that time the Communist government had yielded to political and economic pressure as well as the reality of food shortages and lack of industrial supplies, by enacting the New Economic Policy. Lenin and his supporters intended for such reforms to ease nationalization, collectivization, and the end of private enterprise, though they allowed for the latter and for small family farms in the short term as a means to generate

the national wealth needed to effect the transition to communism.

Before Lenin died he had already surrendered real, everyday control over the government. He had not appointed a successor; his close associates Leon Trotsky and Joseph Stalin each viewed themselves as such, along with several other aspirants. When he died in 1924, Lenin had effected a revolution that had radically changed perceptions of Russia and its prospects for the future. Whether his successors could realize the potential of the revolution and the promise of communism remained unknown.

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Melanie A. Bailey

Lewis, John L.

(1880–1969) *American labor leader*

John L. Lewis, longtime president of the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) and cofounder of the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO), was the United States' most powerful labor leader during the Great Depression. In 1933 he played a central role in the development of New Deal legislation that affected workers. He successfully lobbied the administration of Franklin Roosevelt to include a provision, section 7a, in the National Industrial Recovery Act (NIRA) that guaranteed workers the right to organize their own unions and to undertake collective bargaining with their employers. Lewis used the NIRA as a springboard to organize more than 95 percent of the nation's bituminous miners.

As one of the founders of the CIO in 1935, Lewis sought to organize workers in a wide variety of occupations, ranging from longshoremen to actors. He focused particularly on mass-production workers in U.S. heavy industries. This defied the agenda of the American Federation of Labor (AFL), which traditionally organized only skilled craft workers. Lewis gained vital federal and state support for the militant auto workers in Michigan who undertook a daring sit-down strike against General Motors in 1937. As a result of the strike, the automobile industry was forced to recognize the legitimacy of the United Automobile Workers (UAW). The same year Lewis negotiated employer recognition of the Steel Workers Organizing Committee (SWOC), in a steel industry that was notoriously hostile to union activity. By the end of 1937, approximately one of every four U.S. nonagricultural workers belonged to a union.

Lewis's influence waned during the late 1930s, when he was an ardent isolationist. He correctly foresaw that if the United States became involved in World War II, the Roosevelt administration would neglect its progressive domestic agenda in favor of building consensus support for the war effort. Lewis considered this to be a betrayal of the New Deal, and he shocked many of his cohorts when he endorsed Republican presidential candidate Wendell Willkie in 1940. In 1942 he withdrew the UMWA from the CIO because he felt that CIO leaders had lost their autonomy by supporting the administration. As a result, Lewis and the UMWA became isolated from much of the labor movement. Throughout the 1940s, he led a series of widely unpopular strikes, cementing his reputation as an adversary of federal power. Much hated by Harry S. Truman, in 1946 he defied a federal injunction to end a nationwide coal strike, for which he received enormous fines.

Historians find significant contradictions in Lewis's career. After successfully collaborating with the Roosevelt administration to win unprecedented legitimacy for unions, he became a vehement critic of government-labor alliances. Although he helped to empower millions of workers, he ran the UMWA with autocratic authority.

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Tom Collins

Lindbergh, Charles

(1902–1974) *aviator*

The best-known pilot in the world both in his lifetime and in the annals of history, Charles Lindbergh started out as a barnstormer in a World War I surplus biplane he bought while working as an airline mechanic in

Montana. The postwar years saw a great deal of public fascination with flight and with pilots, as the war had put the airplane in the spotlight. Lindbergh came to fame in 1927 when he won the $25,000 prize offered eight years earlier by French businessman Raymond Orteig for making the first nonstop flight from New York City to Paris, a 34-hour flight without rest.

Lindbergh was received as a hero, bringing still more respect and attention to aviation while demonstrating the spirit of individualism of which Americans were so enamored. In an age of celebrity, when writers like F. Scott Fitzgerald spent much of their time on magazine covers, Lindbergh was a star, which made his 20-month-old son Charles A. Lindbergh, Jr., a prime target for kidnapping. For two months and 10 days, the world followed the course of the investigation: The baby disappeared sometime between nine and 10 at night, and a note demanding $50,000 in small bills was found outside the nursery window. Four colonels participated in the investigation, liaisons were appointed to speak to the leaders of organized crime, and President Herbert Hoover himself was notified within hours of the kidnapping. Eventually, a baby's body was found five miles from the Lindbergh home; two years later German immigrant Bruno Hauptmann was found with some of the marked ransom money, arrested, and eventually executed. To this day, the evidence convicting Hauptmann of murder remains scant, and there is no forensic evidence that the baby was Charles, Jr.; though Lindbergh identified the remains, animals had left so little recognizable that medical examiners were unable to even determine the child's sex.

The Lindberghs became more reclusive following the kidnapping, avoiding the public eye. Lindbergh supported isolationism in the years leading up to World War II and was widely suspected of Nazi sympathies, which led President Franklin Roosevelt to ban him from military service. Nevertheless, though Lindbergh believed in the superiority of some races over others, he condemned the Nazis' treatment of Jews and spoke in support of African-American rights. Lindbergh died in Hawaii in 1974 after a quiet retirement. The *Spirit of Saint Louis*, the custom-built Ryan aircraft he used for his famous transatlantic flight, was donated to the Smithsonian Institution in 1928 and remains on display in the National Air and Space Museum in the main atrium—a position of honor shared by the first supersonic craft and the first privately funded spacecraft.

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Bill Kte'pi

literature

AMERICAN LITERATURE

The 19th century saw the birth of science fiction and the detective novel, the heavy use of American dialects and the vernacular by such authors as Mark Twain and George Washington Cable, and the psychologically complex novels of writers like Henry James. The 20th century continued these trends. For instance, the regional interest of the Southwest humorists and the local color school gave way to Edith Wharton's examination of the eastern seaboard, F. Scott Fitzgerald's novels of New York and American expatriates, and William Faulkner's stories of Yoknapatawpha County, Mississippi. Faulkner often wrote not only in dialect that could at times be nearly impenetrable, he used the rambling stream of consciousness approach employed previously by James Joyce. In 1949 he won the Nobel Prize in literature for his contributions not only to American literature but to the world of letters. Two of his novels were awarded the Pulitzer Prize: *A Fable* and *The Reivers*, both of which are now considered minor works compared to *The Sound and the Fury*; *Absalom, Absalom!*; and *As I Lay Dying*.

Social concerns became prominent in American literature in the early 20th century, with Upton Sinclair's *The Jungle*—an attack on meat packing and on the ills of capitalism—an obvious example. Fitzgerald, John Dos Passos, Sherwood Anderson, John Steinbeck, Nathanael West, and Sinclair Lewis were deeply invested in their portraits of American life and American character. Lewis's *It Can't Happen Here* warned against the possibility of a fascist regime in the United States.

Gertrude Stein, meanwhile, coined the term *the lost generation* to refer to the American authors expatriated to Europe between World War I and the Great Depression. The Lost Generation included Stein, Hemingway, Anderson, Fitzgerald, Dos Passos, and the poets Ezra Pound and T. S. Eliot, among others. Many of these authors drew not only on their European experiences but on nonliterary movements for inspiration in their work: Stein herself was fascinated by cubism, while Pound and Eliot were as influ-

enced by painting, sculpture, and music as they were by other authors.

The detective stories of Edgar Allan Poe and Britain's Arthur Conan Doyle in the 19th century led to a boom in mysteries in the 20th century, which in the United States particularly included the "hard-boiled" genre epitomized by Dashiell Hammett and Raymond Chandler. Other detective stories showed up in the pulps—cheap magazines and short novels, successors to the dime novels—alongside science fiction, horror (including H. P. Lovecraft's Cthulhu Mythos stories), sword and sorcery such as Robert E. Howard's Conan series, and adventure stories featuring jungle explorers, pilots, and crime fighters. The pulps, along with the newspaper comic strips now being nationally distributed, were a major influence on the comic books of the 1930s and 1940s, which saw the birth of Superman, Batman, Captain America, and others.

The 1930s also saw the emergence of the golden age of science fiction. The first all science fiction magazine—*Amazing Stories*—had been founded in 1926, but it was in the late 1930s, when John Campbell became editor of *Astounding Science Fiction,* that many of the greats of the genre came to prominence: Isaac Asimov, James Blish, and Robert Heinlein, among others. Campbellian science fiction emphasized the wonder and ingenuity of scientific achievement rather than acting as cautionary tales or allegories.

William Faulkner won the 1949 Nobel Prize in literature for his contribution to the world of letters.

INTERNATIONAL LITERATURE

With the advent of the new century, a number of annual literary prizes were created: the Nobel in 1901, the Prix Goncourt in 1903, and the Pulitzer Prize in 1917. Those who won were largely European or North American, with the Nobel Prize having a heavy weighting to northern Europe.

In Britain there was a proliferation of literature that had backgrounds set during war, especially World War I and then World War II. Stories set in parts of the British Empire, both true and fictional, were very popular. One of the most prolific writers during this period was Rudyard Kipling, and he was awarded the Nobel Prize in literature in 1907 for his work. War stories were also popular in many other countries, with Henri Barbusse's *Under Fire* (1917), R. C. Sherriff's *Journey's End* (1928), Erich Maria Remarque's *All Quiet on the Western Front* (1929), and Jaroslav Hašek's *The Good Soldier Schweik* (1939) all being translated into many languages. The reduction in the cost of printing, as well as increased literacy, saw a huge demand for adventure stories for children. These helped introduce young people to other parts of the world and historical periods, and they were matched by an increase in historical fiction, with the Napoleonic era and the Roman Empire proving popular with novelists from Britain, France, Germany, and many other countries. By the 1940s many books were decorated by elaborate dust wrappers. In 1935 Allen Lane started Penguin Books, publishing works in cheaper paperback editions, a move quickly followed by many other publishers all around the world.

The period from 1900 until 1950 also saw an increase in the production of plays by British and European playwrights, often leading to films of the works. Some of the more popular plays were by writers such as George Bernard Shaw and John Galsworthy, both British Nobel laureates. There were also several new genres such as H. G. Wells's *The Time Machine* (1895). Then there were those warning about the future such as Aldous Huxley's *Brave New World* (1932) and George Orwell's *1984* (1948). There were also some fantasy writers with

J. R. R. Tolkein's *The Hobbit* (1937) becoming popular in the 1940s and C. S. Lewis's *The Lion, the Witch and the Wardrobe* (1950), leading, respectively, to further books on Middle Earth and Narnia. Lewis was a prominent writer on theology, and Bertrand Russell wrote philosophy, as did other writers such as Romain Rolland. There were also a few non-European writers who rose to prominence, the most famous probably being Rabindranath Tagore from India, who won the Nobel Prize in 1913.

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Bill Kte'pi

Lloyd George, David

(1863–1945) *British politician*

David Lloyd George was the most dominant figure in British politics in the first quarter of the 20th century. Although Welsh on both sides of his family, he was actually born in Manchester, England, in 1863. His father, William George, then a headmaster of an elementary school in Manchester, died 17 months later, leaving his pregnant widow to raise the children. His mother, Elizabeth, took her family back to her home village of Llanystumdwy in north Wales to live with her bachelor brother, Richard Lloyd, a shoemaker and copastor of a little Baptist chapel. A Welsh nationalist and deeply religious, Richard Lloyd played an active role in the upbringing of young David, imbuing him with many of his formative beliefs. At the age of 14, David was apprenticed to one of the leading firms of solicitors in Portsmouth, passing his final examinations in 1884. During the early years of his practice, he met and married Margaret Owen, who bore him two sons and three daughters.

Bitten by the political bug while in his late teens, Lloyd George associated himself with the Liberal Party. In 1890 he was elected to Parliament for the Caernarfon Boroughs, a seat that he would retain for the next 55 years. A gifted speaker, audacious, and industrious, he soon became a leading spokesman for the radical wing of the party. As a pacifist he inveighed against the immorality of the Boer War in South Africa and expressed sympathy for the Boer farmers.

When the Liberals returned to power in 1905, Lloyd George was appointed president of the Board of Trade, a position he held for three years, during which he sponsored much important legislation. He took over as chancellor of the Exchequer at a time when the government needed to find new sources of revenue to pay for the cost of social programs and additional battleships to keep ahead of the ambitious German naval program. Accordingly, his "peoples budget" in 1909 called for a heavy tax on unearned income such as inheritance, increased value of land, and investments. The House of Lords, which was dominated by Conservatives, vetoed the budget, defying the House of Commons' traditional control of taxation. This provoked a constitutional crisis, forced two general elections, and ended in 1911 with the passage of the Parliament Act, which severely curtailed the powers of the House of Lords.

When the question of Britain's entry into the war was debated in the cabinet in the opening days of August 1914, Lloyd George sat on the fence until Germany's invasion of neutral Belgium provided him with a face-saving formula to join the ranks of the interventionists. Just as he had preached pacifism prior to 1914, he pursued his new course with vigor and determination.

At the Exchequer he handled the financial problems posed by the war, and when a coalition government was established in May 1915, Asquith appointed Lloyd George to head the new Ministry of Munitions. Here he applied the same energy to stimulate the production of munitions as well as push for the manufacture of bigger and more efficient guns. In the summer of 1916, he became secretary for war, succeeding Horatio Herbert Kitchener, who drowned when the ship on which he was traveling to Russia struck a mine and sank. As the year wore on, Lloyd George grew increasingly disenchanted with Asquith's lack of drive, and on December 1, with the backing of the Conservatives, he proposed that a small committee should be created to run the war with himself in charge. The king asked Bonar Law, the Conservative leader, to form a government, but he declined. Lloyd George was left as the logical alternative, and, when invited to serve as prime minister, he willingly accepted the challenge. He formed a coalition made up Conservatives and Liberals. His intrigue against Asquith split the Liberal Party between a faction loyal to him and another loyal to the former prime minister. The breach became permanent and finished the Liberal Party as a major political force.

Lloyd George made institutional changes at the outset, creating new ministries and substituting a small war

cabinet, whose members were free from departmental responsibilities, for the unwieldy body that had hitherto conducted affairs. The prime minister's central concern was to change the direction of the war. Instead of concentrating on the western front, Lloyd George favored attacking Germany's allies, where progress was expected to be easier and the cost substantially less. As an amateur strategist, he never understood that the war could only be won by defeating the German army. Even if Douglas Haig had employed more imaginative tactics early on, the price of victory would have been tragically high. In the winter of 1917–18, Lloyd George tried his best to thwart Commander in Chief Haig's plans for an offensive by denying him the troops that he had requested. It was a misguided action that almost spelled defeat for the Allies when the Germans attacked the British sector in force in the spring of 1918.

The crisis led to the establishment of a unified Allied command under General Foch, in which military effectiveness was improved, and by May the situation had stabilized. Haig's series of victories in the summer and fall were instrumental in inducing the German government to ask for an armistice, but it was Lloyd George who represented himself as "the man who won the war." In truth, his legacy does not rest on his management of the war, where he did more harm than good. It was on the home front that he left his mark: safeguarding shipping and maintaining food supply, increasing war production, mobilizing manpower, and providing an unflagging display of optimism and resolve when things looked bleak.

His popularity at an all-time high, Lloyd George, popularly known as the "fighting Welshman," won an easy electoral victory in December 1918, which allowed him to continue the coalition. He played a leading part at the Paris Peace Conference, steering a middle course between Woodrow Wilson's idealism and Georges Clemenceau's demands. It is to his credit that the final terms were not as severe on Germany as they would have been. His failure to rebuild the economy; a personal scandal in which he traded peerages and other honors for campaign contributions; the granting of independence to Ireland, which cost him Conservative support; and a reckless foreign policy that almost led to an unnecessary war with Turkey spelled his downfall in October 1922. He never regained power and died in March 1945 at the age of 82.

See also World War I.

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George H. Cassar

Locarno agreements (1925)

The Pact of Locarno, negotiated on October 16, 1925, symbolized the atmosphere of goodwill between erstwhile enemies who had fought a global war 11 years before. The delegates from Germany, France, Great Britain, Belgium, Italy, Poland, and Czechoslovakia met in the city of Locarno, Switzerland.

The preceding months had eased the tension in western Europe. In November 1924 the French had ended the Ruhr occupation. The financial condition of France was not good, and occupation of the Ruhr had become costly. The attitude of France changed after the coming of a new government with foreign minister Aristide Briand (1862–1932). Briand had softened his earlier stand and had become a "pilgrim for peace." Gustav Stresemann (1879–1929), the foreign minister of the Weimar Republic, was in favor of reconciliation with France. In January 1925, Stresemann proposed a Rhineland Pact, which would guarantee the Franco-German border.

The German acceptance of a demilitarized Rhineland guaranteed the western frontier of France as well as Germany's acceptance of a part of the peace dictated at Versailles. Great Britain was interested in a general peace in Europe for the sake of its commercial and financial interests. The United States had been persuaded by Great Britain to overhaul reparations, and the consequent Dawes Plan gradually stabilized the German economy.

The Locarno Conference began on October 5, 1925. The German delegation was headed by Hans Luther (1879–1962), the chancellor, but most of the work was done by Stresemann. The British foreign secretary, Austen Chamberlain (1863–1937), played an important part in the deliberations at Locarno. Briand was the delegate from France. Emile Vandervelde (1866–1938), Vittorio Scialoja (1856–1933), Eduard Beneš (1884–1948), and Alexander Skrynski (1882–1931) were delegates of Belgium, Italy, Czechoslovakia, and Poland, respectively. The conference continued for 11 days. The diplomats patiently discussed the security of their frontiers in official meetings and

informal conversations. Seven treaties came out of the deliberations in an environment of cordiality and cooperation.

The Locarno agreements signaled high hopes immediately. It seemed to erase the bitter memory of World War I. Paving the way for Germany's admission to the League of Nations in September 1926, it gave Germany its due place on the committee of nations. There was rapprochement between France and Germany. In 1926 Chamberlain, Briand, and Stresemann were awarded the Nobel Peace Prize. It was perceived in 1925 that the Locarno Pact would bring peace in Europe, and there would not be another world war. But beginning in the 1930s a series of events took place that ultimately led to another conflagration.

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Patit Paban Mishra

Long, Huey

(1893–1935) *U.S. politician*

Both populist and demagogue, Huey Long, nicknamed "Kingfish," controlled his state of Louisiana as governor and U.S. senator and founded a political dynasty. During the Great Depression Long's popular "Share Our Wealth" scheme made him a credible challenger to President Franklin D. Roosevelt (FDR). That possibility abruptly ended in 1935 with Long's assassination.

Long was born in rural northern Louisiana. Although his family was comfortable, as a lawyer he specialized in representing underdogs fighting powerful organizations. Elected to Louisiana's Public Service Commission, he took on Standard Oil and telephone and railway companies. After an unsuccessful 1923 campaign for governor, Long won in 1927 using the slogan "Every Man a King, But No One Wears a Crown."

Long ruthlessly consolidated power through patronage, threats, and guile, creating a powerful political machine. He also gained popular support with initiatives to improve Louisiana's wretched schools, expand its inadequate highway system, finance hospitals, and improve Louisiana State University. Unlike most southern leaders of his era, Long rarely used race-baiting tactics, although most Louisiana blacks remained poor and disenfranchised.

Usually surrounded by bodyguards, the flamboyant "Kingfish" used radio and sound trucks to bring voters his message unmediated by a mostly hostile press. Surviving impeachment in 1929 and term-limited by the state constitution, Long aspired to the Senate. But he declined to relinquish his grip on Louisiana, where he and his machine were collecting millions in kickbacks from those beholden to him for jobs or favorable legislation.

Long decisively won his Senate seat in 1930, staying in Baton Rouge until an obedient ally assumed the governorship. Loud, even buffoonish, in his clothing and manner, Long was fodder for a fascinated national press and soon attracted a host of enemies. In 1932, at first grudgingly, he supported Roosevelt's candidacy, playing a key convention role to assure FDR's nomination.

The "honeymoon" between Long and the new president was soon over. Long sharply criticized FDR's emergency bank holiday of March 1933 and opposed other key New Deal legislation. By late 1933 FDR had written Long off, cutting off his patronage opportunities and ordering federal officials to investigate his finances.

Long focused on his "Share Our Wealth" plan, developing support across the nation for his proposal to limit how much wealth rich Americans could accumulate. The surplus, Long argued, would guarantee ordinary Americans a minimum annual income. Meanwhile, Long regularly used Senate filibusters to annoy the Democratic leadership and promote his political agenda. In June 1935 Long spoke for almost 16 hours—the longest filibuster to that time.

That September Long returned to Baton Rouge, where he was still effectively governor. Leaving the House chamber on the evening of September 8, Long was shot by physician Carl Austin Weiss, son-in-law of a powerful judge who was Long's bitter enemy. Incompetently treated, the "Kingfish" died two days later. A hundred thousand mourners attended the funeral on the capitol grounds where he was buried.

Rose McConnell Long completed her husband's Senate term. His brother Earl became a controversial Louisiana governor. His brother George and cousins Gillis and Speedy Long served in the U.S. House. Russell Long, Huey's son, won a Senate seat in 1948, rising to chairman-

ship of the Finance Committee before retiring in 1987. Years later Long was still popular despite ample proof of corrupt and despotic practices. Robert Penn Warren's best-selling 1946 novel, *All the King's Men*, a thinly veiled Long portrait, spawned several movie versions. A statue of Long stands in the U.S. Capitol's Statuary Hall.

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Marsha E. Ackermann

Long March

By late summer of 1934, the fifth encirclement campaign, led by Chiang Kai-shek, had convincingly defeated the Chinese Communist Soviet and reduced it to a six-county area in Jiangxi (Kiangsi) Province. On October 15 the Communist government abandoned its capital, Ruijin (Juichin), with 85,000 soldiers, 15,000 party and government officials, and 35 women (wives of the high officials). They began the Long March, which would last for one year and cover about 6,000 miles (called the 25,000 *li* Long March in Chinese).

The Communists were able to break out of the eastern sector of the Nationalist encirclement because it was guarded by army units under dissident generals whom Chiang did not control and whose leaders feared that the elimination of the Communists would hurt them. The fleeing Communists were allowed to escape through a narrow corridor on the border of Guangdong (Kwangtung) and Guangxi (Kwangsi) (ruled by Nationalist generals who were opponents of Chiang) and entered Guizhou (Kueichow). Guizhou province, the domain of a corrupt warlord who grew rich from opium, was unable to prevent the Communist incursion.

In January 1935 the communists held a conference at Zungyi (Tsungyi) in Guizhou where Mao Zedong (Mao Tse-tung) and his allies Zhou Enlai (Chou En-lai), and Zhu De (Chu Teh) emerged victorious, blaming the previous defeats on their opponents in the party. They then decided to head for northern Sha'anxi (Shensi) Province, where a Communist base already existed. Chased out of Guizhou by Chiang's pursuing forces, the Communists headed for Yunnan, Sichuan (Szechuan), Sikang, and Gansu (Kansu) Provinces and were evicted from each in succession. Mao and 8,000 survivors reached northern Sha'anxi in October 1935; others who arrived later boosted the total to 30,000. They established themselves in Yanan (Yenan), which would remain their headquarters until 1949.

The Long March was an epic of survival for the Chinese Communists: They survived terrible terrain and their pursuers. Although severely reduced in numbers, the leadership emerged intact. Mao became the clear leader of both the party and the military after the Zunyi Conference and would continue to dominate both until his death in 1975. Although Chiang Kai-shek could not eliminate the Communists the encirclement campaigns and the Long March also clearly strengthened both Chiang and the central government of the Nationalist Party (Kuomintang). Ending the Chinese Communist rebellion in Jiangxi consolidated government power in southeastern China.

Importantly, the inability of the autonomous warlords in Guizhou, Yunnan, Sichuan, Sikang, Gansu, and Sha'anxi Provinces to prevent the Communists from invading their domains led to central government troops entering these areas. After expelling the Communist invaders the government units remained and imposed many reforms and changes, which reduced the warlords to semiobedience to the national government. This was crucial for China's survival when Japan invaded in 1937 and seized the coastal regions, enabling the Chinese government to continue resisting Japan for eight years from its new base in Sichuan and the other provinces it had gained control of as a result of the Long March.

See also anti-Communist encirclement campaigns in China (1930–1934).

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Jiu-Hwa Lo Upshur

Lugard, Frederick, baron of Abinger
(1858–1945) *British soldier*

Baron Lugard directed the conquest and administration of Nigeria as well as serving as a soldier elsewhere in British West Africa and as a governor in Hong Kong. His military career indicates the opportunities available to aspiring young officers who served the British Empire at its height. As an administrator, he theorized about the

responsibilities of the British to themselves and to the inhabitants of the conquered territories.

Born in Madras (Chennai) in British-controlled India to an Anglican minister, Lugard went to England early in his childhood. He received a solid education as a youth before entering the British Royal Military College at Sandhurst. Upon graduating he joined the army in 1878. He served in the Afghan War (1879–80), the British campaign in the Sudan (1884–85), and Burma (1886–87). He returned to Africa in 1888, where he was wounded in combat against Arab slave traders in Nyasaland.

In the service of the Imperial British East Africa Company, Lugard led a team of explorers in the region of the Sabaki River before heading to Uganda in 1890. After ensuring British control of the area and ending unrest, he earned the title of military administrator of Uganda. While in that capacity, he continued his explorations of Africa. He resigned his position in May 1892 and returned to London, where he convinced the government of Prime Minister Gladstone to remain in Uganda.

When Lugard returned to Africa in 1894, he worked for the Royal Niger Company. He pursued negotiations with various kings and chiefs so as to gain recognition of the company's power in the region and, by extension, that of the British over other European rivals. While conducting an expedition to Lake Ngami in 1897 for the British West Charterland Company, Lugard was recalled by the British government so that he could organize a force of native Africans to defend British interests against the French in Lagos and Nigeria. His West African Frontier Force remained under Lugard's command until December 1899.

From 1900 until 1906, Lugard served as high commissioner of the protectorate of Northern Nigeria. Various local potentates, such as the sultan of Sukoto, refused to accept the provisions of treaties that they had signed. In 1903 Lugard triumphed over this opposition through a combination of diplomacy and military force. Before he left in 1906, Lugard had secured British control over all of Nigeria, though the military still confronted uprisings. His efforts also resulted in an improvement in British commerce; newly laid rail lines carried tin, peanuts, and cotton to the coast.

Lugard favored indirect rule; by defeating indigenous rulers, he could control their peoples on behalf of the British. He accepted emirs who no longer traded slaves, acknowledged British authority, and introduced the measures that the British desired. These emirs retained their titles but took their orders from district officers; emirs could lose their positions if the British high commissioner found them uncooperative. Thus, the British could reduce the number of colonial officers needed to supervise the territory. Lugard preserved Muslim control over education and medicine in Northern Nigeria, while Christian missionaries provided social services in the south. This resulted in an inequality between the two protectorates as conditions in the south improved.

Lugard spent the next few years in Hong Kong, where he held the position of governor until March 1912. He schemed to gain perpetual control over the rented New Territories, perhaps opening the way for permanent British control of Hong Kong, but his plans did not come to fruition. He also created the basis for the University of Hong Kong in 1911.

He returned to Nigeria as governor in 1912, when he focused on ending the existing system of two protectorates in favor of a single colony. Many intellectuals and the press in Lagos opposed the plan, but the citizenry as a whole did not react. Lugard became governor-general of the colony of Nigeria from 1914 to 1919. As governor he attempted to prevent the importation or consumption of alcoholic beverages; he also tried to end slavery in the colony.

Lugard published numerous works in which he traced the genesis of the British Empire in Africa and rationalized its rule over Africans. In *The Rise of Our East African Empire* (1893) he emphasized the economic motives that compelled the British to seek new markets and to secure sources of raw materials; he justified the initial costs of conquest and anticipated the enormous financial benefits to come.

He further contended that the British had inherited the duty to expand the empire from their ancestors, who had shown considerable initiative in exploring and settling North America and Australia. For Lugard, Britain's contributions to the welfare of Africans—the introduction of Christianity, the abolition of slavery, the spread of better medical treatments, and the improvement of education—would accompany its exploitation of Africa's natural and human resources for its own economic benefit.

Lugard's *The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa* (1922) presented a justification for his application of indirect rule in Nigeria, as well as continuing to elaborate a rationale for British rule in Africa. He perceived black Africans as different from white Europeans and believed that they needed training before they could control their own affairs entirely. By coopting native elites, who spoke the local language and practiced the local customs, as administrators under

a British supervisor, Lugard believed that the British could increase cooperation on the part of natives.

After his decades of service to the British Empire, the aging Lugard settled down to live in England. He died in 1945, after having been appointed a member of the Privy Council in 1920 and being raised to the peerage in 1928.

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Melanie A. Bailey

Lutz, Bertha

(1894–1976) *Brazilian scientist and feminist*

A zoologist and scientist, Bertha (or "Berta," as her name is sometimes recorded) Maria Júlia Lutz was a prominent Brazilian feminist and campaigner for women's rights in Brazil, as well as an important naturalist. Born on August 2, 1894, in São Paulo, her father was Adolfo Lutz (1855–1940), an important physician and epidemiologist, as well as a pioneer of tropical medicine. In 1881 he had moved to Brazil and settled in São Paulo, where he became a microbiologist specializing in the link between sanitation and epidemics, especially the plague, malaria, and yellow fever.

Bertha Lutz was educated in São Paulo and then went to France, where she studied at the University of Paris (Sorbonne). She specialized in natural sciences, biology, and zoology and returned to Brazil to follow up on her interests in amphibians. Her major scientific discovery was a type of frog, to which she gave her name: *Paratelmatobius lutzii* ("Lutz Rapids Frog"). In 1919 Bertha Lutz started work at the Museu Nacional in Rio de Janeiro, then the capital of Brazil, which made her stand out at an early age, as public service jobs were officially supposed to be taken by men.

In Paris Bertha Lutz had been hugely influenced by feminist ideas from France and Britain and had made contact with many French women suffragettes. When she returned to Brazil in 1918, she started agitating for the establishment of a feminist movement there. Only a year after her return, Lutz formed the Federacao Feminista Progresso Brasileira ("Brazilian Federation of Feminine Progress"). In 1922 she attended the Pan-American Conference on Women and gained much useful advice from Paulina Luisi and Carrie Chapman Catt. She was also elected vice president of the conference. After the conference Lutz returned to Brazil and spent much of her time working for the women's movement. She had seen the advances made by women in Europe and the United States and wanted to get the same rights recognized in Brazil, especially the right of women to work, the abolition of child labor, equal pay for equal work for women, and the right to maternity leave.

In 1932, owing to agitation by Lutz and others, women in Brazil were enfranchised and allowed to vote in elections, an act confirmed by the Brazilian president Getúlio Vargas in amendments to the Brazilian constitution. Lutz made two unsuccessful attempts to be elected to the parliament on behalf of the Independent Electoral League. However, the death of one of the deputies, Candido Pereira, led to a casual vacancy, which was filled by Lutz, who became a deputy in 1934. In parliament she argued for women's rights, three months' maternity leave, and a reduction in the hours in the working day for both men and women. She also campaigned for young men to be able to get exemptions from national service.

On October 6, 1940, Adolfo Lutz died, and his daughter not only ensured that his papers were sent to the National Archives of Brazil but also that she cataloged them meticulously, a task that took her the next 30 years. The papers are still regularly studied by many scholars from all around the world and have been hugely augmented by her own collection of papers and books, which she also donated to the archives. Lutz remained in charge of botany at the National Museum for much of the rest of her life.

Her main work in English, *British Naturalists in Brazil*, was published in Rio de Janeiro in 1941. In 1948 Bertha Lutz was one of the four women who signed the United Nations' Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the others being Minerva Bernardino from the Dominican Republic, Virginia Gildersleeves from the United States, and Wu Yi-tang from the Republic of China. In the 1930s Lutz had written a number of technical papers published in Rio de Janeiro.

In 1968 she completed three papers that were all published by the Texas Memorial Museum in Austin: "Geographic Variation in Brazilian Species of Hyla" (1968), "Taxonomy of the Neotropical Hylidae" (1968), and "New Brazilian Forms of Hyla" (1968, republished in Rio de Janeiro in 1973). She also wrote a substantial book, *Brazilian Species of Hyla*, written with Gualter

A. Lutz and with a foreword by W. Frank Blair, which was also published in Austin, Texas, in 1973. In 1975 Lutz represented Brazil at the first International Congress of Women at Mexico City, organized by the United Nations. Bertha Lutz died on September 16, 1976, in Rio de Janeiro. The Bertha Lutz Foundation was established in her honor; its symbol is a green butterfly.

See also Latin American feminism and women's suffrage.

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Justin Corfield

Luxemburg, Rosa

(1871–1919) *socialist revolutionary*

Rosa Luxemburg, the Marxist revolutionary, activist, and author, was born to Jewish parents, Eduard and Line Luxemburg, in the Polish Russian town of Zamosac on March 5, 1871. Politics was her main interest from her early days at school. She arrived in Zurich in 1889 to study law and political economy at the university there. Luxemburg found herself among some of the leading revolutionaries of the period, including George Plekhanov (1857–1918) and Leo Jogiches (1867–1919). Her association with the latter became lifelong, and both men helped to establish a new party, the Social Democracy of the Kingdom of Poland, which became the Socialist Democratic Party of the Kingdom of Poland and Lithuania (SDKPiL).

She was in Paris for a while, where she edited the party's mouthpiece, *Sprawa Robotnicza* (Workers' cause). She shifted to Berlin in 1898 and was associated with German socialism for the next 20 years. After getting her German citizenship, she settled in Berlin and became a member of the German Social Democratic Party. Luxemburg was the editor of the party organ *Vorwarts* (Forward) from 1905 onward.

Luxemburg developed many of her concepts of revolution during this period. For her, the Moscow uprising of December 1905 was due to mass action. Revolution was a long-term phenomenon. Moreover, it could happen in a comparatively underdeveloped country like Russia. She began to write profusely, emphasizing mass strikes. The Bolsheviks and Mensheviks had different revolutionary strategies, and Luxemburg believed in the former's slogan of dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry. However, she criticized the Bolsheviks after the October Revolution broke out. Luxemburg was imprisoned in Polish Russia in 1906 and later released. She continued with her political activities and was jailed for two months in June and July 1907. Luxemburg taught Marxism and economics at the Social Democratic Party School in Berlin between 1907 and 1914.

World War I broke out on July 28, 1914, and the Bureau of the Socialist International met in Brussels the next day. Luxemburg, as a representative of the SDKPiL, advocated for mass demonstrations against the war. But SPD members voted in favor of the Reichstag's declaration of war on August 4. In September Luxemburg, along with her colleague Karl Liebknecht (1871–1919) and others, formed the International Group from her flat and decided to oppose the war. The group was converted to the Spartakusbund on January 1, 1916. Luxemburg was imprisoned many times during the war. She was released on November 8, 1919, from prison and went on to establish the German Communist Party (KPD) with the help of Liebknecht and socialist groups. Luxemburg organized the Spartakusbund uprising in January 1919 in Berlin but was captured along with Liebknecht. Both were killed on January 15.

Luxemburg's contributions to socialist theory and practice were immense. She was the most vocal spokesperson of the German labor movement. Luxemburg was not an armchair revolutionary like many of the Marxists but believed in action. She ultimately became a martyr for her beliefs, which never wavered from a strong basis of humanitarianism.

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Patit Paban Mishra

Lyautey, Louis-Hubert

(1854–1934) *French colonial official*

Louis-Hubert Gonzalve Lyautey was born in Nancy, France, on November 17, 1854. He was brought up

in the aristocratic and intellectual society of Nancy as well as in the simplicity of country life. When Lyautey was only 18 months old he fell from a balcony of the family house, which resulted in a spinal injury. Until the age of six he endured a long period of enforced inactivity, passing the time by reading.

In his teens he attended several schools, and at age 18 in 1873 he entered the French military academy, Saint-Cyr. In 1876 he enrolled in the military staff school and joined a cavalry regiment that was posted in Orleansville, Algeria. For the next two years Lyautey learned about Islam, North Africa, and colonial administration; he also began studying Arabic. Lyautey was promoted to the rank of captain in 1882 and was then ordered to join the IV regiment of the Chasseurs Legers at Epinal.

When Lyautey was about 33 he published an article on military reforms that ultimately changed his career. He was considered one of those rare men who enjoyed both the sword and the pen. As a reprimand for his article, Lyautey was transferred to Indochina; however, this turned out to be a blessing in disguise. He arrived in Saigon in 1894 and met with Colonel Joseph Gallieni, who became his inspiration; Gallieni also promoted him to chief of staff. While under Gallieni, Lyautey learned a core lesson in colonization, namely, not to offend local traditions nor to change customs, and to use the elite class to the benefit of the empire. Lyautey also learned tactics involving taking, securing, administering, and developing areas that were in enemy hands or subject to enemy attack. His principles concentrated on the well-being of the indigenous population, providing them with security in everyday life and administering their affairs with understanding, respect, and generosity.

In 1897 Lyautey followed Gallieni to Madagascar, where he was promoted to lieutenant colonel and had the opportunity to construct a city how he saw fit. By 1900 he was promoted to full colonel, and by 1903 he returned to Algeria as brigadier general. After the French took several cities in Morocco in an attempt to quell resistance to their occupation in neighboring Algeria, the Treaty of Fez, establishing a French protectorate over Morocco, was signed on March 30, 1912. Lyautey was then appointed the first resident general of Morocco. One of Lyautey's greatest qualities was his ability to adapt to new situations, and he did not adopt a specific or rigid formula in his administration of Morocco. He had qualities that appealed to Moroccans, Berbers, and Arabs alike, as he was a man of decision, integrity, and justice. In contrast to many of his peers, Lyautey did not believe it was the mission of Europeans to force their civilization and religion on the peoples of colonized countries. He believed it was important that the French understand Islam and the values of the Muslim world. He also believed that a mass migration of European colonists into Morocco would cause problems (as it had in Algeria) but did not object if the colons were willing to contribute to the country.

As resident general, Lyautey maintained local customs and architecture and established so-called flying columns of soldiers to move quickly from one location to another in order to put down any local rebellions. The establishment of local health clinics in remote areas helped to encourage Moroccan support of the French administration. Lyautey also modernized and enlarged ports, especially in Casablanca, and supported economic development projects in mining and trade. With the outbreak of World War I, he managed to control Morocco with very few troops.

In 1916, in the midst of World War I, Lyautey was offered the post of minister of war. After some reluctance he accepted the post but soon clashed with other high-ranking military officers. He opposed Commander in Chief Robert Nivelle's plan for a new offensive against the Germans, but the plan was implemented over Lyautey's objections. Just as Lyautey had foreseen, the offensive failed and resulted in massive numbers of French casualties. Furious, Lyautey tendered his resignation and was asked to return to Morocco to resume his old post as resident general, which he happily accepted. After the war in 1921, Lyautey was promoted to the nation's highest military rank of marshal. He was 66 years old.

Lyautey was plagued by liver attacks that affected him for years that would force him to stay in bed for several weeks and for which he had to endure several operations. During the 1920s, plagued with ill health, Lyautey attempted to resign from the residency, but he was constantly persuaded to remain in Morocco.

During the early 1920s the successes of the Rif rebellion under Abd el Krim against the Spanish enclaves in the north of Morocco threatened French rule in the rest of the nation. By 1925 Lyautey was reluctantly engulfed in military operations against Abd el Krim and his army. In the midst of the struggle, Lyautey was removed from the military command of Morocco, and Marshal Philippe Petain, with whom he had previously clashed, replaced him. On September 24, 1925, the colonial veteran, now 70 years old, asked to be relieved of the supreme command in Morocco. His resignation was accepted, and

in October Lyautey left Morocco for France. As he left Rabat, a large crowd gathered to see him off. To the surprise of many, it was the British, not the French, who honored Lyautey with a naval escort of two destroyers through the Strait of Gibraltar. Lyautey spent most of his remaining years at Thorey, in his beloved Lorraine, preparing a few volumes of letters for publication.

Some of the developments in Morocco that Lyautey can be credited with are construction of roads, cities, hospitals, schools, dispensaries, and railways. Hubert Lyautey died in 1934, and his ashes were conveyed by a French naval squadron, accompanied by 14 ships of the British Second Battle Cruiser Squadron, to his mausoleum in Rabat, Morocco.

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Brian M. Eichstadt

Lytton Commission and report

On the night of September 18, 1931, the Japanese Kwantung Army stationed in Manchuria, China's northeastern provinces, staged a minor bomb explosion on the tracks of the South Manchurian Railway outside Mukden, the administrative capital of Manchuria. Claiming that it was Chinese sabotage, the Japanese military swung into action, simultaneously attacking over a dozen Chinese cities in the region. Japanese units from its colony Korea invaded to broaden the attack. This was known as the Manchurian incident, or Mukden incident.

The Chinese army was no match for superior Japanese forces. Therefore, China decided not to resist militarily and appealed to the League of Nations for support. It also appealed to the United States as signatory of the Kellogg-Briand Pact of 1928 and the Washington Treaty of 1922. International support for China was expectedly lukewarm.

However, the league assembly passed two resolutions, on September 30 and October 24, enjoining Japan to withdraw its forces, which the Japanese government promised to honor, but they had no effect on its military. On December 10 the league decided to dispatch a commission of investigation under British diplomat Lord Lytton, which spent six weeks in Manchuria plus some time in Japan and China.

Japan conquered Manchuria in five months, then established a puppet state called Manchukuo (state of the Manchus) on March 9, 1932. Next Colonel Doihara Kenji, intelligence chief of the Kwantung Army, enticed the last Qing (Ch'ing) emperor, Pu-i (P'u-yi), to Manchuria, installing him as chief executive (later as "emperor") in a regime totally controlled by the Japanese.

The Lytton Report, submitted to the league on October 1, 1932, refuted Japan's claim that Manchukuo had local support, condemned Japan for aggression, and recommended the restoration of Manchuria to Chinese sovereignty. It also recommended the maintenance of the Open Door policy in Manchuria and special consideration for Japanese and Soviet commercial interests in the region. China signaled total acceptance of the report's recommendations, as did the league assembly on February 14, 1933, with one dissenting vote—Japan's. On March 27 Japan announced its resignation from the league.

The failure of the League of Nations to halt Japanese aggression against China in the Manchurian incident signaled its impotence and doomed the international organization. The United States had on January 7, 1932, announced its Non-Recognition Doctrine (or Stimson Doctrine after Secretary of State Henry Stimson), stating that it would not recognize any situation created as a result of war in violation of the Kellogg-Briand Pact. Japanese militarists, encouraged by their success, would ignore both the league and the United States to pursue aggression.

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Jiu-Hwa Lo Upshur

M

MacArthur, Douglas

(1880–1964) *U.S. general*

General Douglas MacArthur was born in Little Rock, Arkansas, on January 26, 1880, the son of Arthur MacArthur, a Civil War hero and military officer, and Mary Pinkney Hardy MacArthur. His early years were spent in military postings throughout the western part of the United States, but he eventually settled in Washington, D.C., following his father's move to the War Department. There he built a strong relationship with his grandfather, Arthur MacArthur, an influential judge who had access to important Washington contacts.

MacArthur's education was fairly transient and lackluster until his father enrolled him in the West Texas Military Academy, where he started to reveal talents that would take him to the U. S. Military Academy at West Point in 1898. At West Point he established a considerable reputation, emerging as first in his class in 1903. After graduation his first service was in the Philippines, where he established a lifelong love for the country. Following the death of his father in 1912, he took up a valuable posting in the War Department, where he came to the attention of Army Chief of Staff General Leonard Wood. In 1915 MacArthur was promoted to major, and within the year he became the army's first public relations officer, a post that helped him sell preparations for war to the U.S. public in the form of the Selective Service Act of 1917.

World War I established MacArthur's reputation as a striking leader of dash and courage. He was appointed brigadier general in August 1918 and became the youngest divisional commander in France, leading the 42nd Division. He was awarded 13 decorations and was cited for bravery seven times. Following military demobilization, MacArthur maintained his rank and became the youngest superintendent in the history of the U.S. Military Academy at West Point. He modernized the curriculum and doubled the size of the academy. In 1922 he married Henrietta Louise Cromwell Brooks, a marriage that led to divorce in 1929.

In the interwar years from 1922 until 1930, MacArthur served two tours in the Philippines, where he built a strong friendship with Philippine leader Manuel Quezon and commanded the army's Philippine department from 1928 until 1930. He became chief of staff of the U.S. Army in 1930, when the Great Depression was in full swing. Army strength was severely affected by cutbacks, and political protests drew MacArthur, along with George Patton and Dwight D. Eisenhower, to the unsavory task of suppressing the Bonus Army of 1932. This campaign by World War I veterans was met by tanks and cavalry, and the action was in some quarters deemed an excessive use of force.

In 1935 MacArthur returned to the Philippines at the request of President Quezon to head the U.S. military mission and help prepare the Philippines for full independence in 1946. It was at this time that he also met and married Jean Marie Faircloth, who would make MacArthur a father at age 58. After retirement from the army in 1937, MacArthur remained in the Philippines as a military adviser. Yet when negotiations

General Douglas MacArthur was charged with the task of reclaiming the Philippines from the Japanese in World War II.

with the Japanese broke down in 1941, President Franklin D. Roosevelt recalled MacArthur to service with the rank of major general, and he was charged with the task of mobilizing the Philippine defenses. He built up his forces in Luzon and Mindanao and was confident in his ability to resist a Japanese attack, a fact that he reported to General George Marshall in Washington.

Immediately following Pearl Harbor, the Japanese launched widespread attacks on the Philippines, where they quickly overcame MacArthur's defenses and destroyed his air force, much of it caught on the ground. Although previously encouraged to do so, MacArthur failed to attack the Japanese air bases in Taiwan; the Japanese invasion met little effective resistance. Luzon fell, as did Manila, and MacArthur retreated to the Bataan Peninsula and the fortress at Corregidor. In late February 1942 he was ordered to withdraw to Australia, leaving his surrounded army of 11,000 men under the command of General Jonathan Wainwright to face the Japanese. Their surrender would lead to the infamous Bataan Death March, which incensed all Americans and increased their desire for revenge. MacArthur's daring escape with his wife, son, and a small group of advisers was initially by patrol boat before connecting with an aircraft that got him to Australia's Northern Territory by March 17. It was at Terowie, South Australia, that he made his now famous "I Shall Return" speech.

MacArthur now became supreme commander of the Allied forces in the southwest Pacific area, working with Admiral Chester Nimitz, commander in chief of the U.S. Pacific fleet, and Admiral Ernest King, commander in chief of the U.S. Navy. From offices in Brisbane, Australia, MacArthur developed an island-hopping strategy to counter the Japanese and stop their advance across the Pacific. By 1943, because of MacArthur's expert use of navy support and army and marine amphibious landings, as well as the benefits of major victories at Midway and at Guadalcanal, the tide turned. Importantly, New Guinea fell to the Allies in 1944, allowing MacArthur to plan the retaking of the Philippines. The destruction of the Japanese navy at Leyte was the largest naval battle in history and made the successful landings possible while ending all hope that the Japanese could counter. U.S. troops advanced across the Philippines and moved on to attack Luzon in January 1945. Manila was taken after brutal resistance by Japanese troops under the command of General Yamashita on March 4, 1945.

From headquarters now established in Manila, MacArthur planned the final attacks upon Japan, including a 1,300-ship invasion of Okinawa, which was but 350 miles from mainland Japan, on April 1, 1945. The struggle for Okinawa was extremely costly, resulting in 12,520 U.S. and 110,000 Japanese killed and the introduction of major kamikaze suicide raids on U.S. shipping. The heavy cost extracted from this invasion made an invasion of the Japanese main islands a daunting prospect. The atomic bomb strategy was introduced to quicken the end of the war and deliver Japan's unconditional surrender. On August 6, 1945, an atomic bomb was dropped on Hiroshima, which did not produce the desired capitulation. On August 9 a second bomb was dropped on Nagasaki. The Japanese accepted terms on August 10. Their surrender ended World War II in the Pacific.

MacArthur received the formal surrender onboard the USS *Missouri* on September 2, 1945, and President Harry S. Truman appointed him head of the Allied occupation of Japan. Japan was a defeated and dev-

astated country, and MacArthur worked to salvage and reconstruct the country, including the creation of a democratic constitution that would ensure a peaceful Japan. MacArthur turned over authority in 1949 to a new Japanese government, which preserved the emperor but in a symbolic role. MacArthur remained in Japan until relieved by President Truman in April 1951.

The North Korean attack on South Korea in 1950 changed the course of Korean history, as it did MacArthur's own. MacArthur assumed command of a United Nations–sanctioned coalition of Allies authorized to drive out the North Koreans. He saved a desperate situation by organizing a brilliant rearguard amphibious landing at Inchon, which outflanked and destroyed much of the North Korean army, whose remnants hastily retreated back across the 38th parallel and then toward the Chinese border. The Chinese warned that they would become involved if their border was threatened. From his position of strength, MacArthur was dismissive of the Chinese threat until on October 25, 1950, the Chinese crossed the Yalu River and drove the Allies back. MacArthur wanted to now attack the Chinese with overwhelming force, including nuclear weapons, but President Truman feared this would involve the Soviet Union and create the framework for a new world war. MacArthur's relations with Truman broke down. By March 1951 the prewar boundary position along the 38th parallel was established. This development encouraged Truman to ask for a cease-fire and negotiations to end the conflict. While Truman tried to secure such talks, MacArthur continued to threaten the Chinese and undercut Truman's position as commander in chief. The president responded on April 11, 1951, by relieving McArthur of his command.

Truman's decision, because of MacArthur's extreme popularity and influence, was not well received by many Americans, particularly those desiring a stronger cold war response to aggressive communist expansion. Upon his return to the United States, his first time on the mainland in 11 years, MacArthur was invited to address Congress. It was here that he gave a powerful performance, where he emotionally and famously ended his speech with the declaration, "Old soldiers never die, they just fade away."

MacArthur's considerable popular acclaim led to the belief that he would be a 1952 Republican challenger for the presidency, or at least be the vice presidential candidate on a Robert Taft ticket. His political views and a Senate investigation of his dismissal helped cool some of this enthusiasm. The successful emergence of General Dwight David Eisenhower as the Republican presidential candidate ended MacArthur's involvement in national politics.

After leaving the army, MacArthur lived in New York and became chairman of the board at the Remington Rand Corporation. He did offer military advice to presidents, if requested, and did so for John F. Kennedy, when his advice was critical of the Pentagon policies of the day. He also managed a return visit in 1961 to the Philippines, where he received further accolades, including the naming of the Pan-Philippine Highway as MacArthur Highway in his honor.

General Douglas MacArthur was one of the most highly decorated soldiers in U.S. history, holding numerous citations as well as the highest award, the Medal of Honor. He died at Walter Reed Hospital in Washington on April 5, 1964.

See also Japanese constitution (1947).

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Theodore W. Eversole

Macaulay, Herbert

(1864–1945) *Nigerian politician*

Herbert Macaulay was a Nigerian political leader, civil engineer, journalist, and musician. He was among the first Nigerians to oppose British rule in the African nation.

Macaulay's grandfather, Samuel Ajayi Crowther, was the first African bishop in Nigeria. Macaulay's father, Thomas Babington Macaulay, was also a minister and an educator. Herbert was born and educated in Lagos, one of the 12 states in present-day Nigeria. In 1881 he became a clerk for the public works department in Lagos. His abilities soon won him the respect of the government, and he was offered a scholarship to study civil engineering in England.

Returning from England three years later, Macaulay was named surveyor of the Crown lands for the

colony of Lagos. Soon, however, he became embittered by the racial inequities he saw in civil service. In 1898 Macaulay resigned his post and began his own surveying company.

Macaulay's dissatisfaction with colonial rule in Africa led him to express himself, contributing a number of articles to the Lagos *Daily Times*. Lagos and the entire Nigerian region were under the Lugard system called indirect rule. Britain established its power using extant administrative systems rather than imposing entirely new governmental institutions. Although the governments and officials were often Africans, they had no real power. British governors and primarily white legislatures made all the decisions. As a result, the leaders lost standing among their people, the people distrusted the British even more, and protests were common.

In an effort to compromise, the British marginally increased African representation. This action was partly the result of Macaulay's 1921 trip to London as a representative of the king of Lagos. Macaulay used the opportunity to denounce British rule for usurping the power of the king, or *eleko,* who Macaulay asserted was recognized by all Nigerians as their rightful ruler. In 1922 Lagos and Calabar were able to send African representatives to the legislature, but they remained in the minority. Macaulay then established the first Nigerian political party, which was able to win three seats in the legislative council in 1923.

The Nigerian National Democratic Party sought self-government for Lagos and all Nigeria, universal primary education, the building of schools, and more representation of Africans in government and civil service positions. Macaulay continued to work for these causes and in 1944 was instrumental in the formation of the National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons (NCNC). Macaulay was elected president of the NCNC. The council brought together more than 40 different factions that represented many geographical, cultural, age, and ethnic groups.

Although he is often called the father of Nigerian nationalism, Herbert Macaulay did not see Nigerian independence. He became ill in 1945 while on a speaking tour promoting the NCNC agenda. He returned to Lagos, where he died the same year. Nigeria was granted independence from Britain on October 1, 1960.

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Jean Shepherd Hamm

Madero, Francisco

(1873–1913) *Mexican president*

The president of Mexico from 1911 until 1913, Francisco Indalecio Madero González was a prominent revolutionary who was from one of the richest families in Mexico. He was born on October 30, 1873, at Parras de la Fuente, Coahuila, in northeastern Mexico. His grandfather Evaristo Madero (1828–1911), of Portuguese ancestry, had established massive plantations in the region, becoming fabulously rich and also donating large sums to fund schools and orphanages in the area.

Francisco Madero went to school in Baltimore, Maryland, and then studied in Paris, where he attended the École des Hautes Études Commerciales before studying agriculture at the University of California, Berkeley. Madero came to respect both systems of democracy and was intent on going into politics.

In 1904 Madero organized the Benito Juárez Democratic Club, with himself as the president, and they managed to get a candidate elected in the local municipal elections. In 1905 they decided to contest the next election for governor when the incumbent illegally stood for reelection and protests did not succeed in getting him ousted.

In 1908 the Mexican dictator Porfirio Díaz announced that he would not stand for reelection. He later decided that he would stand, which was unconstitutional. In 1909 Madero wrote *The Presidential Succession of 1910*, in which he argued for free and fair elections and that rules to stop incumbents from standing for reelection should be enforced. This led to the formation of the Mexican Anti-Reelectionist Center, with Madero as cofounder. This movement rapidly gained support, and Madero's enemies decided to preempt the result by having him arrested. Madero was charged with stealing a *guayule* (a crop used in rubber cultivation). He evaded the police and managed to make it to the convention of the Anti-Reelectionists, where he was chosen as their candidate for the elections. On the eve of the election, Madero was arrested, as were 6,000 other Anti-Reelectionists. Porfirio Díaz was reelected with 196 votes in the electoral college.

As soon as the elections had ended, after being released on a large bail posted by his father, Madero started a campaign against the reelection of Porfirio Díaz. On October 4, 1910, Madero fled to Laredo, Texas. On November 20, 1910, he managed to persuade the people to take up arms and topple Díaz, who, Madero claimed, had subverted the constitution. Madero also declared that the elections were null and void. He was a better political speaker than a revolutionary leader, and the small force that he brought with him from the United States into Mexico was routed. His supporters, mainly drawn from the middle class and upper-class elite, were easily rounded up. This meant that Madero had to get help from many other people, some of whom had been traditional supporters of rebellion against the government, including the men who served Francisco "Pancho" Villa. At one battle Madero held back from sending his men to attack government soldiers at the border town of Ciudad Juárez, and it was left to Pancho Villa and Pascual Orozco to order an assault. At the subsequent Treaty of Ciudad Juárez, signed on May 17, the president's representatives agreed that he would stand down and so end the civil war.

Diaz stood down on May 25, 1911, and Francisco León de la Barra became interim president. In October 1911 a presidential election was held, with Madero standing as presidential candidate. His former vice-presidential running mate, Francisco Váquez Gómez, did not like Madero's plans to stand down the revolutionary forces, and José María Pino Suárez became the new running mate. Madero easily won the elections, and on November 6, 1911, he became president.

As president, Madero introduced many reforms, including the freeing of all political prisoners and the abolition of the death penalty. He also lifted censorship of the press, although this did result in the various factions of his party managing to increase their hostility to each other. Madero allowed trade unions to organize railway workers, ending the system of giving preference to U.S. workers, and also, through a new department of labor, reduced the workday to a maximum of 10 hours and introduced regulations for the employment of women and children. His most far-reaching change in the political system was the ending of the *jefaturas politicas*, party bosses who had controlled various regions, towns, and provinces. They were replaced by nonpolitical municipal authorities who had the tasks of demobilizing the revolutionary soldiers, settling them back into the community, maintaining law and order, and overseeing local and national elections.

In October 1911 Féliz Díaz, the nephew of Porfirio Díaz, staged a revolt to overthrow Madero. In November 1911 Madero became the subject of another rebellion when Emiliano Zapata wanted a considerably more far-reaching agrarian reform program. In addition, some revolutionary soldiers felt that Madero had let them down and had not done enough for his former supporters. The economy began to stumble, and foreign companies and powerful Mexican business interests began to move against Madero. General Bernardo Reyes staged a third rebellion in December 1911, and Pascual Orozco led a rebellion in January 1912.

Finally, Madero was overthrown in February 1913 when troops led by General Victoriano Huerta fought in the streets for 10 days. Madero was telephoned with the news that his opponents had seized the National Palace and had deposed him, believed to be the first time that a head of state was telephoned to be told of his overthrow. Madero resigned on February 18, 1913, and was executed four days later. He was only 39.

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Justin Corfield

Maginot line

There was never unanimous consensus among military men about the lessons of World War I. When the adversaries of 1914–18 fought again in 1940, the Germans interpreted their experience as one that taught the need for a rapid and forceful offense. Interpreting that same conflict quite differently, France planned to fight almost purely defensively in the first stages. It would then attack the Germans, who they believed would have worn themselves out assaulting the centerpiece of French strategy, the Maginot line.

Planned in the 1920s and essentially completed by 1935, the Maginot line (named after a French minister of war) was a network of fortifications on the border between Germany, Luxembourg, and Italy. The line was designed and built to serve several purposes. First, the Maginot line would protect French industry in the Alsace-Lorraine region. Second, a strong defensive line would help the French make the

most of their available forces while mobilizing their remaining reserves. Finally, it was envisioned that the Germans would go directly for the line, allowing the French to hold them off and inflict heavy casualties. The relatively fresh French would then launch an assault of their own and defeat the Germans on their own territory.

The Maginot line was not an uninterrupted line like the trench system of World War I. Instead, it was a network of steel and concrete fortifications facing the Germans to the east and the Italians to the southeast. Each fort (commonly designated as an *ouvrage*, or work) was an independent structure; in all there were over 100 of these with additional minor fortifications. Using guns in a variety of calibers, each fort was within the range of another so they not only could fire on assaulting troops but could also cover other forts in the immediate area. To add further support, there were permanent garrisons of "interval troops," infantry units that would provide support in the areas between forts.

The forts were among the most advanced technical structures of the day. Each had large storage areas for ammunition, facilities for food supplies, command centers, fire control centers, miles of tunnels, small railroads, air-conditioning, electrical power plants, and water supplies. In addition, the guns were mounted in turrets that used a series of complex, highly advanced mechanical devices to change elevation or direction.

The line was strong, it reflected state-of-the-art technologies for the 1930s, and it even made a high degree of military sense. There were, however, drawbacks. Perhaps the most significant of these was that the line did not go all the way to the North Sea. France did not extend the line for several reasons: the expense, the unsuitability of the terrain, and the appearance that France was abandoning Belgium. In fact, the French believed that while the Maginot line was holding, the newly mobilized French forces would join with the Belgians to contain the German advance. Together, probably with British assistance, they would then advance through Belgium and eventually invade Germany. At the same time, the French made an assumption that the very northern end of the Maginot line, which stopped near the Ardennes, would be safe, as the Germans would never launch a major offensive through the rough terrain there.

Although war was declared in September 1939, there was no significant action by either side on the western front until May 1940. This period, known as the phony war, allowed the British and the French to mobilize and bring their troops to hold positions without interference by the Germans. On the morning of May 10, over 100 German divisions attacked the French, British, Belgians, and Dutch. The main German attack went through the Ardennes forests and mountains in Luxembourg, south of Liege, exactly where the French had assumed it would never take place.

Thus, the German tanks and motorized forces went around the extreme left flank of the Maginot line and straight into France. They bypassed the line and did not attack it directly until after the British evacuation from Dunkirk and the surrender of the French government. The Maginot line forts surrendered only when their mobile interval troops had retreated and they were completely surrounded.

The Germans occupied the Maginot forts but did not maintain them. They used them only briefly when the United States attacked some nearby French cities in 1944 and 1945. After the war the French army reoccupied them and used them. In the years of the cold war, they provided headquarters and communications centers that would have provided significant protection in the case of a nuclear war.

In the years between the world wars, the French were not alone in seeing the usefulness of fortifications. Although they would rely upon a highly mobile and powerful offensive, the Germans maintained two lines, one facing Poland (the East Wall) and one facing France (the West Wall, better known as the Siegfried line, which would be used in 1944 against the United States). In addition, Czechoslovakia constructed a line of defenses built with French assistance. Finally, Switzerland had built a complex of fortifications. Although not as extensive as the Maginot or German lines, it was well placed, using the mountainous terrain and command of the few lines of communications through the passes.

The Maginot line has become a symbol. On one level it represents a defense that deluded its builders into thinking they need not do anything else but rely upon what seemed to be an impenetrable defense. It has also become a symbol or a shorthand expression for all of the reasons for France's defeat in 1940.

The irony is that had it been used properly, that is, supplemented with an acute understanding of what the enemy might do and not what the French wanted them to do, it might have been a symbol of victory. As designed, the Maginot line worked. It was the rest of France's strategy that failed.

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Robert N. Stacy

Manchurian incident and Manchukuo

The Manchurian, or Mukden, incident occurred on September 18, 1931. It was a Japanese attack against China and resulted in the establishment of a Japanese puppet state, Manchukuo. This incident was, in fact, the opening of Japan's quest to conquer China that culminated in World War II in Asia.

Japan had sought to control China's northeastern provinces (Manchuria) since the Sino-Japanese War of 1894–95. As a result of its victory in that war, Japan had established a sphere of influence in southern Manchuria. It had built the Southern Manchurian Railway (SMR), which linked Mukden (or Shenyang), the administrative capital of the region, with Port Arthur, a port leased to Japan at the southern tip of the Liaodong (Liaotung) Peninsula in Manchuria. Capitalizing on China's weakness during the dying years of the Qing (Ch'ing) dynasty and the early republic, Japan had obtained extensive additional mining and other rights throughout southern Manchuria.

After 1912 this resource-rich region, which is larger than Germany and France combined, had been ruled by a Chinese bandit turned warlord named Zhang Zholin (Chang Tso-lin) and his allies, who survived by complying with Japan's demands. In 1928 Zhang Zholin, known as the Old Marshal, was assassinated by Japanese officers of the Kwantung Army stationed in Manchuria, who hoped to seize the provinces in the ensuing chaos. However, astute actions of Zhang's supporters ensured a smooth transition of power to his son Zhang Xueliang (Chang Hsueh-liang), known as the Young Marshal. The Young Marshal sponsored Chinese immigration to his sparsely populated land (approximately 30 million inhabitants in 1930) and undertook economic development projects. He also threw in his lot with the newly established Nationalist government at Nanjing (Nanking) led by Chiang Kai-shek. In 1930 Zhang led about 200,000 of his best troops to help Chiang defeat rebel warlords and remained in Beijing (Peking) to ensure stability in northern China.

Meanwhile, economic depression had discredited the civilian governments in Japan and swayed many people toward support for the growing rightist, ultranationalist movement centered among ambitious junior military officers. They formed the Society of the Cherry, the Black Dragon Society, the National Foundation Society, and others that advocated war and expansion as an answer to Japan's problems and saw conquest of Manchuria as the first step toward eventual control of all China and other Asian lands. These Japanese imperialists feared growing Chinese nationalism and the emergence of a strong and unified China and moved to prevent it.

On September 18, 1931, field grade officers of the Kwantung Army staged a minor bombing incident along the railway track of the SMR line just outside Mukden. In a well-coordinated and well-planned act, the Kwantung Army simultaneously attacked over a dozen cities in Manchuria. Other units from Japan's colony Korea soon joined the action. Too weak to resist militarily, China appealed to the League of Nations and the United States under the Kellogg-Briand Pact. Emergency sessions of the league repeatedly demanded that both sides cease military action. Both the Chinese and Japanese governments signaled compliance, but the Kwantung Army ignored orders and continued its conquest, to popular acclaim in Japan, forcing the cabinet to fall in December 1931. Japan then set up a puppet government in Manchuria, calling it Manchukuo, meaning "country of the Manchu," and enticed the last Qing emperor, Pu-i (P'u-yi), to become its chief executive and emperor in 1934.

The league dispatched an investigative mission under British diplomat Lord Lytton to Manchuria. Its report, submitted to the league in September 1932, refuted Japanese claims that its actions in Manchuria were motivated by self-defense, branded Manchukuo a puppet state that was completely controlled by Japanese military and civilian leaders, and recommended its restoration to China. The report was endorsed by the league assembly, with one dissenting vote: Japan's. Japan then resigned from the league, signaling its failure as an effective international body. In 1933 Japanese forces added another Chinese province, Rehe (Jehol), which adjoined Manchuria, to its puppet state. The United States refused to recognize Manchukuo but took no other action.

Japan's government developed Manchuria with a network of modern industries designed to furnish raw

materials and finished products to the Japanese economy. They included coal mining, iron and steel works, and manufacturing. Roads and railways were also expanded to improve the infrastructure and facilitate the transport of goods and products to Japan. Japanese immigration was encouraged, and Japanese were granted privileged status, while the Chinese were strictly and brutally controlled. Manchuria became an arsenal and a granary for Japan. War with the United States after 1941 resulted in a reduction of the flow of equipment and financing from Japan to Manchuria, causing factory production in the area gradually to grind to a halt. In defeat the Japanese overlords abandoned Pu-i and other Chinese puppets. Soviet troops poured into Manchuria as World War II ended, stripped equipment and facilities worth over 1 billion 1945 U.S. dollars, and shipped them to the Soviet Union. Japanese arms captured by the Red Army in Manchuria were later transferred to the Chinese Communist army.

See also Lytton Commission and report; Yalta Conference.

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Jiu-Hwa Lo Upshur

Manhattan Project

The Manhattan Project was a secret U.S. weapons program that applied nuclear technology to create the first atomic bombs. Although other nations, including Great Britain, Germany, the Soviet Union, and Japan, had modest nuclear research programs during World War II, only the United States had the scientific talent, industrial capability, and financial resources to successfully create, test, and eventually use the world's most powerful weapon of the time.

In December 1938 German scientists Otto Hahn, Fritz Strassmann, and Lise Mietner discovered that bombarding an atom of radioactive uranium with neutrons caused its nucleus to split, thereby releasing an enormous burst of energy. This process would come to be called nuclear fission.

The development opened up the possibility for further research into harnessing this energy to be new sources of power as well as the possibility of new, more destructive types of weapons. In the 1930s the scientific community involved in nuclear research was international in character and included contributions from both Europe and North America. By 1939 political tensions in Europe caused many scientists to congregate in the United States and Britain, including many émigrés from Germany and Italy.

Work on using nuclear fission for military applications began in Germany on April 29, 1939, when the Reich Ministry of Education convened a secret conference and created a new research program. Germany also banned the export of uranium, an essential and rare element needed for this research.

In 1939 Leo Szilard, a Hungarian émigré physicist, understood the military potential of nuclear fission and the danger if Germany harnessed this power. Szilard went to the United States to enlist the help of Albert Einstein, at that time the most famous scientist in the world. In August 1939 Einstein wrote a letter to President Franklin D. Roosevelt warning that a weapon based on nuclear fission was possible and that Germany could be in the process of constructing such a weapon. Einstein further urged the president to begin a project to develop an atomic bomb. Roosevelt responded by creating a committee to study the military implications of nuclear physics.

In December 1941, after the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, the United States went to war with Germany, Japan, and Italy. During the war the fundamental military strategy of the United States was to achieve complete victory at the lowest cost to U.S. lives. U.S. officials believed that an atomic bomb could shorten the war and reduce the number of U.S. casualties.

By early 1942 British scientists concluded that a uranium weapon was feasible. Based on these reports the secret weapons program was put under the auspices of the U.S. War Department and was code-named the Manhattan Engineer District, more commonly known as the Manhattan Project, because it originally was to be headquartered in New York City. In September 1942 army general Leslie Groves was named director. Groves soon appointed J. Robert Oppenheimer, a theoretical physicist from the University of California at Berkeley, scientific director.

The project soon encompassed a crew of over 100,000 people, involving 37 installations in 13 states, and more than a dozen university laboratories. Secrecy

was considered to be of the utmost importance. In fact, many of the scientists and engineers were given only information that immediately affected their work, and they therefore were unaware of the larger implications of their research.

On December 2, 1942, a team led by Enrico Fermi, a Nobel Prize–winning physicist émigré from Italy, created the first controlled, self-sustaining nuclear chain reaction at the University of Chicago. This proved that an atomic bomb many times more powerful than conventional weapons was possible.

The project focused on two main tasks. The first was the design of the bomb. Most of this work was done at the Los Alamos weapons lab in New Mexico under the direct supervision of Oppenheimer, who supervised the actual design and construction of the bomb. The other task, the production of nuclear fuel, was undertaken at a site in Oak Ridge, Tennessee, that focused on isolating uranium isotopes.

Although the Manhattan Project had originally been conceived to combat a potential German nuclear weapon, work on the bomb would continue after Germany surrendered on May 8, 1945. U.S. officials were determined to use the bomb against Japan in order to end the war at the earliest possible moment with the fewest casualties.

Secretary of War Henry Stimson told President Harry S. Truman that the bomb could create problems for the United States because it could not maintain a monopoly on the technology. Stimson requested that Truman convene a special committee to consider the implications of the new weapon.

Truman agreed, and the Interim Committee, made up of high-level advisers, held five meetings between May 9 and June 1, 1945. The committee debated the most effective use of the bomb in order to expedite a Japanese surrender. The committee determined that the weapon should be employed without prior warning, which would increase its psychological impact. The committee suggested that the purpose of the bomb should be to impede the Japanese capacity to wage war and to shock the Japanese with the overwhelming destructive power of the bomb.

POLITICAL IMPLICATIONS

The committee also debated the effects of the bomb on postwar international relations. Although the Soviet Union remained aligned with the United States and Great Britain, tensions between the Allies continued to grow, especially over Soviet control of Eastern Europe. The committee fully realized that the bomb could increase the already tense relationship with the Soviet Union.

The committee discussed two ways of handling the issue. The first would be to offer general information to the Soviets about the bomb in order to increase cooperation between the two allies. The other approach would be to use the bomb to gain diplomatic advantages in U.S. dealings with the Soviets, at least for the short term. The committee was opposed to even providing general information on the bomb to the Soviets and determined that the United States should work to ensure that it stayed ahead of the Soviet Union in the research and production of nuclear weapons.

Truman accepted the committee's findings. For several months Truman had delayed a conference with Joseph Stalin and Winston Churchill until after a successful test of the plutonian bomb, planned for July, believing that a successful test would improve his bargaining position. On July 16, 1945, the United States successfully exploded the first nuclear bomb in a test code-named Trinity at Alamogordo, New Mexico. The force of the bomb equaled 18,600 tons of TNT, approximately 2,000 times more powerful than the British "Grand Slam," the largest conventional bomb used in World War II.

ULTIMATUM

At the end of the conference the Allies presented an ultimatum to Japan in what is known as the Potsdam Declaration. The declaration called on Japan to unconditionally surrender to the Allies or face "prompt and utter destruction." The United States elected not to specifically refer to the atomic bomb by name.

After Japan refused to surrender, Truman made the decision to drop atomic bombs on the Japanese home islands. The Manhattan Project instituted Project Alberta, which involved the wartime delivery of the completed bomb. Research groups were sent to Tinian, an island in the Pacific, which was the base from which the planes carrying the atomic weapons would ultimately depart.

On August 6 at 8:15 a.m., the *Enola Gay*, piloted by Brigadier General Paul W. Tibbets, released a 15-kiloton uranium bomb nicknamed Little Boy 31,060 feet over the city of Hiroshima, Japan; 43 seconds later the bomb exploded 1,900 feet above the city. Witnesses reported seeing a searing flash of light, hearing a deafening roar, and feeling a massive rush of air. The 4.4 square miles surrounding the point of detonation were completely destroyed. Estimates suggest that over

60,000 people died immediately, while possibly 70,000 more were to die over the next few years, many from acute exposure to radiation.

Three days later, on August 9, *Bock's Car*, piloted by Major Charles Sweeny, dropped a 21-kiloton bomb nicknamed Fat Man on Nagasaki. Originally, the mission had been to bomb the Japanese city of Kokura, but the crew was unable to do so because of a heavy haze. Instead, the plane went to its secondary target. Estimates suggest that 38,000 were killed immediately, with an estimated 35,000 additional fatalities as a result of injuries sustained during the bombing.

In the aftermath of the bombings and the Soviet invasion of the Japanese colony of Manchuria, Emperor HIROHITO broke a deadlock in the Supreme Council to accept the Potsdam Declaration as the basis for the Japanese surrender. The sole Japanese condition was that the emperor be allowed to retain his throne as titular ruler of the people. The Japanese government accepted the terms of surrender on August 15 and formally surrendered to General DOUGLAS MACARTHUR in Tokyo Bay aboard the battleship USS *Missouri* on September 2.

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MICHAEL A. RIDGE, JR.

Mao Zedong (Mao Tse-tung)

(1893–1976) *Chinese Communist leader*

Mao Zedong was the son of a prosperous farmer from the Hunan Province in central China. After graduating from normal school he worked as a library assistant at National Beijing (Peking) University, where he came under the influence of intellectuals disillusioned with Western democracies and turned to Marxism, hailing the success of the communist revolution in Russia.

A Chinese soldier guards in Tiananmen Square, Beijing, in front of a portrait of Mao. Mao held unlimited power in post-1949 China.

Mao joined a Marxist study club organized by faculty leaders of Beijing University Chen Duxiu (Ch'en Tu-hsiu) and Li Dazhao (Li Ta-chao). In July 1921 he was one of 12 men who formed the CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY (CCP) in Shanghai; Chen was elected general secretary of the party.

In January 1923 the father of the Chinese republic, SUN YAT-SEN, formed a (First) UNITED FRONT with Soviet representative Adolf Joffe under which the Soviet Union gave advice and aid to Sun's Kuomintang (KMT, Nationalist Party) in return for admission of members of the CCP to the KMT. As a result, Mao was elected a reserve member of the Central Executive Committee of the KMT and made head of the farmers' organization in the United Front government in Canton. Mao participated in the NORTHERN EXPEDITION led by CHIANG KAI-SHEK against the warlords and helped rouse the peasants in Hunan

against the warlord regime and economic inequities. In 1927 Chiang Kai-shek purged the CCP from areas under his control. Mao escaped to the hills of Jiangxi (Kiangsi) Province in central China.

Between 1927 and 1933 Mao and other Communists who fled the Nationalist dragnet established a Chinese Soviet Republic in the hills of Jiangxi, where they implemented violent land reforms while their Red Army, under commander Zhu De (Chu Teh), fought off KMT armies sent against them. However, decisive defeats by an army personally led by Chiang forced the battered CCP to flee in the Long March, which lasted a year (1934–35). Mao consolidated his power in a conference at Zungyi (Tsungyi) during the flight and maintained it throughout the subsequent Yanan (Yenan) period of the CCP. Although Yanan's location in remote northwestern China bought the CCP time, the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War ensured its survival because it forced the KMT to call off its anti-Communist campaign and form a Second United Front. The CCP grew explosively during the eight-year war (1937–45). Mao wrote extensively during the war and mapped out strategies for future victory against the KMT.

Civil war broke out almost immediately after the defeat of Japan. After the United States failed to mediate a cease-fire, it withdrew support from the KMT government. A combination of many factors led to the KMT's defeat in 1949 and the establishment of the People's Republic of China, which Mao led as chairman of both the CCP and the government. China became allied with the Soviet Union, received Soviet aid, and followed its model of land collectivization and industrialization. Impatient to surpass the Soviet Union, Mao inaugurated in 1958 the Great Leap Forward, which dragooned the people into communes and wrecked the economy with wildly unrealistic programs. As a result, about 30 million people died in a Mao-made famine, the greatest in human history. Mao's pragmatic colleagues then forced him to give up his chairmanship of the government in 1959 and began repairing the catastrophically broken economy.

Mao fumed in impotence between 1959 and 1966, then formed a coalition with his wife, Jiang Qing (Chiang Ch'ing), young students, and army leader Lin Biao (Lin Piao) and launched the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in 1966. The student Red Guards ousted the pragmatists, wreaked havoc throughout the land, and returned Mao to power in a cult of personality that rivaled Soviet leader Joseph Stalin's. China did not begin recovery from the disastrous Cultural Revolution until the increasingly sick and senile Mao died in 1976.

See also anti-Communist encirclement campaigns, china (1930–1934); May Fourth Movement/intellectual revolution.

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Jiu-Hwa Lo Upshur

March on Rome

The October 1922 March on Rome entered into the mythology of Benito Mussolini's National Fascist Party as the moment when the Fascists conclusively demonstrated their power over the Italian government and people. In fact, they had already displayed their collective ability to destroy law and order, to undermine parliamentary rule, and to attract the support of Italians fearful either of falling out of the lower middle class or of losing their extensive property holdings pending a socialist revolution. Thus, the march symbolized the transfer of power and authority that had already occurred when the king had refused to proclaim martial law against the Fascists and had then invited Mussolini to become prime minister.

Immediately after World War I, Italians received universal suffrage. Electoral politics acquired a new tone as peasants and workers began to vote. The failure of the Popular Party and the Italian Socialists (PSI) to cooperate in the chamber of deputies, despite their shared concern for Italy's poor and working class, created an opportunity for Mussolini and fatally weakened parliamentary democracy in the country.

In the elections of 1920, the PSI had acquired control over Milan, Bologna, 25 provincial councils, and 2,200 district councils. These victories dislodged and irritated traditional elites. Some smaller landed proprietors also sympathized with the Fascist efforts to eviscerate the PSI, as many had managed to secure land only in recent years and feared that they would have it taken away. Given the notable labor strife and class conflict in urban, industrialized areas, Mussolini attracted the support of major industrialists, including Alberto Pirelli and Giovanni Agnelli (Fiat).

Meanwhile, nationalists continued to harbor bitter feelings about the government that had accepted the Treaty of Versailles, which had awarded Italy almost none of the territory that it had expected to gain upon allying with the Triple Entente during World War I. They wanted to erase memories of the snubs suffered by Italy at the hands of her erstwhile war partners. A large number of veterans and lower-ranking soldiers undertook paramilitary activities on behalf of the Fascists as well as appearing in Fascist rallies.

By late 1920 the Fascists had control over life in much of northern Italy. Local Fascist leaders such as Italo Balbo used intimidation to wrest control of cities and towns from elected socialist governments. By mid-1921 the Fascist militias were often assistants to the official police forces. Conservatives and government officials generally ignored the Fascist contributions to public violence; indeed, many appreciated the militancy and virility of the Fascists as crucial to the restoration of Italian national honor.

Mussolini adeptly shifted his rhetoric and program in the interests of retaining his new group of supporters. He virtually eliminated references to class conflict and social revolution, replacing them with evocations of the need for discipline and strong leadership in Italy. The queen mother and the duke of Aosta avidly supported the Fascist movement. He also placated the Roman Catholic Church by avoiding anticlerical rhetoric and by cultivating good relations with the new pope, Pius XI (elected in 1922), who worried about communism far more than any possible threat from the Fascists.

Having amassed such support among propertied and influential Italians, Mussolini could contemplate seizing power. This proved unnecessary, however, since the existing government had already lost control over the country. While heading to Naples for the Fascist Party Congress in late October 1922, Mussolini threatened that the Fascists would seize power following a mass march to Rome if they did not receive at least five ministerial posts. Prime Minister Facta asked the king to declare martial law in order to prevent such a march, but the king refused. Instead, he suggested a coalition government. Mussolini rejected the proposal, anticipating a complete victory if he was patient. This expectation was fulfilled on October 29, 1922, when King Victor Emmanuel asked him to form a government.

The March on Rome of approximately 30,000 Fascists thus served little practical purpose except as a celebration of having achieved power. Mussolini himself reached the outskirts of Rome by rail. Wearing a suit and walking into Rome at the head of his ill-clad band of Fascists, Mussolini looked every inch the bourgeois politician on whom the traditional elites of Italy could rely.

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Melanie A. Bailey

Marco Polo Bridge incident

See Sino-Japanese War.

Mariátegui, José Carlos

(1894–1930) *Peruvian journalist and political activist*

José Carlos Mariátegui was the founder of the Socialist Party of Peru, which was later transformed into the Communist Party of Peru. He was also one of the more influential social theorists in Latin America. José Carlos Mariátegui was born on June 14, 1894, at Moquegua, a dry, dusty town on the outskirts of the Atacama Desert, close to Peru's southern border with Chile. It was 11 years after Peru's disastrous war with its southern neighbor.

His father was Francisco Javier Mariátegui Requejo, a grandson of Francisco Javier Mariátegui (1793–1884), one of the original signatories of Peru's declaration of independence in 1821. When José Carlos Mariátegui was a young boy, his father abandoned the family and left his mother, María Amalia La Chira Ballejos, to look after the three children. They moved to Lima and then to the town of Huacho, north of Lima, close to where San Martín had proclaimed Peru's independence. When he was eight José Mariátegui suffered a bad injury to

his left leg and spent four years in a hospital in Lima. When he was 14 he started working for the newspaper *La Prensa*, initially running errands, then becoming a linotypist, and ending up as a journalist. He also found work with the magazine *Mundo Limeno*. In 1916 Mariátegui decided to leave *La Prensa* to join a new slightly left-wing daily newspaper called *El Tiempo*. By this time he had been heavily influenced by the Spanish socialist Luis Araquistán. After two years Mariátegui had sufficient confidence to leave *El Tiempo* and try to establish his own magazine but had trouble getting anybody to agree to print it. He then decided to establish his own paper, *La Razón*, which was the first avowedly socialist paper in Peru.

In May 1919 *La Razón* supported a strike held to try to get legislation restricting work to an eight-hour day. It also wanted price controls for basic goods. This rapidly began to annoy the president, Augusto B. Leguía y Salcedo, who decided to defuse the matter by forcing Mariátegui to take a government scholarship to study in Europe. As a result, Mariátegui left to go to Europe in 1920. After a brief time in France, Germany, and Austria, he moved to Italy and there married Ana Chaippe, returning to Peru in 1923.

Very soon Mariátegui was becoming well known as a Marxist and also a friend of Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre, who led the American Popular Revolutionary Alliance. Together they worked on *Claridad*, a Marxist magazine, and when Haya de la Torre was deported Mariátegui remained as editor, dedicating its fifth issue, in March 1924, to Lenin. Personal tragedy was to strike soon afterward when he had to have his left leg amputated. However, he struggled on and in the following year, 1925, wrote *La escena contemporánea* (The contemporary scene), a collection of essays on the problems facing the world at the time. In the next year he was running the magazine *Amauta*, which projected his ideas of socialism and Latin American culture throughout South and Central America. He was arrested in 1927 and placed under house arrest by Leguía.

Initially, Mariátegui planned to move to Buenos Aires or Montevideo but in the end he decided to stay in Lima, where he established the Socialist Party of Peru in October 1928, with himself as general secretary. This political party later became the Communist Party of Peru. As he was formalizing his ideas, also in 1928, Mariátegui wrote *Seven Interpretive Essays on Peruvian Reality*, which covered the social history of Peru from a Marxist standpoint. In 1928 and 1929 Mariátegui founded and edited the journal *Labor*, about the labor movement in Peru.

Mariátegui helped in the founding of the General Confederation of Peruvian Workers in 1929, and this body was represented at the subsequent Constituent Congress of the Latin American Trade Union Conference, which was held at Montevideo. Mariátegui died on April 16, 1930, from complications that resulted from his injury to his leg. He was 35 years old.

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Justin Corfield

Marshall in China (1945–1947)

George Marshall (1880–1959) was one of the architects of the Allied World War II victory in Europe. In an attempt to prevent civil war in China after victory over Japan, U.S. president Harry S. Truman appointed Marshall special ambassador to China in November 1945. He was charged with helping the Nationalist, or Kuomintang (KMT), government reestablish its authority in areas that had been controlled by Japan during the war, including Manchuria, but without involving the United States in direct military intervention. He was also to urge Nationalist leader Chiang Kai-shek to convene a national conference to establish a united democratic government, making U.S. aid to his government contingent on achieving that goal.

Marshall arrived in China's wartime capital, Chongqing (Chungking), in December 1945 and obtained agreement by both the KMT and the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) to appoint a representative each to a committee under his chairmanship that would work out the terms of cooperation. On January 10, 1946, both sides agreed to commence an immediate cease-fire, to convene a Political Consultative Conference that would work on the terms for forming a coalition government, and to work toward the integration of KMT and CCP military units into a national army. Happy with his success, Marshall returned to the United States in March, and President Truman announced the establishment of a U.S. military mission to China to help it train a national army.

Because of a history of bitter relations, the KMT and the CCP mistrusted each other, nor did either party trust Marshall, but they paid him lip service because he

represented the powerful United States. Civil war resumed in April 1946 and initially went well for the Nationalists, who announced the convening of a national assembly in November 1946 to write a constitution for the nation. The CCP immediately announced that it would boycott the national assembly. Realizing that the United States had totally failed to mediate an end to the CHINESE CIVIL WAR, Truman recalled Marshall in January 1947 and stopped most aid to China. Marshall issued a farewell message before leaving China in which he blamed both Chinese parties for the failure of his mediation. On the other hand, each Chinese party accused Marshall of partiality toward the other. The Nationalist government felt abandoned by the United States. Marshall was appointed secretary of state upon his return. He ignored the report of a fact-finding mission led by General Albert Wedemeyer concerning a continued U.S. role in China and decided on a hands-off policy in Chinese affairs. The CCP won the civil war in 1949.

See also MAO ZEDONG.

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JIU-HWA LO UPSHUR

Martí, Agustín Farabundo

(1893–1932) *El Salvadoran revolutionary leader*

Martí was born on May 5, 1893, in Teotepeque, El Salvador, a small town in the region of La Libertad. He was the sixth of 14 children born to wealthy landholding parents. His family estate consisted of two haciendas and five square miles of land. He was educated at the academy of the Silesian Fathers, excelling in both studies and sports. He graduated around 1913 and entered the National University. However, he immediately got into trouble over differences of philosophy with his professors and even challenged one of them to a duel.

Martí was exiled from the country more than once because of his radical beliefs. Some sources have Martí taking part in the Mexican Revolution as a member of the "Red Guards," but this seems to be part of the myth surrounding him. He most likely lived in Honduras and Guatemala. In 1925 he became a charter member of the organization that began communist activity in Guatemala. However, the organization's president did not want foreign leftists, so Martí was forced out.

In 1927 the government of El Salvador began to persecute Martí. While imprisoned he went on a hunger strike, and many university students rallied around him. Because of this pressure, he was released, and he went to New York in 1928. He was picked up in a police raid and decided to return to El Salvador. He returned via Nicaragua and came into contact with SANDINO's anti-American campaign. During the year he was associated with Sandino and his movement, Martí tried to convert him, unsuccessfully, to communism.

After leaving the Sandino forces, Martí went to Mexico City to visit his mother. At one point he was arrested and jailed for allegedly taking part in the coup of Daniel Flores. In 1930 Martí was in Guatemala and then returned to El Salvador in May. He was arrested and put on an enforced ocean voyage. He returned in February 1931, determined to stir up trouble. Conditions were horrible in El Salvador, and Martí took advantage to lead uprisings. He led a march on the president's house and was arrested on April 9.

After being released from jail in 1931, Martí continued his activities. He was arrested again in 1932 during an attempted major uprising. Many bombs had been found throughout the capital city, and Martí said there were many more. Because of this he was tried, found guilty, and executed by firing squad on February 1, 1932. The Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front was named after him.

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JAMES E. SEELYE, JR.

Masaryk, Tomáš Garrigue

(1850–1937) *Czechoslovakian president*

Tomáš Garrigue Masaryk (Thomas Masaryk in English) was a leading campaigner for Czech independence from

Austria-Hungary both prior to and during World War I and the first president of Czechoslovakia in 1918.

Masaryk was born in Moravia on March 7, 1850, the son of a Slovak coachman. Educated to become a teacher, Masaryk worked as a locksmith for a short time. He subsequently entered the German College at Brünn/Brno (Moravia) in 1865 and continued his studies at the University of Vienna, where he obtained a doctorate in philosophy in 1876. When studying in Leipzig for a year, he met an American student, Charlotte Garrigue, whom he married in 1878 and from whom he took his middle name. The following year Masaryk was appointed lecturer in philosophy at Vienna University. In 1882 he became a professor of philosophy at the Czech University of Prague.

Early in the same year the Austrian government had been forced to divide the former common university into a German and a Czech section, thereby offering career opportunities for Czech scholars like Masaryk.

As a philosopher, Masaryk was strongly influenced by neo-Kantianism, the British Puritan ethics, and the teachings of the Czech Hussites. Simultaneously, Masaryk showed a lifelong critical interest in the frictions of modern capitalism. His first major works were devoted to suicide in modern civilization as well as to the Czech Reformation and the Czech national revival of the first half of the 19th century.

Masaryk founded two scientific periodicals, one of which he transformed into a political review in 1889. This was the beginning of his political career. In this early phase his attention was devoted to the Slovaks in the Kingdom of Hungary. By criticizing the outdated policy of many Slovak politicians, he became the idol of the younger progressives in Slovakia. Deeply impressed by contemporary ideas of full democracy, Masaryk became increasingly estranged from the conservative and Catholic concept of the so-called Old Czech Party. He distanced himself from this party's deep loyalty toward the Habsburg monarchy and sided with the liberal Young Czech Party.

As a member of the Austrian parliament, the Reichsrat, Masaryk represented first the radical Young Czechs, but he soon disagreed with their emotional nationalism and resigned his seat in 1893, only two years after his election. In the spring of 1900, he founded his own moderate Realist Party. Both parties, however, were determined to achieve the creation of an independent Czech state. After his reelection to the Reichsrat, Masaryk became the outstanding figure of the Slav opposition to the government of Emperor Franz Josef. Masaryk, as a parliamentarian, made himself a name as a sharp opponent of Austria-Hungary's alliance with imperial Germany. He defended the rights of the Croats and Serbs, who had come under heavy pressure after Austria-Hungary had formally annexed Bosnia-Herzegovina in 1908.

With the outbreak of World War I in August 1914, Masaryk fled to Geneva, Switzerland, in December 1914 and then onward to London the following March. In western Europe Masaryk was recognized as the spokesman and representative of what he called the underground Czech liberation movement. He worked tirelessly to encourage and then commit Allied support for the creation of a Czech state following the war. While staying in London, he cofounded the Czechoslovak National Council, located in Paris. Masaryk's private and scientific acquaintances in France and Great Britain helped him to get in contact with leading Allied politicians. With their assistance Masaryk was able to propagate the Czech war aims: the restitution of Bohemia's historical independence, which the Habsburgs had curtailed after the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648); the establishment of a union between the Czechs and the Slovaks; and the dismemberment of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy in favor of new states to be created according to ethnic principles.

Throughout the war Masaryk worked closely with fellow Czech independence campaigner Eduard Beneš. The latter attended to political negotiations among the Allies, while Masaryk functioned in a more ambassadorial capacity. After the breakdown of the czarist monarchy in Russia in the spring of 1917, Masaryk transferred his headquarters to Russia. Shortly after the Russian Revolution Masaryk set out for the United States.

Czech and Slovak groups of emigrants there welcomed him as the recognized negotiator of Czechoslovak future independence. Negotiations with President Woodrow Wilson and his secretary of state, Robert Lansing, were successful, resulting in the Lansing Declaration of May 1918. This declaration expressed the sympathy of the Wilson government with the Czechoslovak freedom movement and supported the formation of an independent Czech state after the conclusion of the war.

ALLIED POWER

On June 3, 1918, the Allied governments recognized the Czechoslovak state as an Allied power. The frontiers of this future state were demarcated according to Masaryk's proposals. Masaryk concluded the so-called

Pittsburgh Convention with the Slovak associations existing in the United States. This agreement promised the Slovaks a large measure of home rule and played a decisive role in the Czech-Slovak union in 1918–19.

The collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Empire in late October 1918 led to a firm commitment from the Allied governments to the immediate creation of a new state, Czechoslovakia, in mid-November. Masaryk was elected the new country's first president on November 14, 1918. He was reelected in 1920, 1927, and 1934. During the war Masaryk had promised that the new state would respect the minority rights of its numerous Hungarian and German ethnic groups.

Masaryk was one of the first leading European politicians to publicly express his anxiety over the future of Europe after Adolf Hitler came to power in Germany in January 1933. Aged 85, Masaryk resigned his post as president of the republic in December 1935 and died nearly two years later, on September 14, 1937. He was succeeded by Beneš. Masaryk's son Jan served as foreign minister in the Czechoslovak government in exile (1940–1945) and in the governments of 1945 to 1948.

Although deeply involved in political fighting during the last 45 years of his life, Masaryk also wrote two monumental books before World War I. In a study on Marxism published in 1898, he dealt with the contradictions of both socialism and capitalism. In a book titled *Russia and Europe* he provided a survey of Russia's crises with respect to social, intellectual, and religious problems. Masaryk opposed racial prejudice, as shown by his publicly defending a Jew falsely accused of ritual murder. During the 1930s Masaryk's Czechoslovakia was one of the few European countries that accepted refugees of various political orientations. A huge number of refugees from Germany, Austria, and the Soviet Union found shelter in Czechoslovakia, especially in the capital, Prague.

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Martin Moll

May Fourth Movement/ intellectual revolution

In 1919 a student-led protest movement became the catalyst for an intellectual revolution in China. On May 4th, 1919, thousands of university students in the Chinese capital city, Beijing (Peking), gathered outside Tiananmen (Gate of Heavenly Peace) to protest the terms of the Treaty of Versailles that would transfer Germany's sphere of influence in Shandong (Shantung) province to Japan. They targeted the perfidy of the great powers and burned down the residence of a leading Chinese official, accusing the corrupt warlord-dominated government of selling out China's interests. The arrest of some students led to a brief boycott of classes. News of the incident spread to 200 other cities where students organized into unions and rallied local merchants, workers, and citizens to join a general strike and boycott of Japanese goods. The ensuing unrest led to widespread confrontations with police and mass arrests but resulted in the resignation of pro-Japanese cabinet ministers and China's refusal to sign the peace treaty with Germany. The immediate goals of the May Fourth protests were thus achieved.

The term *May Fourth Movement* first appeared in an article by Luo Jialun (Lo Chia-luen), a student leader at the National Beijing University, published in a journal named *The Weekly Review*. In Luo's words the movement "represented the spirit of sacrifice on the part of the students, . . . and the spirit of self-determination on the part of the Chinese nation." As the first mass patriotic demonstration organized and led by youthful students, it was a landmark event in 20th-century Chinese history.

During the following decades the May Fourth Movement came to denote a broader phenomenon in China's response to the challenges of the modern world. The political chaos and diplomatic weakness that followed the republican revolution of 1911 and growing Japanese imperialism exhibited in its Twenty-one Demands in 1915 that aimed at making China a Japanese protectorate had created a deep sense of urgency among modern educated young Chinese. In 1917 Cai Yuanpei (Ts'ai Yuan-p'ei), a distinguished scholar who had attained the highest Chinese degree and also studied in Germany, was appointed president of National Beijing University. Cai insisted on academic freedom and built up a strong and diverse faculty that attracted China's brightest students who became leaders of the intellectual revolution.

The faculty journal *New Youth* and student journal *New Tide* became the beacons of new thought and intel-

The Forbidden City in Beijing (Peking), China, in the early 20th century: Central government policy has been at odds with the values of the May Fourth Movement, which have survived to the present.

lectual debate that included such subjects as Social Darwinism and Marxism, the writings of John Dewey and Bertrand Russell, and the importance of the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia. They attacked outmoded traditions rooted in Confucianism and advocated language and other reforms in Chinese society, including the status of women. The broadened quest for reforms that lasted into the 1920s was also called the New Culture Movement, the Chinese Renaissance, or the Chinese Enlightenment.

The most visible success of this movement was the replacement of the stilted classical written style with vernacular Chinese that was led by Chen Duxiu (Ch'en Tu-hsiu), who later was a founder of the Chinese Communist Party, and Hu Shi (Hu Shih), who remained committed to Western liberalism. The language reforms helped to spread literacy and mass education and the development of new literary genres that brought China into the mainstream of modern world literature. The intellectual revolution brought about the introduction of Western methodologies of critical reasoning to the social and natural sciences. It also advocated individual freedoms and the democratic values of the West.

A parting of ways took place among the activists after the tumultuous events of 1919 subsided. While many of the Western-oriented liberal intellectuals resumed their academic pursuits, the radicals turned toward Marxism and the model of Russia's Bolshevik Revolution. With the encouragement of representatives of the Comintern (Third Communist International), several faculty members of National Beijing University and some students and their allies formed the Chinese Communist Party in 1921. Other patriotic youths turned to Dr. Sun Yat-sen, founder of the Chinese Republic, who responded to the changes by reorganizing his Nationalist Party, or Kuomintang. The Nationalist and Communist Parties would first coalesce and then split in 1927 to become locked in a life-and-death struggle for control of China that would last throughout the 20th century.

During the 20th century efforts to implement the goals of the May Fourth Movement met countless obstacles. In China after 1949, supporters of its goals suffered grievously during numerous campaigns launched by the Communist Party. Nevertheless, the values it expounded have survived to the present, and its memories have been selectively invoked during the commemorations of the movement to the present in both the People's Republic of China and the Republic of China. During the war of resistance against Japanese aggression (1937–45), May 4th was celebrated as National Youth Day; it is still designated as Youth Day

in the People's Republic of China. On its 70th anniversary in 1989, students gathered at Tiananmen Square in Beijing and hoisted the twin banners "Mr. Science" and "Mr. Democracy," slogans first raised by Chen Duxiu in 1918. Since the 1980s there has been growing interest in the study of Hu Shi, the preeminent liberal thinker of the May Fourth era; Hu had earlier been harshly criticized by the regime of the People's Republic. Ironically, Confucius, once the target of attacks by radicals among the May Fourth intellectuals and later consigned to "the dustbin of history" by Maoist extremists during the Cultural Revolution, is once again honored as China seeks to remake its image in the 21st century.

See also Shandong Question (1919).

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Jiu-Fong L. Chang

Mexican constitution (1917)

To many modern Mexicans the Mexican constitution of 1917 is an important document in their history, one that embodies the values of the Mexican Revolution. It was the fourth constitution written for Mexico, and its inception occurred under the leadership of Venustiano Carranza, president of Mexico from 1917 to 1920. It established sweeping reforms in regard to land distribution and labor, severely curtailed the power and autonomy of the Catholic Church, guaranteed the rights of Mexican citizens, and sanctioned a federal system and balance of powers. Since 1917 the constitution has been ignored, changed, and reinterpreted many times depending on the leadership and political climate, with a total of 350 amendments added to it.

Carranza initiated the creation of the 1917 constitution to bolster his claims that he would transform the ideals of the revolution into actual practice. In January 1915 Carranza embarked on a campaign to prepare Mexico for a new constitution. In his capacity as first chief during the preconstitutional period (1915 and 1916), he decreed in September 1916 that elections would be held the following month in every Mexican city and town to elect delegates to the constituent congress, which would draft the constitution. Many regional leaders and revolutionaries loyal to Carranza but dedicated to implementing the ideology of the revolution to the point of radicalism were elected to the congress.

The constituent congress convened in November 1916 in the town of Querétaro, the location of Emperor Maximilian's execution in June 1867. Given only two months to draft the document, the delegates quickly focused on the task at hand. The moderate liberals of the delegation found themselves head to head with many of the revolution's military leaders. These men attacked the Catholic Church first, focusing on its role in education and proposing article 3, which barred the church from primary education and secularized private institutions. After a spirited debate coupled with powerful speeches, the radicals passed article 3, alarming Carranza. He sent General Alvaro Obregón to the congress in hopes that he would moderate the leftists. Instead, Obregón threw his powerful military and political weight behind Múgica and the other reformers.

The delegates went on to propose several articles to the constitution characterized by sweeping social and economic reform. Article 27 proposed radical new land policies that reversed Díaz's policy of encouraging foreign investment and land ownership. Article 27 attempted to restore national sovereignty by making these restrictions retroactive, allowing the president to seize land and property held by foreign owners. This opened the door for peasant communities to petition for the return of lands lost to large estates.

The relationship between the church and the state was the subject of more than one article of the Constitution of 1917. Besides article 3, which excluded the church from education, articles 27 and 130 stripped the church of much of its power in Mexico. Barred from holding or administering property, the church lost a significant portion of its revenues used to support charitable works. Clergy members could no longer vote, hold political office, or assemble for political purposes. Múgica and his supporters introduced article 130 at the very end of the constituent congress when delegates were weary of debate. Some scholars cite fatigue in the passing of the severe anticlerical provisions, as the vote was taken at 2:00 a.m. on the final meeting day of the congress.

Labor also took center stage on the radical agenda for the new constitution. Article 5 ended the system of debt peonage, the misery of many poor Mexican workers. Article 123 organized labor by authorizing labor unions and the right to strike. It also put in place several regulations to protect workers, especially women and children. It established an eight-hour day with one day of rest per week. Women and children were barred from working after 10:00 P.M., children less than six years old were forbidden to work, and those under 16 could only work six-hour days. Wages had to be paid in cash, and a minimum wage was set.

The constitution of 1917 set up a framework for radical change in Mexico. However, it also granted the president great power, and Carranza ignored many of its reforms. The provisions set forth by the constituent congress would take almost the entire 20th century to be implemented, and some would never be fully realized. The administration of LÁZARO CÁRDENAS, from 1934 to 1940, did the most work on realizing the ideals of the constitution, especially in regard to land reform, labor, and education. After 1940 some articles were deemphasized, such as article 27, which discouraged foreign investments. Despite such permutations of the constitution of 1917, it remains an important document in Mexico's modern history that cleared the way for considerable social and economic reform.

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KATHLEEN LEGG

Mexican Revolution (1910–1920)

In one of the most violent, chaotic, and consequential events in modern Latin American history, from 1910 to 1920 Mexico was convulsed in a massive social revolution and civil war. The first major social revolution in postcolonial Latin America, the Mexican Revolution arose from complex origins and bequeathed an equally complex legacy. The origins of the revolution can be traced to two major trends from the late 19th century, both set in motion under the dictatorship of Porfirio Díaz (the PORFIRIATO, 1876–1910) that transformed the country's economy and society in far-reaching ways. Both trends resulted from rapid capitalist development combined with the oligarchic nature of Porfirian politics. These two trends gave the revolution its dual character as both a middle-class revolt and a mass popular uprising.

The first trend was the process by which capitalist development fostered the formation of an emergent middle and professional class that was systematically shut out of the nation's political life by the Porfirian oligarchy. Thus, the revolution began in 1910 as a middle-class revolt against the corrupt Díaz dictatorship, led by the wealthy landowner FRANCISCO MADERO under the slogan "no reelection." In essence, this emergent middle and professional class, represented by Madero and other reformers, sought a greater political voice and an opening up of the political system, in keeping with classical liberal democratic principles. The second trend had its roots in the countryside, where the great majority of Mexicans (around 90 percent) resided. This was the process of land concentration and related forms of rural oppression, which resulted in growing landlessness, poverty, hunger, and destitution among the rural majority. Thus, when Madero launched his revolt against Díaz in 1910, it opened up an opportunity for the rural poor to press their claims and vent their accumulated grievances, principally the return of the lands that had been taken from them in the previous decades and the exaction of retribution against abusive local powerholders. These were the origins of the revolution's popular, agrarian impulse, epitomized in the figure of EMILIANO ZAPATA and his slogan "Land and Liberty." These twin engines of revolution—a middle- and professional-class reformist impulse and a lower-class, agrarian, social-revolutionary impulse—combined to make the Mexican Revolution both a political revolt from above and a social revolution from below. The complex sequence of events from 1910 to 1920 reflects these dual and often contradictory impulses.

The most important of these events can only be summarized in capsule form here. The rigged elections of June 21, 1910, swept the 79-year-old Porfirio Díaz into his final term in office. On October 5 in San Antonio, Texas, Francisco Madero, recently released from jail, proclaimed himself in revolt against Díaz in his

Plan of San Luis Potosí, a reformist document calling for a return to the principles of the 1857 constitution. In May 1911 the combined forces of Madero, Pascual Orozco, and Pancho Villa defeated Díaz's federal troops in the border city of Ciudad Juárez. In accord with the provisions of the Treaty of Ciudad Juárez, Díaz resigned; his foreign secretary, Francisco León de la Barra, became interim president (May–November 1911). On October 1, 1911, Madero was elected president. He served for 15 months (November 1911–February 1913). His presidency was largely a failure, his moderate reforms placating neither hardline Porfiristas nor agrarian radicals like Zapata and Orozco. On February 18, 1913, Madero was overthrown by one of his leading generals, the conservative Victoriano Huerta, following the the Decena Trágica (Tragic Ten Days), a destructive battle in Mexico City between Porfiristas and Maderistas—an overthrow made possible by the "Pact of the Embassy" between Huerta and U.S. ambassador Henry Lane Wilson. Huerta, reputed for his cruelty and hard drinking, ruled for the next 17 months (February 1913–July 1914). His regime, whose policies garnered the animosity of the United States, was overthrown by the constitutionalists under Venustiano Carranza following the U.S. occupation of the port city of Veracruz, which had begun on April 21, 1914.

The three years following Huerta's ouster were the most chaotic of the revolution, with several major and scores of minor armies wreaking havoc across the country. The most prominent figures included Pancho Villa and Pascual Orozco in the north; Zapata in the south; and the constitutionalists Carranza, Plutarco Calles, and Alvaro Obregón. In December 1914 Villa and Zapata briefly occupied Mexico City. Five months later—in April 1915—came the most famous military engagement of the war: the Battles of Celaya (in the state of Querétaro, April 6–7 and 13–15), in which Villa's cavalry, estimated at more than 25,000 strong, was nearly destroyed by Obregón's entrenched forces (Obregón was a keen student of European trench warfare). The battles' outcome heralded the rising fortunes of Carranza and the constitutionalists. Villa, his army severely weakend, retreated northward. After the United States recognized Carranza as Mexico's legitimate head of state in October 1915, Villa staged a series of anti-U.S. reprisals, most famously his raid of Columbus, New Mexico, on March 9, 1916, in which his forces killed 18 U.S. citizens and looted and burned the town. The United States responded with Pershing's Punitive Expedition, in which General John J. Pershing led some 6,000 U.S. troops into the northern Mexican deserts in pursuit of Villa. The expedition, which cost $130 million, failed and withdrew from Mexico in January 1917. Meanwhile, in the south the Zapatistas continued their guerrilla campaign against the Carranza government, which had not endorsed Zapata's Plan of Ayala demanding agrarian reform.

In November 1916 Carranza and the constitutionalists, entrenched in Mexico City, convened a constitutional convention in the city of Querétaro. Excluding Villistas, Zapatistas, Huertistas, and others, the meetings eventually produced the constitution of 1917, which governs Mexico to the present day. In March 1917 Carranza was elected president of Mexico, an office he assumed on May 1. Several months earlier, in January 1917, Carranza had been approached by the German ambassador with a proposal to ally with Germany in a war against the United States (following his instructions in the famous Zimmermann Telegram, sent January 16, 1917, by the German foreign secretary Arthur Zimmermann). Carranza refused the offer, but the telegram, intercepted by the British, is often cited as hastening U.S. entry into World War I.

With the formation of a constitutional, U.S.-recognized government in Mexico City, the most violent years of the revolution were drawing to a close. While fighting still raged across much of the country, by this time many Mexicans had wearied of the violence. In the south the Zaptistas put up a stiff resistance against Carrancista forces sent down to suppress their armies. In early 1919 Carranza dispatched a hit squad to Morelos to assassinate Zapata, which it did on April 10. A year later, on May 21, 1920, Carranza himself fell to an assassin's bullet, leaving the presidency open to Obregón, one of whose allies had pulled the trigger.

When the revolution began in 1910, Mexico was home to an estimated 15 million people; 10 years later that number had dropped to an estimated 14 million. In other words, between 1 and 2 million Mexicans died during this "age of violence," while an additional quarter million or more migrated north to the United States—marking the origins of many Mexican-American communities in major U.S. cities like Detroit, Chicago, and others. After 1917 the revolutionary regime, dominated by elites from the northern state of Sonora (especially Obregón, Calles, and Adolfo de la Huerta), entrenched itself in power. Through the 1920s the revolutionary state became increasingly institutionalized and its policies increasingly conservative. It retained power despite frequent flare-ups of violence, most notably the Cristero Revolt of 1926–29, sparked by the Catholic Church's disgruntlement with the

constitution's anticlerical provisions, in which an estimated 80,000 people died.

The revolution bequeathed a complex legacy, not only in Mexico but across the hemisphere. Radicalizing an entire generation of politicians, intellectuals, labor leaders, and activists, it also helped to create a new narrative of Mexican history that put Indians and mestizos at the center of the nation's past (as seen most graphically in the public murals of Diego Rivera), while contributing to the erosion of traditional bonds of deference and relations of domination-subordination that had been so central to the country's postconquest history. It also largely failed to deliver on the promise of agrarian reform, at least in the short term. Of the revolution's twin engines of a politically disenfranchised rising middle class and an impoverished agrarian sector, the former essentially triumphed—expressed most concretely in the dominance of the Sonorans and the formation in 1929 of the predecessor to the PRI (Institutional Revolutionary Party), a political party that was (and remains) "revolutionary" in name only, that dominated the country's politics in a "one-party democracy" for most of the 20th century. It was not until the presidency of Lázaro Cárdenas (1934–40) that popular demands for agrarian reform were largely met.

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Michael J. Schroeder

Mitsui and Mitsubishi, Houses of

Before the conclusion of World War II, Mitsui and Mitsubishi were two of the four major *zaibatsu* (family-centered banking and industrial combines) in Japan; the others were Sumitomo and Yasuda. The term *zaibatsu* refers to a particular economic and social arrangement characteristic of large capitalist enterprises in Japan in the 19th and first half of the 20th centuries. Each *zaibatsu* was controlled by a single family that owned companies in many different spheres of economic activity, including banking and industry. The *zaibatsu* developed after the Meiji restoration in 1868, when the government wanted to encourage industrial development. The *zaibatsu* were a very strong economic and political force in early 20th-century Japan. For instance, in 1937 most heavy industry and one-third of all bank deposits in Japan were directly controlled by the four major *zaibatsu*. After Japan's surrender in World War II, the Allied occupation authorities ordered the *zaibatsu* dissolved. This meant that officially individual companies were freed from the control of their parent companies. However, many reformed their ties later in a less-formal arrangement, so some aspects of the control and coordination of the *zaibatsu* lived on in reality if not in law.

MITSUI

Mitsui is one of the largest publicly traded companies in contemporary Japan. The origins of Mitsui date back to the House of Mitsui, a merchant house of the Tokugawa

The House of Mitsui began with Mitsui Takatoshi, who opened a number of successful textile shops in Edo, Japan, depicted above.

period (1603–1867). Mitsui is thus the oldest of the four leading *zaibatsu* of early 20th-century Japan. The history of the House of Mitsui begins with the enterprises of Mitsui Takatoshi (1622–94), who opened a number of successful textile shops in Edo (Tokyo) and Kyoto.

He later expanded his enterprises into financial services, including moneylending. In 1691 members of the Mitsui family were granted the status of *gyo shonin* (chartered merchants) by the shogunate, which gave them considerable influence within the government. The Mitsui family drew up a "constitution" in 1694, detailing matters such as the duties of the family council and the amount of property due each branch of the family; these arrangements remained in force into the 20th century. In 1876 the Mitsui bank became the first private bank in Japan. Minomura Rizaemon (1821–77), an orphan who worked his way upto the top position in the Mitsui exchange brokerage, became president of the Mitsui bank and helped launch Mitsui into other enterprises that allowed it to succeed in the changing financial world of modern Japan.

The Mitsui family owned more than 270 companies by the end of World War II. Although the Mitsui *zaibatsu* was officially broken up in 1946, many of the companies involved formed themselves into *keiretsu* in the 1950s. The name *Mitsui* means "three wells," and the three wells are represented in the company logo.

MITSUBISHI

The Mitsubishi group's origins lie with Yataro Iwasaki (1835–85), who founded the shipping firm the Mitsubishi Commercial Company in 1873. This company grew to be Japan's largest shipping firm, partly due to financial assistance from the Meiji government. The second and third heads of Mitsubishi were family members: Yataro was succeeded by his brother, then by his son. The family expanded into many industries, including coal mining, shipbuilding, banking, insurance, paper, steel, oil, and real estate. In 1893 the holding company Mitsubishi, Ltd., was created to organize these diverse business interests. The principal arms of the company in the early 20th century were (1) Mitsubishi Bank, founded in 1919 and currently part of Mitsubishi UFJ Financial Group, the largest bank in Japan; (2) Mitsubishi Corporation, founded in 1893, which provides internal financing; and (3) Mitsubishi Heavy Industries, which includes the photographic equipment company Nikon and the Mitsubishi Motor Corporation. Mitsubishi was an important military contractor during World War II, building warships and the Zero aircraft used in the attack on Pearl Harbor in 1941.

After the *zaibatsu* were required to disband in 1946, the companies forming the Mitsubishi *zaibatsu* became independent entities. However, some voluntarily recombined after the outbreak of the Korean War and formed a *keiretsu* known as the Mitsubishi group.

The name *Mitsubishi* means "three diamonds" and is not a family name. Rather, it refers to the three stacked diamonds of Yataro Iwasaki's family crest, which appear in the Mitsubishi trademark.

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Sarah Boslaugh

Mongolian People's Republic

During the Q'ing (Ching) dynasty in China (1644–1911) Mongolia had been a part of the Chinese Empire under a theocratic government, with the ruler, the Jebtzun Damba (Living Buddha), acknowledged as the Bogd Khan (Holy King). During the Chinese revolution of 1911, the status of Mongolia was briefly in doubt until in May 1915 the Treaty of Kyakhta, signed by Chinese, Russian, and Mongolian officials, granted Mongolia limited autonomy.

During the Russian Revolution in October 1917 and the subsequent Russian Civil War, Xu Shucheng (Hsü Shu-Cheng), a Chinese warlord, sent his soldiers into the area and captured Urga (modern-day Ulan Bator) in 1919. Two years later the White Russians were decisively defeated in western Russia, retreated to Siberia, and took over Mongolia, occupying Urga on February 4. Seeing the White Russians as a potential long-term army of occupation, some Mongolians contacted the Bolsheviks. This allowed the Mongolians under Damdin Sükhbaatar to take over Urga with

the aid of Russian Communists. Soon afterward the White Russian leader, Baron von Ungern-Sternberg, who claimed to be a reincarnation of Genghis Khan, was shot, and Sükhbaatar helped form the Mongolian People's Party, the first political party in the country, with Soliyn Danzan as the first chairman of the party's central committee. Sükhbaatar met Vladimir Lenin in November 1921, and in January 1922 serfdom was abolished throughout Mongolia. These moves gave great impetus to the proclamation of the Mongolian People's Republic on November 26, 1924, making it the second Communist nation in the world. The capital was then renamed Ulan Bator (Red Hero).

After the death of Lenin, Joseph Stalin was initially more anxious to assert his control over the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, allowing Mongolia some independence. However, by the late 1920s Stalin began to assert some control over the country through the renamed Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party. Stalin eventually found a willing ally in Khorloogiin Choibalsan (or Choybalsan). Born in 1895 at Tsetsenkhan Aimak, a village near a town that bears his name, Choibalsan was a monk who turned to politics. He had been a leader in a pro-Communist Mongolian revolutionary group as early as October 1919 and had supported Sükhbaatar's formation of the Mongolian People's Party. When the Bogd Khan died in May 1924, Choibalsan did not allow the discovery of his new reincarnation to take place. In that year Choibalsan became commander in chief of the Mongolian army, a post he held until 1928, and he was appointed chairman of the presidium of the state little hural (the parliament) in January 1929. In 1930 Choibalsan became the minister of foreign affairs. Choibalsan helped introduce land reform, and land seized from landlords was handed over to peasants or turned into cooperatives.

On December 27, 1933, the Japanese puppet state Manchukuo officially claimed sovereignty over Mongolia. The Japanese were anxious to expand their control in the region, and several Mongolian princes had been persuaded to move to Japan many years earlier. One of them, Prince Kanjurab, had been married to Yoshiko Kawashima, a member of the Qing (Ch'ing) imperial family and a Japanese agent who was rapidly emerging as one of the most powerful people in Manchukuo.

In November 1934 the chairman of the council of people's commissars, Peljidiyn Genden, negotiated a military alliance between Mongolia and the Soviet Union. Soon afterward Genden was executed, suspected of being a Japanese spy. Choibalsan became marshal in 1936 and in 1939 took Genden's position as the chairman of the council of people's commissars, which became the council of ministers in 1946. In 1939 Choibalsan signed a Soviet-Mongolian mutual assistance treaty, sending Mongolian soldiers to help the Red Army when they faced the Japanese in several engagements along the Soviet Union's border with Japanese-occupied China. It was the stiff resistance that the Japanese faced at the Battle of Halhyn-gol that convinced the Japanese high command not to attack the Soviet Union but to proceed with plans to invade Southeast Asia.

In 1944 the small autonomous state of Tannu Tuva decided to officially become a part of the Soviet Union. Most of its people were Mongolian. Salchack Toka, the nominal leader of Tannu Tuva, met Choibalsan to try to persuade him to bring Mongolia into the Soviet Union. However, Choibalsan refused. He even sent 80,000 Mongolian soldiers into Inner Mongolia hoping to exploit the Japanese military weaknesses toward the end of the Pacific war but was forced to withdraw them after demands from the Soviet Union on behalf of its Chinese Communist allies.

At Yalta in February 1945, the United States and Great Britain agreed that Mongolia should belong to the Soviet sphere of influence—in the previous year U.S. vice president Henry Wallace had visited Ulan Bator. A plebiscite was held on October 20, 1946, in which nearly all the people voted for Mongolian "independence." Nationalist China was forced to waive any claims to Mongolia and recognized the Mongolian People's Republic on January 5, 1946. Choibalsan died on January 26, 1952. Choibalsan is commemorated by a town in eastern Mongolia built during his rule in his honor, and also Choibalsan State University, founded in Ulan Bator in 1942.

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Justin Corfield

Moroccan crises

There were two major crises involving France and Germany over the control of Morocco prior to World War I. France's interest in Morocco steadily increased after it took over neighboring Algeria in 1830. Having not unified until 1870, Germany came late to the

imperial game and had to content itself with attempting to secure territories that had not already been taken by other European imperial powers, particularly Britain and France. By the turn of the century, Morocco was one of the few African nations that had not been taken over by European powers, and the Germans were therefore interested in it. Although it purported to be neutral on the Moroccan issue, Britain had secretly agreed to French expansion into the area during negotiations resulting in the beginning of the Entente Cordial in 1904.

The Tangier Crisis was the first clash between France and Germany. In 1905 Kaiser Wilhelm II visited Tangier, where he proclaimed his support for an independent Morocco. This provocation irritated the French government and raised public anger toward Germany. The Moroccan sultan of the Alawi dynasty, seeking to prolong his rule, announced his support for an international conference that he hoped would result in Morocco's maintaining its independence. In 1906 13 nations, including the United States, gathered at the Algeciras Conference in southern Spain. The Spanish already had small holdings in northern Morocco around the city of Ceuta. The Spanish and French subsequently agreed to separate spheres of influence in Morocco. After protracted negotiations France was granted special status in Morocco, although it pledged to respect German interests. Secretly, Britain, fearing Germany's growing naval strength, reiterated its support for the French in Morocco. Sultan Abd al-Hafid (r. 1908–13) objected, but France continued to expand its control over Morocco's finances.

A small crisis, the so-called Casablanca Affair, broke out in 1908 when the French captured three German deserters from the French foreign legion while they were in the custody of the German consul, in violation of conventional international law. Germany protested, and the matter was referred to the Hague Tribunal. Under the following Franco-German accord, Germany briefly accepted the special position of France but gained some economic concessions.

In 1911 France moved troops deep into Morocco and took the major city of Meknes. A second major crisis erupted when the Germans reacted by deploying a gunboat, the *Panther*, off the coast of the port city of Agadir in southern Morocco. The British government publicly stated its support for France and even threatened Germany with possible war. Subsequent negotiations resulted in Germany's gaining a small piece of territory in French Equatorial Africa (in the present-day Republic of the Congo) and France's keeping its favored position in Morocco, by far the more important of the two territories.

France established a full protectorate over Morocco in the Treaty of Fez in 1912. The sultan was forced to sign the French terms, and Marshal Louis Hubert Lyautey was appointed the first French resident general of Morocco. France retained control until it granted Moroccan independence in 1956. The French and German rivalry over Morocco added to the mounting tensions among European nations and was a contributing factor to the outbreak of World War I in 1914.

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Janice J. Terry

motion picture industry

The motion picture industry can be traced back to the 1890s, when Kennedy Laurie Dickson, the chief engineer at the Edison Laboratories, was credited with making celluloid strips containing a sequence of images that, when projected, would show movement. Thomas Edison himself developed this further, and in 1893 at the Chicago World's Fair he introduced the Kinetograph, the first moving picture camera, and the Kinetoscope, which used a continuous loop of Dickson's film. The Kinetoscope spread successfully around the United States and Europe. British and European inventors did work on similar systems. Work in Britain was pioneered by Robert William Paul and his partner Birt Acres. In France Auguste and Louis Lumière invented the cinematographe—a portable motion picture camera, film processing unit, and projector all in one piece of equipment—which quickly became one of the most manufactured items in France.

Until the late 1920s the producers were unable to capture sound and synchronize it with the film, so the early films were known as silent movies, whereby the film was played and sometimes live musicians and live sound effects were used, including human voices off stage. The words of the film appeared on screen, being part of the film itself.

Georges Méliès, a Paris stage magician, started shooting and exhibiting films from 1896, many of his works being science fiction, with *A Trip to the Moon* (1902) the first film to portray space travel. Gradually, there were films lasting up to 15 minutes, with Edwin

S. Porter becoming an early director for *Life of an American Fireman* (1903) and the first "western" movie, *The Great Train Robbery* (1903). The first full-length movie was *The Story of the Kelly Gang* (1906), which was made in Australia and ran for 80 minutes. Filmed mostly at Rosanna, on the outskirts of Melbourne, Australia, it told the story of the Australian bushranger Ned Kelly and was made by the Tait brothers, costing them £400 to make and netting them over £25,000. It was shown all over Australia to packed audiences and was also shown in some places overseas. As with many films, it tells the story of an event, although on many occasions it is not a reliable account of the actual historical event. Very little of the film has survived, although a large number of "stills" were released at the time, which, together with newspaper reviews, allow historians to analyze the film in considerable detail. It was later reissued as *Ned Kelly and His Gang* with some extra scenes included.

The next major films came out in Europe with *Queen Elizabeth,* produced in France in 1912, *Quo Vadis?* in Italy in 1913, and *Cabiria* in Italy in 1914. Soon longer films started to be produced in the United States with *The Birth of a Nation* (1915) and *Intolerance* (1916), both directed by D. W. Griffith (1875–1948). In 1907 the Lafitte brothers launched the *films d'art* ("art films"), which were aimed at introducing wealthier people to the cinema, many of them at the time regarding films for the working class and the theater for the higher social classes.

EARLY FILM STARS

The outbreak of World War I held up feature film production, but it did result in newsreel films being made. These were shown in movie theaters—by 1908 it was estimated that there were 10,000 of these theaters in the United States alone. After World War I Hollywood in California became the center of much of the world's film production, with an average output of up to 800 feature films each year making up 82 percent of the total world output during the 1920s. By this time many actors and actresses were becoming famous around the world, with Charlie Chaplin (1889–1977), Buster Keaton (1895–1966), Lon Chaney (1883–1930), Douglas Fairbanks (1883–1939), Clara Bow (1905–65), Gloria Swanson (1897–1983), and Rudolf Valentino (1895–1926) all being important early film stars. Valentino became well known through films such as *The Sheik* (1921), *Blood and Sand* (1922), and *Son of the Sheik* (1926), and was the heartthrob of girls throughout the 1920s, with his death at the height of his popularity causing a mass outpouring of grief. Other famous actors of the silent era were Tom Mix (1880–1940), who entered the film industry in 1918, joining the Selig Company, and was said to be earning up to $30,000 per week—appearing in 270 films from *The Trimming of Paradise Gulch* (1910) until *The Miracle Rider* (1935); and Joan Crawford (1906–77), who continued through the silent era into sound films. Some of these films were controversial, with the British 1928 film *Dawn*, about Edith Cavell, evoking a storm of protest in Germany. A later film, *Nurse Edith Cavell,* was produced in 1939. Another early silent film was *Ben Hur* (1925), remade by M.G.M. in the 1959, and others that became well known were Victor Hugo's *The Hunchback of Notre Dame* (1924) and *The Phantom of the Opera* (1925). Hollywood, near Los Angeles, was the base for American-produced films, the main companies including Columbia, M.G.M., Paramount, R.K.O., Twentieth Century Fox, and Warner Brothers. Other famous studio locations were in Britain at Ealing, in France, in Italy, and in Germany. Indian films were largely produced in Bombay.

SOVIET AND INDIAN FILM

In the Soviet Union the early directors included Yakov Protazanov, whose films included *Father Sergius* (1917–18) and *Aelita* (1924). Sergei Eisenstein (1898–1948) perfected a technique that became known as the dialectical or intellectual montage, whereby nonlinear and often clashing scenes provoke different emotional reactions in the audience. His films included *The Battleship Potemkin* (1925), *Strike* (1925), *October* (1928), *Alexander Nevsky* (1938), and *Ivan the Terrible* (1944 and 1946).

The Indian film industry also started early, with Dadasaheb Phalke, considered by many as the "Father of Indian Cinema," producing many feature length silent films, with *Raja Harishcahndra* (1913) being the most famous early Indian film. In Japan the earliest film was *The Cuckoo* (1909), produced by Shisetsu Iwafuji, with an early well-known one being *Souls on the Road* (1921). Sessue Hayakawa (1889–1973) appeared with his wife in *The Typhoon* (1914) and as the villain in Cecil B. De Mille's *The Cheat* (1915), acting in *Tokyo Joe* (1949) alongside Humphrey Bogart and then playing other major roles in the 1950s.

With the ability to introduce accurate synchronization of sound and sufficient amplification for it to be heard in cinemas, the Hollywood studio Warner Brothers introduced Vitaphone in 1926, and in 1927 their *The Jazz Singer* had the first piece of synchronized dialogue and singing in a feature-length film. *The Lights of New*

York (1928) was the first all-synchronized sound feature film, again produced by Warner Brothers. Quickly other studios started to produce these films, with Alfred Hitchcock's detective story *Blackmail* (1929) being the first sound feature in Britain. *The Broadway Melody* (1929) was the first classic-style Hollywood musical, with French director René Clair producing *Under the Roofs of Paris* (1920) and *Le Million* (1931). Paramount produced the first film version of Somerset Maugham's *The Letter* in 1929, and the story was produced again by Warner Brothers in 1940.

Production increased with the gangster film *Little Caesar* (1931) and others on a similar theme such as *The Public Enemy* (1931) and *Scarface* (1932), based on the life of Al Capone. Other Hollywood films of this period included A. E. W. Mason's *The Four Feathers* (1929), Erich Maria Remarque's *All Quiet on the Western Front* (1930), Vicki Baum's *Grand Hotel* (1932), Ernest Hemingway's *A Farewell to Arms* (1932), *King Kong* (1933), Cecil B. de Mille's *Cleopatra* (1934), Charles Dickens's *The Tale of Two Cities* (1936), Pearl S. Buck's *The Good Earth* (1937), *The Adventures of Robin Hood* (1938), Alexandre Dumas's *The Man in the Iron Mask* (1939), and Rudyard Kipling's *The Light That Failed* (1939). There were 28 Sherlock Holmes films starting with *The Return of Sherlock Holmes* in 1929, with the most famous probably being Arthur Conan Doyle's *The Hound of the Baskervilles* (1939) starring Basil Rathbone.

Charlie Chaplin in A Dog's Life, *with Edna Purviance. Chaplin was one of the most recognizable faces of the early days of movies.*

SEQUELS

There were also a number of other films that were followed by many sequels: the Charlie Chan films from 1929 that continued until 1981; *The Mysterious Fu Manchu* (1929), *The Return of Fu Manchu* (1931), *The Daughter of Fu Manchu* (1931), *The Mask of Fu Manchu* (1932), and eight more films ending in 1980; Edgar Rice Burroughs's *Tarzan the Ape Man* (1932) and many other Tarzan films to the 1960s; and "The Saint" films from *The Saint in New York* (1938), which continued up until 1959 when a French-language film *Le Saint mene la danse* was released.

Perhaps the film that had the most versions made was Louisa May Alcott's *Little Women,* which was first produced in Britain in 1917 but saw American versions made in 1919, 1933, and in 1949. The height of the U.S. film industry was probably in 1939 with *The Wizard of Oz* and Margaret Mitchell's *Gone with the Wind*. In the latter Clark Gable and Vivien Leigh starred in the romantic film about life in Atlanta before, during, and after the American Civil War.

During World War II there were a large number of war films and ones on related spy themes, including *Went the Day Well?* (1942), *The Way Ahead* (1944), and *In Which We Serve* (1942), which starred Noel Coward and was directed by David Lean. Other British films of the prewar and early wartime period include Robert Louis Stevenson's *Treasure Island* (1934); R. D. Blackmore's *Lorna Doone* (1935); John Buchan's *The 39 Steps* (1935), starring Peggy Ashcroft (1907–91); Baroness Orczy's *The Scarlet Pimpernel* (1934), directed by Alexander Korda; *Mutiny on the Bounty* (1935), starring Charles Laughton (1899–1962) as Captain Bligh and Clark Gable as Fletcher Christian; *The Charge of the Light Brigade* (1936); Ryder Haggard's *King Solomon's Mines* (1938); *Marie Antoinette* (1938); George Bernard Shaw's *Major Barbara* (1940), starring Rex Harrison (1908–90); Daphne du Maurier's *Rebecca* (1940); Robert Louis Stevenson's *Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde* (1941); and Jane Austen's *Jane Eyre* (1943).

In the United States films on war themes included *Desperate Journey* (1942), pitting Errol Flynn against

the Germans; *Casablanca* (1942), starring Humphrey Bogart, Ingrid Bergman (1915–82), and Claude Rains; *Mrs Miniver* (1942); *Forever and a Day* (1943); *Objective Burma* (1944); and *Going My Way* (1944), starring Bing Crosby. There were also a number of other great successes, including John Huston's *The Maltese Falcon* (1941), starring Humphrey Bogart, Mary Astor (1906–87), and Sidney Greenstreet (1879–1954); *Citizen Kane* (1941), directed by Orson Welles (1915–85); A. J. Cronin's *The Keys of the Kingdom* (1944); and Howard Spring's *Fame Is the Spur* (1947). Mention should also be made of Rudyard Kipling's *The Jungle Book* (1942), which starred Sabu (Sabu Dastagir, 1924–63). The impact of Walt Disney on the movie industry began with *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs* (1937), *Pinocchio* (1940), and *Bambi* (1941).

In Europe film production during the 1920s and 1930s saw large numbers of films produced, although not on the level being produced in Hollywood. In France there were many French-language films, with actors Maurice Chevalier (1888–1972) and Jacques Tati (1908–82) being the best known abroad. Others include Jean-Louis Barrault (1910–94), who appeared in *Les Enfants du Paradis* (1944); Charles Boyer (1897–1978); Danielle Darrieux (b. 1917), who appeared in *La Ronde* (1950); and Michèle Morgan (b. 1920), who starred in *La Symphonie Pastorale* (1946). Of the many German film producers and directors of the period, Leni Riefenstahl became the most famous with her *Triumph of the Will* (1936).

Elisabeth Berner (1898–1986) was born in Poland and trained in Vienna, becoming the favorite actress of the German stage director Max Reinhardt and appearing in his first film, *Der Evandelismann* (1923). Another German film star was Conrad Veidt (1893–1943), who was born in Potsdam and after also acting at Max Reinhardt's theater, starred in silent films such as *The Cabinet of Dr. Caligari* (1919), *The Student of Prague* (1926), and *The Hands of Orlac* (1926). When the Nazis rose to power he wanted to leave Germany because of his Jewish wife. Eventually, he was allowed to move to Britain, where he became a British citizen, playing German roles in *Nazi Agent* (1942) and *Casablanca* (1942).

Mention should also be made of Vienna-born Luise Rainer (b. 1910), who played a key part in *The Good Earth* along with Paul Muni; and Anton Walbrook (1900–67), also from Vienna, who starred in *Gaslight* (1940). Also from Europe were Swedish actress Greta Garbo (1905–90) and German singer and actress Marlene Dietrich (1901–92).

In Shanghai, Hong Kong, and Singapore the Shaw brothers dominated the film industry, and the Cathay Film Company was also formed covering British Malaya and Singapore. Mention should also be made of two film actresses who rose to important political positions, both by marriage.

In 1937 a film actress, Jiang Qing, left the Chinese city of Shanghai to join the Chinese Communist Party, marrying its leader, Mao Zedong, in the following year. In Buenos Aires actress Evita Duarte (later Evita Perón) starred in a number of films before meeting and then marrying Juan Perón, who went on to become president of Argentina.

After World War II the British at Ealing Studios produced a number of important films, including *Whisky Galore!* (1948), *Passport to Pimlico* (1949), *Kind Hearts and Coronets* (1949), and Graham Greene's *The Third Man* (1949). Mention should also be made of Italian films, one about the wartime resistance to the Germans in Rome in *Open City* (1945), directed by Roberto Rossellini (1906–77), who married Ingrid Bergman; and *Bicycle Thieves* (1948), directed by Umberto Scarparelli.

A number of Italian actors found work overseas, with Paul Henreid (1908–92), from Trieste (then a part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire), going to Hollywood, where he starred in *Casablanca*.

In the United States some important films were produced in the late 1940s, but it was not long before the House Committee on Un-American Activities turned its attention to Hollywood resulting in many actors, writers, and directors leaving for Europe, including Charlie Chaplin, Morris Carnovsky (1897–1992), and Dalton Trumbo (1905–76), and many more unable to get work. It also saw others like Ronald Reagan (1911–2004), president of Screen Actors Guild, and later president of the United States, rise to prominence.

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Justin Corfield

muckraking

During the early 20th-century heyday of America's progressive movement, many journalists published slashing articles that revealed problems and faults in U.S. business, government, and social conditions. Their exposés, most published in nationally circulated magazines, often helped to spark important reforms but arguably failed to change society in fundamental ways. Investigative journalism is still often called "muckraking."

Although this style of journalism began in the late 19th century, when author-photographer Jacob Riis showed "how the other half lived" in New York's urban slums, the term was popularized in 1906 by President Theodore Roosevelt. Infuriated by a series of articles denouncing the U.S. Senate, Roosevelt publicly berated author David Graham Phillips for seeing only the bad and the corrupt in U.S. life. Like the man obsessively raking muck in John Bunyan's 17th-century religious tract *Pilgrim's Progress*, such critics, said the president, failed to acknowledge beauty and social advancement.

There was plenty of raking to do. Ida Tarbell was foremost among muckrakers who focused on the misdeeds of business and laissez-faire capitalism. Born in Pennsylvania oil country, Tarbell saw her oil refiner father lose his livelihood to an oil scheme put together by John D. Rockefeller and others.

Nevertheless, she became the first woman to graduate from Pennsylvania's Allegheny College. Between 1902 and 1904 her exhaustively researched book, *The History of the Standard Oil Company*, was serialized in *McClure's* magazine, and it was later published in book form. Her work has been credited with helping to instigate a 1911 U.S. Supreme Court ruling that broke up the Standard Oil trust.

McClure's in 1902 also began serializing Lincoln Steffens's *The Shame of the Cities*. Visiting St. Louis, Minneapolis, Pittsburgh, Philadelphia, Chicago, and New York, Steffens found ample evidence of graft, kickbacks from public utilities, unofficially sanctioned prostitution, and manipulation of police forces, all in the cause of enriching corrupt municipal officials. He also found honest workers who helped him reveal these practices and earnest efforts at good government. Collected into a book, *Shame* created a stronger push by progressives, including jane addams, for local government reforms.

Charles Edward Russell, the son of Iowa abolitionists, was a muckraking jack-of-all-trades, writing primarily about business misdeeds in such industries as meat packing, railroads, and housing. A declared socialist, Russell nevertheless supported Woodrow Wilson's preparations for World War I. His investigation of the Beef Trust inspired Upton Sinclair's 1906 muckraking novel *The Jungle*, an exposé of danger and filth in Chicago's slaughterhouses and mistreatment of a largely immigrant workforce.

In 1909 Russell was a founding member, with black sociologist W. E. B. DuBois, of the NAACP (National Association for the Advancement of Colored People), but muckrakers, most of them white, paid little attention to the plight of African Americans as the nation grew more segregated.

Ida B. Wells, another NAACP cofounder, fled her Memphis home in 1892 after a white mob destroyed her newspaper office. From Chicago she continued investigating and publicizing lynching, the extralegal system of "justice" used in the South and elsewhere mainly to terrorize and control African Americans. Her *Southern Horrors: Lynch Law in All Its Phases* and many other writings and personal appearances also brought news of U.S. racial injustice to Britain and other European nations.

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Marsha E. Ackermann

Mukhtar, Omar

(1862–1931) *Libyan politician*

Many successive empires ruled present-day Libya until the Ottoman Turks conquered it in 1551. Libya remained under Ottoman control until the 1911 Italian invasion; the Italians desired it mainly as a strategic location. British colonial forces had control of Egypt, and the French had made claims in North Africa as well. The Ottomans, whose last North African territory was Libya, were extremely weak owing to a recent

revolution and were unable to defend against the Italian invasion. Faced with bombardment by the Italian fleet under Admiral Farafelli, the Ottoman Turks abandoned Tripolitania, which the Italians easily captured. The Italian presence was made official after a Turkish-Italian treaty was signed in October 1912 giving Italy control of Libya.

After World War I ended in 1918, Italy expressed its desire to construct a "Second Roman Empire" that encompassed Libya. This idea was propagated under Benito Mussolini and included the resettling of Italians in the agricultural areas of Libya along the coast as well as the construction of roads, communication lines, and military facilities throughout the country. In 1929 the Italians used the term "Libya" officially, and in 1939 they made Libya an Italian colony.

The Italian occupation was immensely unpopular in Libya. Immediately after the Italian conquest in 1911, resistance groups formed to push the Italians out. One group, the Sanusiya movement, under the direction of Muhammad Idris al-Mahdi al-Sanusi, mounted resistance to the Italian occupation. Omar Mukhtar led the most famous resistance movement.

Omar Mukhtar was born in 1862 in the town of Zawia Janzour. He was from the Mnifa tribe and a Qur'anic teacher by profession. After the Italians took over in 1911, he initiated and led a campaign against the occupation that lasted for 20 years. He fought a guerrilla war against the Italians, using his extensive knowledge of the Libyan terrain to successfully attack and harass them. Mukhtar had a strong following among Libyans, receiving food, supplies, and fighting men from the local population.

Since the Italians could not capture Mukhtar, they decided to cripple his support base by incarcerating the Libyan population in concentration camps. These horrific camps interred an estimated 125,000 Libyans, of which two-thirds perished because of the appalling conditions. The resistance continued despite the concentration camps, which only served to increase anger among the Libyans. When Omar Mukhtar was around 70 years old, he was wounded in battle and captured by the Italians. He was interrogated, tortured, and hanged on September 16, 1931.

Omar Mukhtar is a hero to the Libyans and is still revered in the 21st century. After Mukhtar's execution the Italians were able temporarily to subdue Libya until it became a battleground in World War II, during which Libya was the scene of massive desert battles between the German-Italian armies and the British-French armies.

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Katie Belliel

Munich Pact

See appeasement era.

Muslim Brotherhood

The Muslim Brotherhood, or the Society of the Muslim Brothers (also known as the Ikhwan), was established in Egypt by Hassan al-Banna in 1928. The new organization stressed community, games, and healthful pursuits. Although al-Banna denied it, some alleged that the brotherhood was patterned on the YMCA, which had opened branches in several Arab countries, including Egypt.

Born in 1906 in a lower-middle-class family, al-Banna was influenced by Sufi orders and took an active role in school activities. He attended school at Dar al 'Ulum and taught at a government school in Ismailia, where the brotherhood began. A good speaker, al-Banna visited mosques and began to attract youthful members to his new organization. The organization, divided into cells with an individual leader, had a gradation of members who advanced by passing examinations.

Periodically, leaders would convene at congresses to coordinate programs. Women's sub-branches were also established. During the 1930s and 1940s, like other political forces in Egypt, such as the Wafd Party with its Blue Shirts and the fascist Young Egypt with its Green Shirts, the Brotherhood also had a secret paramilitary force.

The Ikhwan sought to eradicate all foreign influences. It had pan-Islamic aims and ultimately gained a following outside Egypt, especially among Palestinians in the Gaza Strip, and in Syria and Jordan. The brotherhood advocated the unification of Egypt and Islamic nations on Qur'anic principles. The organization's aims broadened over the years. Al-Banna sought to use science to increase national wealth and to establish social welfare programs including pension plans. The Ikhwan also considered reviving the caliphate. Initially, many observers underestimated the potential of the organization, which emphasized

the rejuvenation of the Egyptian nation through a return to Islamic principles.

In 1933 al-Banna transferred the headquarters of the brotherhood to Cairo, where he used radio broadcasts to popularize his program. He also sent letters to politicians and began to increase the brotherhood's commercial activities, including ownership of printing presses. These were used to produce a magazine, pamphlets, and various other publications.

From 1939 to 1945 the brotherhood took an active role in Egyptian politics and became a major political force. The brotherhood attracted young members who had become disenchanted with the Wafd, the major political party of the era. Generally eager for immediate results, students were dismayed and angry over the Wafd's compromises and alliances with the British. The brotherhood was also periodically courted by the palace in order to discredit and undermine the Wafd. In 1948 then prime minister Mahmud Nuqrashi arrested and imprisoned al-Banna. A member of the brotherhood took revenge by assassinating Nuqrashi in 1949. But in 1949 al-Banna was in turn killed, probably with the complicity of both the palace and the government.

Al-Banna and the brotherhood strongly supported the Palestinian cause, and many members volunteered to fight for the Palestinians in the 1930s and in the 1948 Arab-Israeli War. By the late 1940s the brotherhood probably had close to half a million members.

After al-Banna's death, Ismail al-Hudaybi became the leader, or director general. A lawyer, Hudaybi was not as charismatic as al-Banna, but he doggedly pursued the programs of the organization. The Ikhwan quietly supported the 1952 revolution led by Gamal Abdul Nasser, but when the new regime refused to institute an Islamic state, the brotherhood became disenchanted.

After the brotherhood attempted to assassinate Nasser in 1954, its members were persecuted, imprisoned, or went into exile to other African or Arab nations. Many of the exiles became teachers and subsequently converted students to the cause.

The Muslim Brotherhood fostered an Islamic revival that had major consequences for the 20th and 21st centuries. Many contemporary Islamist movements are offshoots or were influenced by the tenets and approaches of the Muslim Brotherhood. However, many present-day Islamist leaders, believing that the policies and approaches of the brotherhood are too moderate, have adopted more radical programs and strategies to force the establishment of regimes operating in accordance with their narrow interpretations of Islamic law and tradition.

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Janice J. Terry

Mussolini, Benito

(1883–1945) *Italian dictator*

Il Duce, "the leader," was born in Predappio, in northern Italy, on July 29, 1883. His father was a socialist blacksmith and his mother a schoolteacher. A brilliant but unruly student, he qualified for teaching in elementary schools in 1901 and soon afterward fled to Switzerland to avoid military service, where he was arrested for vagrancy and then expelled. He had repeated confrontations with the police.

Mussolini's Marxism was greatly influenced by Nietzsche's reactionary modernism and Social Darwinism, Spengler's anthropological and historical pessimism, and Sorel's revolutionary syndicalism. However, before World War I he had remained true to the socialist commitment to pacifism, so much so that during the war between Italy and Turkey (1912) he was apprehended for pacifist propaganda.

He eventually broke away from the party in 1914, following the outbreak of World War I. The Italian government had temporarily opted for neutrality and tested the waters to see which side would offer a better deal for an Italian military intervention. The Socialist Party condemned the war, arguing that it was a carnage that would only benefit big industrialists. Initially inclined to stick to the party line, within a few weeks Mussolini made a sudden about-face and joined the prowar side.

His inextinguishable ambition, moralistic intransigence, and aggressive temperament led to his resignation from the editorship of *Avanti* and from the party.

In November 1914 he founded *Il Popolo d'Italia*, the would-be Fascist official newspaper. When Italy joined the war on the side of the Entente, Mussolini was conscripted and attained the rank of corporal. In 1917 he was wounded during grenade practice and returned to Milan, where he launched his own political party in 1919. Badly defeated at the first general elections, held in the same year, Mussolini resolved that fighting workers' militancy would earn him the respect of

the middle and upper middle classes. Consequently, he organized the rank-and-file members of the party, who were mostly war veterans, in armed squads (*squadracce*) and instructed them on how to intimidate Catholic and Socialist political activists.

When three liberal governments in a row failed to restore order, King Victor Emmanuel III asked Mussolini to form a new government in October 1922. The famous March on Rome was rather a triumphal parade of the winning side. Liberal deputies, more concerned with the unrest of the working classes than with liberal safeguards, did not object to the imposition of strict censorship and to an electoral reform that clearly favored the Fascist Party.

As a result, between 1925 and 1926, following the murder of the Socialist leader, Giacomo Matteotti, Mussolini transformed his government into a dictatorship and Italy into a police state by abolishing all other parties; controlling the press, trade unions, and youth education; centralizing the economy; and having his opponents silenced by the secret police and the Fascist Party militia.

He then propagated through the mass media the main tenets of the Fascist ideology, which was described as the third way between socialism and the market ethos. Mussolini dismissed liberal democracy as decadent and unable to stir the souls of the masses and imposed his ostensibly antimaterialistic, antipositivistic, ruralist, and at once militarist and technocratic worldview, intending to offset universalist and cosmopolitan trends as well as bourgeois hedonism and its obsession with rights to the detriment of duties. Mussolini preached the inequality of individuals, human groups, and nations and portrayed citizens as mere corpuscles immersed in the eternal stream of history and of the internal dynamics of the organic Fascist state.

Mussolini also advocated absorption of private conscience into the collective conscience of the body social, which entailed the subordination of individual welfare to the needs of communal welfare and the abolition of individual rights. Mussolini's economic policies involved autarchic neoprotectionism, centralized control of the national economy, a meticulous division of labor, large industrial cartels, and the coordination of transnational economic blocs. Mussolini's conception of totalitarian demography privileged quantity over quality, and he offered prizes for the most prolific mothers. His ruralist bent arose from his fear that industrial cities exerted devastating effects on people's health, which was intolerable for a country that was bound to revive the glories of the Roman Empire and therefore needed as many able-bodied men as possible.

Italian Fascist leader Benito Mussolini joined forces with Germany and Japan to form the Axis powers in World War II.

In 1929, with the Lateran Treaty, Mussolini made several important concessions to the pope in exchange for his recognition of the Italian state. This allowed il Duce to reach the height of his popularity and power.

However, fascism could not exist without the prospect of an approaching victorious war. From the start,

Mussolini had toyed with the idea of reconquering the Mediterranean basin, and this explains his decision to bombard Corfu in 1923, to exterminate the seminomadic Libyan Bedouins who refused to surrender, and to invade Abyssinia (Ethiopia) in 1935–36 and subdue it by means of mustard gas, phosgene, flamethrowers, the slaughter of civilians, forced labor camps, and scorched-earth tactics. He also bombed Red Cross encampments in Ethiopia as a retaliation for their denunciations of the Fascist atrocities.

The ensuing international sanctions drove Mussolini out of the League of Nations and into a deadly alliance with Adolf Hitler, which was sealed by the Nazi-Fascist intervention in the 1936–39 Spanish civil war on the side of the future Spanish dictator, general Francisco Franco.

A pact of mutual defense, the Pact of Steel, which paved the way to World War II, was finally signed by Mussolini and Hitler in May 1939. After the proclamation of the empire (May 1936), he adopted segregationist and anti-Semitic legislation more extensive and stricter than that of Nazi Germany.

The German attack against Poland in September 1939 took Mussolini by surprise. In spite of Mussolini's militaristic rhetoric, the Italian army had demonstrated in Spain that it was not prepared for a full-scale conflict with the world's major powers. However, completely blinded by the prospect of a quick defeat of France, he declared war in June 1940, only to be bitterly disappointed when the United Kingdom refused to give up the fight and defeated the Italians in Egypt and Libya, and the Greeks not only halted the Italian invasion of northern Greece but also forced the Italian army into an inglorious retreat at the end of 1940. From then on Mussolini's fate was in the hands of Germany.

Thus, the king ordered that Mussolini be placed under arrest. The former Duce was rescued by German paratroops a few months later and proclaimed the Italian Social Republic, nothing but a puppet state in German-occupied northern Italy. To prove his loyalty to Hitler, Mussolini had his son-in-law, Galeazzo Ciano, executed on the charge of treason.

By the end of 1944, approximately 16 free partisan republics had been formed in various valleys of northern Italy, and the Social Republic was quickly sliding into an all-out civil war and was being carpet bombed by the Allies. In April 1945 the German army was retreating, thousands of partisans were streaming from the valleys into the cities, and Mussolini once again attempted to seek refuge in Switzerland. He was recognized and arrested by the partisans and summarily executed along with his mistress Claretta Petacci in a village on Lake Como.

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Stefano Fait

NAACP (National Association for the Advancement of Colored People)

Founded in 1909, the NAACP is an organization whose purpose is to use the legal system of the United States to force the government to provide civil rights equitably to U.S. blacks. It came into being in reaction to the violent racism that plagued the United States at the time.

After the end of Reconstruction allowed the imposition of de facto and then de jure segregation, African Americans lost many of the legal protections established by laws and amendments to the U.S. Constitution. Violence against blacks became common as lynching reached epidemic proportions. Economic and social discrimination increased. Blacks found themselves second-class citizens or worse in white America. Black leaders were in a quandary over how their people should handle the deteriorated situation.

In 1895 educator Booker T. Washington, the most prominent black of his time, proposed that African Americans should accommodate. They should allow segregation to continue while they used self-help to develop their own society and to improve their economic condition. Washington hoped that U.S. society would notice the gradual improvement and come to accept black participation in the white political and social systems. Washington established the Tuskegee Institute in Alabama as a segregated vocational school to teach blacks practical skills they needed for everyday life.

Not all black leaders agreed with Washington's accommodationism. Some looked at the increase in poverty and the backwardness of a Jim Crow system as separate and blatantly unequal. They also noted the outrageousness of hundreds of lynchings a year. They regarded Washington as a tool of the white system. Among the critics who engaged Washington in a long debate was the intellectual W. E. B. DuBois.

For over a decade the debate continued as black Americans suffered. Then in 1905 DuBois and William Monroe Trotter called a meeting at Niagara Falls, Canada. The meeting led to the formation of the Niagara movement, which rejected Washington's gradualist accommodationism and called for vigilance and protest. The Niagara movement was premature. Washington was too powerful. By 1908 the movement was history. Its message, however, lingered: There would be no more appeasement of white racism by black Americans.

The NAACP came into being in 1909, formed by DuBois and other blacks and whites dedicated to legal resistance of Jim Crow discrimination and segregation. Among the founders was Oswald Garrison Villard, the editor of the *New York Evening Post* and grandson of the abolitionist William Lloyd Garrison. A charter member was Mary Church Terrell, the first president of the National Association of Colored Women. Also among the founders were the lawyer Clarence Darrow and Jane Addams, social worker, peace activist, and founder of Hull-House.

The NAACP campaign against the decades-old plague of lynching set the approach it would take—long,

deliberate, and difficult campaigns that would entail first bringing attention to the problem through its newspaper, *The Crisis*, then issuing lengthy and detailed reports and lobbying Congress for changes in the laws. The U.S. House of Representatives passed federal antilynching laws in 1922, 1937, and 1940, but each time the legislation died in the Senate, falling victim to actual or threatened filibusters. The NAACP persisted, but the federal government never passed such legislation.

The NAACP did not spend all of its time on the antilynching effort. It also investigated other civil rights abuses and litigated discrimination cases in areas including the segregation of streetcars and railroad trains, residential restrictive covenants, segregated schools, and general abuses of civil rights and liberties including the ban on blacks on juries and the denial of voting rights. Civil rights action through the mid-1930s included work on behalf of accused criminals who rarely enjoyed juries of their (black) peers. The NAACP was also active in working to get equal salaries for black public school teachers. Sometimes it won. Often it lost. Always it kept the issues in the public awareness.

FAIR TRIALS

On the matter of fair trials, a significant success occurred in 1919 in Arkansas. That year black farmers tried to form a union. In retaliation, a white mob killed more than 200 black men, women, and children. Local authorities arrested 79 black sharecroppers and charged them with murder.

The trial featured coerced testimony and a defense that called no witnesses. A white mob threatened during the trial to lynch any found not guilty. After a single hour of deliberation, the jury declared 12 of the defendants to be guilty of crimes warranting a sentence of death. Others received long prison terms. The NAACP appealed the case for four years before the U.S. Supreme Court agreed to hear the case. In *Moore v. Dempsey* the court overturned the convictions.

The NAACP attempted to fight restrictions on the black vote. In *Guinn v. United States* the NAACP successfully convinced the Supreme Court to overturn Oklahoma's grandfather clause, which allowed the vote to only those persons whose grandfathers had voted and effectively excluded all but a handful of blacks. Southern states found new methods of disenfranchising blacks.

A popular choice was defining political parties as private and allowing them to select their members, which meant that the parties and their primaries would be white only. In the one-party South the primary was the election, so the white primary denied blacks access to the ballot. Decades later, in 1945, *Smith v. Alright*, brought by the NAACP, eliminated the white primary.

The NAACP had early on developed a somewhat schizophrenic character, with DuBois, as editor of *The Crisis*, stressing publicity and lobbying, and the legal staff continuing the slow and tedious work of litigation. DuBois became more radical as he aged. He was more concerned with civil liberties and the working class across race lines, and he thought that the NAACP's preoccupation with segregation was excessive.

He also thought that the NAACP was becoming increasingly conservative, moving toward Washington's accommodationism. When the NAACP shifted its focus from *The Crisis* to the courts in the 1930s as it took up segregation as its major target, it completed the split. In 1934 DuBois left the NAACP and established the National Negro Congress, a union of 600 black organizations with a focus on economic justice.

LITIGATION

With DuBois and the economic radicals out of the picture, the NAACP under president Walter White used the resources of the NAACP legal department, especially Charles Houston and Thurgood Marshall. For two decades the NAACP focused strongly on ending school segregation, lynching, and the Jim Crow system. The process entailed litigating against one city, state, or county at a time, forcing the party sued to show that it was complying with *Plessey v. Ferguson*. The NAACP forced those it sued to either upgrade their black facilities to the white standard or abandon the separate but equal myth of *Plessey*. In the 1930s and 1940s the NAACP began eroding the legal basis for segregated educational systems, and in 1954 it won its most important victory in *Brown v. the Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas*, which ruled that separate was inherently unequal and opened the door to the civil rights revolution of the 1960s.

The "Second Reconstruction" occurred thanks to, but largely without, the NAACP. After white backlash and timid enforcement of the laws by the Eisenhower and Kennedy administrations, black Americans began forcing the battle in the early 1960s with sit-ins, freedom rides, and other methods of peaceful confrontation.

The NAACP was hamstrung by state efforts such as one that occurred in Alabama. There the state used anticommunist legislation to demand the membership rolls of the NAACP. Because the NAACP was a locally based rather than a national organization, the release of its membership rolls would have proved fatal. But the

case kept it in court and unable to be an effective part of the Civil Rights movement.

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John H. Barnhill

Naidu, Sarojini

(1879–1949) *Indian nationalist leader*

Sarojini Naidu was born on February 13, 1879, to Aghornath Chattopadhyaya and Varada Sundari in the city of Hyderabad, India. She began studying at the King's College of England in 1895. Her childhood love for poetry resulted in the publication of collections of poems including *The Golden Threshold* (1905), *The Birds of Time* (1912), and *The Broken Wing* (1917), written in English but with an Indian ethos. Her poetry earned her the name of "India's Nightingale." A strong believer in the philosophy of Brahmo Samaj, Sarojini took the bold step of getting married to Govindarajulu Naidu outside her caste at the age of 19 per the Brahmo Marriage Act (1872). A powerful orator, she gave speeches on themes like the emancipation of women, youth welfare, and nationalism.

Sarojini Naidu plunged into the nationalist movement in 1903 and came into contact with leaders who were fighting for an India free of British colonial rule. Mohandas K. Gandhi and Gopal Krishna Gokhale (1866–1915) influenced her political career. At the behest of Gokhale she devoted herself to the cause of Indian nationalism. Naidu met Gandhi in 1914 and became his disciple. During her tour to Great Britain with Gandhi, she criticized colonial rule openly among the British intelligentsia.

Naidu and Gandhi opposed the British government's Rowlatt Act, enacted in March 1919 to counter Indian protests. She also supported the Indian Home Rule League. Naidu also worked for Hindu-Muslim unity. She became influential in the Indian National Congress (INC) and was elected its delegate to the East African Indian Congress in January 1924. She was elected president of the INC in the Kanpur session of 1925 and was the first woman to become its president. She went to the United States in October 1928 as an emissary of Gandhi, preaching his doctrine of nonviolence. Naidu joined the second civil disobedience movement that had begun in March 1930. She was arrested and released in January of the next year. She went to London along with Gandhi to participate in the Round Table Conference. During the Quit India movement of August 1942 she was imprisoned for 21 months.

After India's independence on August 15, 1947, Naidu was appointed the governor of Uttar Pradesh. She died on March 2, 1949.

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Patit Paban Mishra

National Congress of British West Africa

The National Congress of British West Africa (NCBWA) displayed the relatively moderate, reformist spirit of many black African professionals and intellectuals of the interwar period. Without challenging British control over their territories, the congress pressed for an increase in African representation in advisory councils, the creation of a West African university, and a respect for traditional forms of land ownership. The group's leaders, particularly Joseph Ephraim Casely Hayford, promulgated a Pan-African ideology and attempted to build a sense of shared interests among the inhabitants—or at least the native-born black political leaders—of the four British colonies in West Africa: Nigeria, Gold Coast (now Ghana), Sierra Leone, and the Gambia. The congress achieved a few of its goals, as it encountered opposition from the majority of traditional elites, from radicals in and outside the NCBWA, and from the Aboriginal Rights Protection Society, which the congress sought to supersede.

From the perspective of Casely Hayford and other future leaders of the NCBWA, the Aboriginal Rights Protection Society had failed to capitalize upon its success in

convincing the British not to impose the proposed Lands Bill in 1897. Further, its leadership remained ensconced in Cape Coast and constrained the development of branches in other areas of the Gold Coast. In 1912 Casely Hayford began to broach the notion of a West African Congress with contacts in Nigeria. This scheme attracted support, especially as delegations sent to London from Nigeria and from the Gold Coast had each failed to convince the colonial secretary either to grant Africans greater influence over administration or to include some democratically selected members on governing councils. Advocates of the NCBWA hoped that the concerted efforts of representatives from all four colonies would prove more fruitful. The Aboriginal Rights Protection Society refused Casely Hayford's 1918 request that it endorse such an organization, so the NCBWA formed under its own auspices and developed its own agenda, including Pan-Africanism.

PRIMARY GOALS

The 1919 petition presented to the governor general in Accra by 11 representatives of the general committee of the Protected West African Conference offered an indication of the NCBWA's primary goals. The document was signed by Casely Hayford and presented by the Nigerian leader. After congratulating the British on Germany's defeat in World War I and the latter's removal from the ranks of colonial powers, the petitioners requested that the British ask West Africans for their opinions on matters relevant to their governance; the people of the colonies would choose those West African councillors through free elections. They also encouraged the British to respect traditional land rights and to prohibit the importation of alcohol. The Nigerian governor-general transmitted the petition to London; the colonial secretary did not respond.

The NCBWA met for the first time from March 11 through March 29, 1920, in Accra, Nigeria. Representatives from the Gambia (1), Sierra Leone (3), Nigeria (6), and Gold Coast (42) chose Hutton-Mills as their president and Casely Hayford as vice president. They also agreed upon 83 resolutions pertaining to local governance, judicial reform, commerce, and colonial policy. They suggested that the British alter the composition of West African legislative councils to include equal parts Crown nominees and democratically elected representatives. They wanted the creation of municipal institutions, a West African university, and a West African appellate court. They advocated new medical and sanitary efforts, the end of racial segregation in housing, and the establishment of a West African press union to promote national development throughout the four colonies. Further, they rejected the Franco-British decision to partition Togoland and the British handover of Cameroon to the French, which had occurred without any consultation with its inhabitants.

In 1920 a delegation from the new NCBWA led by Casely Hayford traveled to London and demanded elective representation for the four colonies. Unfortunately for them, the governors-general of Nigeria and Gold Coast resisted such an erosion of British control. Many of the traditional kings and chiefs in Gold Coast disliked the plan because it would diminish their status and the scope of their authority. Another three years passed before the British granted a new constitution, which included a provision for the election of representatives, to Nigeria. Soon thereafter, they granted a similar constitution to Sierra Leone and to Gold Coast. The acquisition of these new constitutions represents the most concrete achievement of the NCBWA.

The NCBWA met several more times: in Freetown in 1923, in Bathurst (now Banjul) in winter 1925–26, and in Lagos in 1930. The congress ratified its constitution at the Freetown meeting. Each meeting generated a list of resolutions, most of which the group never realized. At Bathurst the delegates discussed the possibility of a British West African Federation under a single governor-general. They pondered the establishment of schools across their territories, agricultural banks and cooperatives, and overall commercial and economic independence for West Africa. The congress never achieved any of these items.

The NCBWA remained hampered by its inability to appeal to traditional elites, a rural constituency, or radicals who wanted far more than reform. The colonial office and governors-general regarded the opinions of the congress's members as unrepresentative of African attitudes. The NCBWA's limitations were also caused by internal dissent and an overall antipathy toward tactics any more radical than petitions or newspapers. Ironically, the institution of the new, partially elective bodies that the NCBWA had so fervently advocated ultimately served to divide congress members politically; they found themselves running campaigns against each other and supporting divergent policies. When Casely Hayford died in 1930, the NCBWA disappeared too.

Despite its relative lack of concrete achievements, the NCBWA did help West African leaders in British colonies to understand the region better and to perceive the commonality of their interests. The vibrant civil society and journalism typical of British West African cities, something that did not really exist in

French West African colonies, might testify to the success of agitation by local committees of the NCBWA. The education in activism and the increased political consciousness also facilitated the rise of the next generation of Pan-Africanists and independence leaders, including Kwame Nkrumah.

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Melanie A. Bailey

Nationalist Party of Indonesia

The Perserikatan Nasional Indonesia (PNI, Indonesian Nationalist Union), an important colonial-period party, was established on July 4, 1927, by Achmad Sukarno and Djipto Kusumey. The members of the Indonesian Union, after coming home from the Netherlands, were not satisfied with political progress in their country. Political activity in Indonesia remained at a minimum after the failure of the communist movement that had been organized by the Partai Komunis Indonesia (PKI, Indonesian Communist Party). The students involved in the movment were joined by Sukarno, who had graduated from the technical college at Bandung. Among these students, Sukarno came into contact with members of the Algemene Studies Club (General Study Club).

The PNI was formed with an agenda of noncooperation with the Dutch colonial government, mass mobilization, and complete freedom for Indonesia. The red and white flag, the national anthem *Indonesia Raya* (Greater Indonesia), and *bhasa Indonesia* (the Indonesian language) became the symbols of Indonesian nationalism. The organization changed its name from Perserikatan Nasional Indonesia to Partai Nasional Indonesia (Nationalist Party of Indonesia) in May 1928.

The PNI fought aggressively for Indonesian nationalism, and within two years its membership swelled to 10,000. Sukarno proved to be an excellent orator, and in his position as chairman of the PNI, he pushed a popular agenda that combined elements of nationalism, Marxism, and Islam. As the symbol of the movement, he chose the *marhaen*, or farmer, who he believed bore the brunt of colonial oppression. He visualized a society free from the control of foreign capital with emphasis on *gatong rajong* (group spirit). The Dutch government realized the growing strength of the PNI, warning members in August 1929 to cease their activities. Sukarno and other leaders were arrested in December 1929 and charged with jeopardizing public order; Sukarno was given a sentence of four years in prison. The party was also declared illegal. Sukarno's sentence was commuted after two years, and he was released, then rearrested on similar charges. The PNI was dissolved in April 1931.

After the demise of the PNI, small political organizations began to flourish throughtout Indonesia. These groups were met by the reactionary policy of Dutch governor-general De Jonge (1931–36), who arrested and exiled Indonesian political leaders. The Minangkabau Sutan Sjahrir (1909–66) and Muhammad Hatta (1902–80), who had come back after finishing his education in the Netherlands, joined a splinter group of the PNI named Pendidikan Nasional Indonesia (Indonesian National Education Club).

After his release Sukarno amalgamated the splinter groups into a mass organization known as Partindo (Indonesian Party). The purpose of this new group was to fight for complete independence for Indonesia. It, too, became leaderless after Sukarno's exile to Flores in 1933. Hatta and Sjahrir also were arrested and sent to Boven Digul. After the independence of Indonesia, the PNI continued as a political party. It was one of the major parties in the 1955 elections aligning with the PKI. The PNI was merged into the Partai Demokrasi Indonesia (PDI, Indonesian Democratic Party) in 1973 under General Suharto (1967–98).

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Patit Paban Mishraa

nativism, U.S.

Nativism is antiforeign, anti-immigrant sentiment, and it has been common throughout U.S. history. Nativism is cyclical in U.S. history. Generally, when the United States is expanding and optimistic, then immigrants

are welcome. When the country is stagnating and cynical, then it turns on immigrants. U.S. nativism is more about Americans than it is about foreigners.

Benjamin Franklin was nativist when he wondered whether the Pennsylvania Germans of his time were capable of becoming assimilated. The Federalist Party of 1798 was nativist in trying to preserve an antidemocratic property-protecting system from immigrant editors and pamphleteers. The Alien and Sedition Acts were nativist as well as political. The anti-Catholicism of the 1830s was nativist. The run-up to the Civil War distracted from nativism, and the resurgence came after the war when anti-Asian sentiment, which originated on the West Coast in the 1850s, resulted in national legislation, the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882. Anti-Asian laws would continue to pass until the 1920s, as would anti-European laws, directed against the different and impossible-to-assimilate new immigrants of the late 19th century who were seen as a threat to an American way already under pressure from the capitalism and industrialism that destroyed the traditional agrarian United States during the Gilded Age.

Organized labor, the American Protective Association, and EUGENICS groups sought immigration restrictions, English literacy laws, and restrictions on parochial schools. They outlawed the teaching of foreign languages in schools. Foreign was seen as undesirable.

RED SCARE

WORLD WAR I stimulated the nativist desire for restriction. Anti-Germanism became antiforeignism, which became antiradicalism, which culminated in the RED SCARE of 1919 and 1920 and the revival of the KU KLUX KLAN, anti-Catholic, anti-Semitic, anticommunist, and antiforeign on top of its historical antiblack prejudice. The Klan drew 5 million members. Again, organized labor asked for restriction of immigrants because they worked for substandard wages and brought the wages of natives down. Another reason for restriction was that the war had produced millions of refugees who might swamp American prosperity if left unchecked. Congress passed a temporary immigration restriction law in 1921 and followed it with the National Origins Act of 1924, which established immigration quotas based on the population profile of the United States in 1890. The law also effectively excluded all Asians.

Immigration control was not sufficient to quell the nativist urge. In the 1920s the Klan enjoyed a national presence. Although born in the South and based on racism, it took on a broader appeal. The Klan resurgence began after D. W. Griffith's *Birth of a Nation* recalled the 19th-century Klan as heroic. In Georgia William Simmons, a former Methodist minister, reawoke the Klan. It was powerful in Indiana, Oklahoma, and Oregon, and it had a presence in other western states such as Utah. The Klan of the 1920s was opposed to the new morality, the lack of enforcement of Prohibition, and the increase in crime. It was a backlash by a segment of the United States that was losing the battle to modernity. Those who were bypassed by the changing economy, the shift to the cities, and the new ideas of modern art, psychology, and modernism lacked the means to change what was happening to them.

Anti-Semitism was strong in the first half of the 20th century, before and after the Klan. Its practitioners included HENRY FORD, whose *Dearborn Independent* had a readership of about 700,000. The *Independent* featured articles on Jewish gamblers, mobsters, and the dissipation of Jewish music. The Klan literature featured comparable complaints about Jewish jazz and short skirts. Most of all, the anti-Semites blamed Jews for communism. They accepted that the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* announced a worldwide Jewish conspiracy, and they believed that international Jewry, wealthy and powerful, had bought the Bolsheviks and influenced allied armies to leave Russia during the civil war, thus allowing the Bolsheviks to prevail.

Anti-Semitic nativism also arose in the Military Intelligence Division, which carefully tracked Jews in the military for Bolshevik, then communist, tendencies, an activity that did not wane until the 1950s and 1960s. Nativist anti-Semites feared that the Jews were conspiring against their Christian nation.

Also active in the 1920s were the race theorists Madison Grant and Lothrop Stoddard, who feared the denordicizing of the people of the United States due to the mingling of what they regarded as superior northern Europeans with the "lesser races." White supremacist groups emerged in the 1930s and 1940s, emulating ADOLF HITLER and BENITO MUSSOLINI. Silver Shirts, Khaki Shirts, and Brown Shirts marched and made a display but failed to attract a large following. The mood of the United States in the 1920s and 1930s was isolationist. Rather than "over there," the slogans were "America First" and "Fortress America." Immigration exclusion fit the mood, even when the persecution of Jews turned fatal. The United States failed to lift immigration restrictions to help those it did not want on its shores.

Nativism became quiet after the Exclusion Law of 1924 because immigration slowed during the GREAT DEPRESSION and WORLD WAR II. Even without factoring in the deportation of half a million Mexican migrant

workers and their families (many of them U.S. citizens) in the 1930s, immigration was negative. More left than came in. World War II opened the door slightly, too much for holdover nativists from the 1930s such as Gerald L. K. Smith, who moved from Huey Long's Share the Wealth, through America First, to radical right Christian anticommunism in the 1950s.

Even the immigration reform of the 1950s maintained restrictions, allowing time for the southern and eastern European immigrants to assimilate and providing only token access for Chinese, Japanese, Filipinos, and other Asians. The major change came with the Immigration Reform Act of 1965, which sought to renew immigration by the old European immigrants. The act almost absentmindedly brought the third world to the United States. Demographic, linguistic, and cultural diversity generated a new feeling by some U.S.-born citizens that the country was getting away from them. The economy was in crisis due to the 1970s energy crisis and the Vietnam War, which brought about "stagflation" as well as massive increases in the foreign population. The newcomers—Vietnamese, Cubans, and South Americans—were scapegoated. The problem was bilingualism, and in the early 1980s the nativists began agitating for English-only in government and sometimes in the private sector. Some U.S. citizens thought that English-only was a tool for forcing assimilation on immigrants (for their own good), but others used English-only as an excuse to terminate bilingual access to essential services.

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John H. Barnhill

Nazi Party (National Socialist German Workers' Party)

The NSDAP (Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiter partei), typically called the Nazi Party in English, was a political party in Germany from 1920 to 1945. The party was founded in Munich under a slightly different name in early 1919, one of many political organizations formed in the wake of Germany's defeat in World War I. In September 1919 Adolf Hitler joined the party as a spy for German army intelligence. The party and its ideology of nationalism, authoritarianism, and anti-Semitism appealed to Hitler so much that he quit his job with the army to devote himself full time to the party. Hitler soon discovered that he was a great orator who could draw new membership to the party. He soon became the party chairman. He changed the party structure from one of elected leadership and collective decision making to that of *Fuhrerprinzip*—he was the sole leader and dictated party strategy and policy. He saw the Nazi Party as a revolutionary organization and sought to gain control of Germany through the violent overthrow of the Weimar Republic.

Hitler and the Nazi Party believed that the Weimar government was controlled by socialists, Jews, and the "November Criminals" who had forced Germany to surrender at the end of World War I, backstabbing the German soldiers at the front just as they were about to see victory. Hitler added a focus of national expansion and pushed policies of anti-Semitism while downplaying the socialistic ideas of the party's founders. Racialism gained prominence through the adoption of the swastika and Aryan identity politics. This racial component and the stated goal of helping the Aryan race to achieve its true destiny set Nazism apart from true fascism.

By 1923 party membership had risen to more than 20,000 through campaigning with this new message. To showcase their ideas, the Nazis held rallies once a year at Nuremberg. The rallies advertised Nazi power, unity, and a religious loyalty to Hitler as Germany's savior. The Nazi masses were paraded before Hitler as oaths of loyalty were taken. During the rallies the Nazis introduced new policies and party doctrine. The Nuremburg race laws were unveiled at the 1935 rally. The 1934 rally was best known for the documentary *Triumph of the Will,* created by Leni Riefenstahl to showcase the ceremonies. It became one of the best-known propaganda films of all time.

To enforce Nazi policy on the street and to protect party speakers at political functions, the *Sturmabteilung,* or SA (also known as the Brown Shirts for the color of their uniforms), was formed. They acted as a party militia and used quasimilitary ranks and organization. Their main visible function was to prevent the disruption of Nazi speeches by communist-based militias. Later they were used by the party for fundraising, political canvassing, and abuse of party enemies.

The SA came into conflict with the German army in 1934 after pushing to become the new national German army. The SA leadership was murdered, and the organization became marginalized thereafter.

In Munich on November 7, 1923, the Nazis launched an attempted coup d'état known as the Beer Hall Putsch. The coup quickly failed, and the ringleaders, including Hitler, were rounded up and sent to prison for short sentences. During his jail stay Hitler wrote a combined autobiography and political manifesto titled *Mein Kampf* (My struggle). This book outlined the ideas of a cultural hierarchy with the German Aryans at the top and with Slavs, communists, and Jews at the bottom. The lower people were to be purged from the nation so they could not impede its growth. Hitler also stated that nations grew from military power and civil order. Germany was to grow by expanding to the east into its lebensraum (living space). The people of Germany were to be led through the principles of *Ein Volk, Ein Reich, Ein Führer* (one people, one nation, one leader). The relationship between the people and the state was that of loyalty, duty, and honor for the state, while the leader was responsible for protecting the Aryan race against those who sought to destroy it.

While reflecting on politics during his prison sentence, Hitler decided to switch tactics. The Nazi Party would quit attempting to seize power by force. Power would now be achieved through legal means by winning elections. After his release Hitler's personal bodyguard unit, the SS (Schutzstaffel), or protection squadron, became more important, and notable senior Nazi leaders such as Hess, Himmler, Goebbels, and Göring emerged. During the new political period the "Heil Hitler" greeting and the Nazi salute were adopted. Electoral success was very small in the 1924 and 1928 elections, in which the Nazi Party only won 3 percent and 2.6 percent of the votes. The party continued to grow, in part because of the fading of other right-wing political parties and because Hitler assumed leadership of right-wing German politics. The Nazis found support from all areas including small business owners, Protestants, students, rural farmers, and those attracted to paramilitary displays put on by the SA and SS.

The biggest upsurge in Nazi support came as a direct result of the Great Depression of 1929. The economic hardships caused by the worldwide depression compounded Germany's existing problems and set the stage for Nazi expansion by creating a receptive audience. The German left was divided, and its elements could not work together to counter Nazi propaganda. The 1930 elections gave the Nazis 18.3 percent of the vote. In the weeks leading up to this election, Germany was blanketed by Nazi campaigning techniques, propaganda delivered by radio and through rapid travel by airplane. The continued economic chaos played into the Nazis' hands and pushed more people into the party. In March 1932, Hitler ran for president, losing to Hindenburg. During the campaign the SA and SS battled in the streets against left-wing militias; the escalating violence threatened to throw Germany into chaos. Hitler continued to gain support by promising law and order, while at the same time the Nazis were guilty of instigating most of the violence they preached against.

After the elections, neither the Nazi Party nor the communist parties were willing to form a coalition government, so new elections had to be held with much the same result. After much political manipulation, Hindenburg appointed Hitler chancellor in January 1933. This was seen as a way to solve the electoral deadlock and also as a way to shift blame to the Nazis for Germany's ongoing problems. Hitler did not play into Hindenburg and the cabal's hands. Shortly after Hitler's appointment, the Reichstag was burned down. Hitler and the Nazis used this opportunity to pass the "Enabling Act," which gave the president dictatorial powers in order to prevent a communist revolution. Hitler used his new powers to gain complete control over the government, police, and communications. The German people were lulled into complacency by the new Nazi economic practices, which were able to bring Germany out of the Great Depression by ending unemployment, stopping hyperinflation, and increasing the standard of living.

GERMAN SYNTHESIS

The period from 1933 to 1939 saw the gradual synthesis of the German state and the Nazi Party. The 1935 Nuremburg laws stripped Jews of civil rights, citizenship, and economic rights and banned their marriage to non-Jews. In 1938 active pogroms began with the infamous *Kristallnacht*, which resulted in a number of Jewish murders and involved the destruction of stores, homes, and synagogues; it ended with the deportation of 30,000 Jews to the first concentration camps. During the war years the party and the state became fused, and Nazism gradually transformed into loyalty to Adolf Hitler. With Hitler's death in April 1945, there was little will to keep the party alive. The party was outlawed after the war, and its trappings were removed from society as part of the Allied occupation.

See also Holocaust, the; World War II.

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Collin Boyd

négritude

Négritude was a literary and then a political movement that developed from the 1930s by a number of intellectuals from French African backgrounds, the most well-known proponents being Aimé Césaire from Martinique, Leopold Sédar Senghor from Senegal, and Léon Damas from French Guiana. They saw the common African heritage as a uniting force against the French colonial system and the inherent racism in French rule.

The original ideas of *négritude* drew from the Harlem Renaissance and were influenced by the works of African Americans such as Richard Wright, Langston Hughes, and James Weldon Johnson. These ideas were distilled by Aimé Césaire in the third issue of the journal *L'Étudiant Noir*, the word *négritude* being used for the first time. The magazine was established in Paris by Césaire and two other students, Leopold Senghor and Léon Damas, and became a focus for the concept of a united heritage of the black diaspora in the French colonies; a similar movement, *negrismo*, was used to describe the same ideas in former Spanish colonies.

After World War II, the concept of *négritude* became a powerful force, with Césaire being elected as mayor of Fort de France, the capital of Martinique, and then to the French chamber of deputies. In 1948 Jean-Paul Sartre endorsed the ideas of *négritude* in an essay called *Orphée Noir* (Black Orpheus), which was published as an introduction to an anthology of African poetry compiled by Léopold Senghor, who was urging for independence for Senegal. He became its first president, remaining in office from 1960 until 1980. In 1958 the French film *Orfeu Negro (Black Orpheus)* was released, set around the Rio de Janeiro carnival. Sartre idealized *négritude* as a more powerful force than that of French colonial racism, but the *négritude* concept became criticized in the 1960s with some subsequent African scholars and political thinkers feeling that it never went far enough, as it defined the French African diaspora more by what it was against than standing by its own values. Nevertheless, it remained an important development in political thinking in the period of decolonization.

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Justin Corfield

Nehru, Motilal

(1861–1931) *Indian leader*

Motilal Nehru was one of the prominent leaders of the Indian National Congress (INC) and father of India's first premier, Jawaharlal Nehru (1889–1964). Descended from a Kashmir Brahmin family, Motilal was born on May 6, 1861, to Gangadhar and Jeorani in Agra. He studied at Muir Central College, Allahabad. After passing the law examination in 1883, he began to practice in Allahabad, where his elder brother, Nandlal, had a roaring practice. Motilal's legal practice was also very successful. In 1899 and 1900 he went to Europe and began to develop a Westernized outlook. This liberal outlook was in line with that of the moderates in congress. He began to attend the congress's annual sessions. His rise in politics was gradual: member of the U.P. council, member of the Allahabad municipal board, and ultimately president of the U.P. congress.

World War I brought momentous changes in the Indian struggle for independence, and Motilal Nehru emerged as a prominent leader in Indian politics. The ministry (1911–15) of Herbert Henry Asquith (1852–1928) declared India at war with the Central Powers. Nationalist leaders like Nehru supported the war efforts of the British government with the hope that India would be suitably rewarded in its path toward self-government. Nehru followed a strategy of cooperation with the colonial power to achieve self-government. A resolution of self-government on December 1916 was passed by the INC.

The moderate and extremist wings of the INC were united at the Lucknow session of 1916. Nehru played an important role in this. His contribution also was present in bringing about Hindu-Muslim unity in the Lucknow Pact of 1916. This was also the time of the Home Rule League, which was founded by the English theosophist Annie Besant (1847–1933), who had emigrated to India. After much deliberation, Nehru joined the league when Annie Besant was imprisoned in June 1917. He was made the president of the Allahabad branch of the Home Rule League and demanded

home rule or self-government of India after the end of World War I. The British government initiated the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms, and the INC wanted major changes to the British proposal. Nehru attended the Bombay session of the INC and supported the congress's demand. He also published a daily newspaper called the *Independent* beginning in February 1919.

In Indian politics events were moving fast. Mohandas K. Gandhi had called for a general strike in April 1919 after the enactment of the draconian Rowlatt Act, which empowered authorities to arrest and detain without trial. The Jallianwalla *bagh* massacre followed. Nehru was a member of the inquiry committee that had been constituted to investigate the massacre. He argued the cases of persons who had been booked by British authorities. Nehru became the president of the Amritsar session of the INC in December 1919. The next year he was the general secretary of the congress.

The emergence of Gandhi brought a new direction to the Indian freedom movement. It greatly affected Motilal Nehru and his family. Nehru cast his lot with Gandhi and supported the noncooperation movement. He resigned from the U.P. council and gave up his lucrative law practice. Nehru began to wear traditional Indian dress and lead a spartan lifestyle. The British government arrested him in December 1921 and put him in jail for six months.

After his release Nehru found that the noncooperation movement was in decline. Gandhi had called it off in February after the Chauri Chaura incident. Nehru gave up noncooperation and made plans for entry into the legislative councils. He was one of the founding members of the Swaraj (self-rule) Party in January 1923 and contested the elections. R. K. Shanmukham Chetty (1892–1953), the first finance minister of independent India, was the chief whip of the Swaraj Party. It became the largest party in the central legislative assembly and in some legislatures of the provinces. Nehru found it difficult to control different factions in the Swaraj Party in spite of his dominating role. He returned to the mainstream of the INC, and the Swaraj Party functioned as a political wing of the INC from 1925 onward. The INC opposed the formation of the Simon Commission of 1927, as it contained no Indians. It was boycotted, and an all-party conference appointed a committee headed by Nehru to prepare a constitution for a free India. The Nehru Report spelled out dominion status for India like that of Australia, New Zealand, and Canada.

The radical wing of the INC, led by Motilal's son Jawaharlal, opposed the Nehru Report. They wanted complete independence, and the Calcutta session of the INC in December 1928, presided over by Motilal Nehru, witnessed heated debates. Gandhi's intervention averted a split. It was decided that the INC would launch civil disobedience for complete independence if the British would not grant dominion status within a year. Jawaharlal Nehru was the president of the historic Lahore session of the INC in 1929. Gandhi launched the salt satyagraha with his famous Dandi March in March 1930. Nehru was arrested but released, as he was not in good health. He died on February 6, 1931. Motilal Nehru was one of the important figures in the history of the INC. He was a great parliamentarian and an eloquent speaker and organizer. Although overshadowed by his famous son, Motilal Nehru had carved a niche for himself in the Indian anticolonial struggle.

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Patit Paban Mishra

New Deal, U.S.

In his acceptance speech at the 1932 Democratic National Convention, Franklin Delano Roosevelt pledged "a new deal for the American people." The term was subsequently used to describe the spate of government programs and reform laws enacted during the first months of Roosevelt's presidency in 1933; 15 major bills impacting industry, agriculture, banking, and the unemployed were passed during Roosevelt's first hundred days in office to combat the crisis of the Great Depression. Another round of legislation, known as the Second New Deal, was adopted in 1935. The various New Deal programs marked an unprecedented effort by the U.S. federal government to stabilize the country and improve the daily lives of Americans.

Among the most significant legislation was the National Industrial Recovery Act (NIRA) of 1933. The act attempted to stabilize the economy through careful planning, striking a balance between supply and demand. A primary cause of the depression had been the disparity between industrial productivity and consumer purchasing power: While manufacturing output, spurred by rapid technological advances, increased 50

percent during the 1920s, per capita income rose much more slowly at 9 percent, and the result was a precariously inefficient, wasteful national economy. The Roosevelt administration responded by calling for fair competitive practices, production quotas, price controls, and increased wages. To gain the crucial support of business leaders, the administration suspended antitrust laws and permitted major industries and trade associations to govern themselves by establishing compacts under the auspices of the National Recovery Administration (NRA). To gain the support of labor, the administration enforced a minimum wage, a 40-hour workweek, and the outlawing of child labor.

AGRICULTURE

The Roosevelt administration similarly sought to rationalize the agricultural sector of the economy through the Agricultural Adjustment Administration (AAA). Even during the 1920s, American farmers were faced with overproduction, low crop prices, and a heavy debt load, and their plight dramatically worsened during the depression years. The nation's net farm income, worth $6.1 billion in 1929, plummeted to $2 billion in 1932. Sheriff's sales were commonplace in rural areas, as farmers could not meet their mortgages; on a single day in 1932 in Mississippi, 25 percent of the land in the state was foreclosed. The AAA made payments to farmers to reduce acreage and eliminate livestock. For example, in 1933 the government subsidized the destruction of 10 million acres of cotton, 6 million piglets, and 200,000 sows. To fend off foreclosures, the Farm Credit Administration lent out $100 million in 1933 to facilitate the refinancing of mortgages.

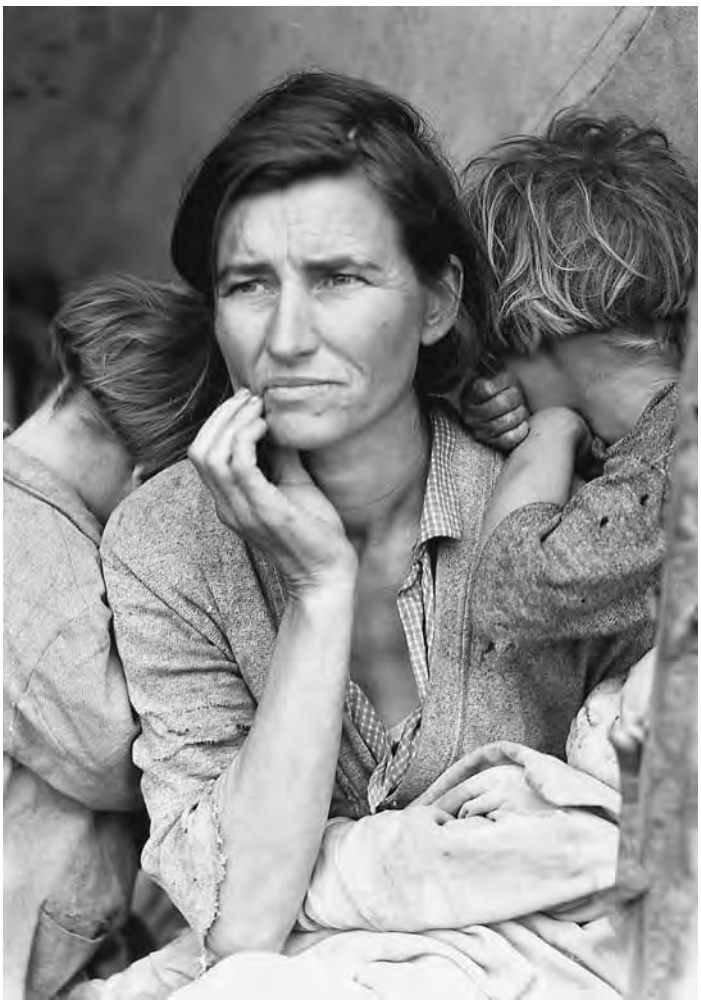
While the New Deal attempted to address structural problems in the American economy, there was a pressing need for immediate relief. At the time of Roosevelt's inauguration in 1933, 25 percent of the workforce was unemployed. In response, Congress appropriated $500 million to form the Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA), which disbursed emergency grants to state and local agencies for direct distribution to the poor. In addition, the administration created the Civil Works Administration, a temporary organization that provided small construction and repair jobs for 4 million workers during the winter of 1933–34. As part of the National Industrial Recovery Act, the Public Works Administration (PWA) was established to sponsor large-scale public works enabling steady employment. Among other projects, the PWA completed the Grand Coulee Dam, the Triborough Bridge in New York City, and hundreds of school buildings.

The New Deal produced a hodgepodge of other programs reflecting the administration's ad hoc experimentation in the face of crisis. The Civilian Conservation Corps, one of the president's pet projects, employed approximately 3 million young unmarried men on environmental projects, such as building firebreaks and campgrounds in national parks. The Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA), another project of special interest to Roosevelt, was an effort to bring hydroelectric power to the underdeveloped Tennessee River region, where only 2 percent of farms had electricity in 1932. The TVA built 30 dams to reclaim floodplains and more than a dozen power plants to generate cheap electricity. In 1934 Congress passed the Securities and Exchange Act, which successfully reined in some of the speculative stock market practices that had contributed to the crash in 1929. The New Deal became involved in cultural efforts such as Federal Project One, a relief program established in 1935 to provide work for writers, actors, musicians, and artists. Roosevelt's administration made little effort to aid minority groups and had a particularly poor record on African-American civil rights, as the president hesitated to offend influential southern Democratic congressmen. Nevertheless, the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934 allowed Native Americans increased autonomy on their reservations.

AMERICAN LIBERTY LEAGUE

The most serious political challenge to the New Deal was mounted between 1934 and 1936. During those years, prominent conservative businessmen created a well-publicized lobby group, the American Liberty League, to denounce what they saw as the New Deal commitment to class warfare and incipient communism. The populist Louisiana governor Huey Long accused the Roosevelt administration of placating wealthy businessmen, advocating a "Share the Wealth" program that would force the rich to pay for social programs for the poor. A mass movement led by a retired doctor, Francis Townsend, supported the creation of an "Old Age Revolving Pension," by which every American over the age of 60 would receive a monthly federal payment. The Supreme Court dealt the New Deal a blow through several unfavorable decisions; the most significant, *Schechter Poultry Corp v. United States*, ruled unanimously that the National Recovery Administration was unconstitutional.

Always a nimble politician, the president sought to defuse populist discontent by offering moderate versions of the favored programs of his most prominent critics. Historians regard the Second New Deal



Dorothea Lange's classic photo of a migrant mother in California reveals the social cost of the depression.

in 1935 as more directly committed to assisting the unemployed, industrial workers, and the elderly than the First New Deal of 1933–34. The administration instituted the Works Progress Administration (WPA), a considerable expansion of earlier work relief programs that eventually employed more than 8 million people. The National Labor Relations Act extended the labor rights of the NIRA by establishing a National Labor Relations Board to arbitrate collective bargaining.

This guaranteed unions increased protections and served to systematize relations between mass-production workers and their employers. Perhaps the most far-reaching legislation of the New Deal era, the Social Security Act established a "safety net" for Americans, providing not only an old-age pension but also unemployment insurance and federal assistance for needy, dependent children and the disabled.

Despite its enormously ambitious agenda, the New Deal did not produce the hoped-for economic recovery. The gross national product slowly increased during Roosevelt's first term in office, but in 1937 the country suffered through a significant downturn known as the "Roosevelt Recession," when business profits dropped by 80 percent.

Farm prices increased by 50 percent between 1932 and 1936, but much of the scarcity in agriculture was brought on by an environmentally devastating DUST BOWL that engulfed the Plains states. The problem of unemployment remained intractable. Unemployment statistics looked much the same throughout the New Deal era: 21.7 percent of American workers were unemployed in 1934, 20.1 percent in 1935, and 19.0 percent in 1938. The general economic mobilization during WORLD WAR II—and not New Deal policy—finally enabled the country to recover from the Great Depression.

Historians have pointed to several problems with the implementation of New Deal programs that impeded their effectiveness. For example, the National Recovery Administration struggled with the unwieldy task of administering competition and production codes for more than 550 separate industries. Small businessmen complained about having no voice in the NRA, and fewer than 10 percent of the code authorities included labor representatives. Large businesses sought to protect their own self-interest and so engaged in price-fixing measures, instituting rules that forbade selling "below cost." Consumers were thus denied the chance to buy inexpensive goods. The benefits of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration were also unevenly distributed, favoring rural landowners rather than tenant farmers and sharecroppers, who constituted one-fourth of the population in the South during the 1930s. A widespread practice by landowners was to evict their tenants, take that land out of production, and collect payment from the AAA.

The president expressed ambivalence about his administration's relief efforts. Although these programs were established with the idea that work relief could restore a sense of dignity among the unemployed, Roosevelt was concerned that relief would become "a habit with the country."

Historians have debated the legacy of the New Deal. During the 1950s, many viewed the New Deal as a triumph for liberalism and democracy. In the 1960s, revisionist historians argued that the New Deal consistently pushed an agenda of "corporate liberalism." Their analysis held that the depression decade offered an unprecedented opportunity to substantively change

the American economic system. Instead, the Roosevelt administration, influenced by corporate and financial elites, used strategic moderate reforms to defuse popular discontent, thereby safeguarding capitalism.

More recent historians have countered that Roosevelt had no mandate to restructure American society through radical reform. They point to the inherent conservatism of the American people during the 1930s. Corporate interests remained hostile to the New Deal even after it introduced banking and securities reforms that effectively stabilized the financial system. Many of Roosevelt's congressional allies, particularly western and southern senators, were only willing to support the emergency measures of the First New Deal. They were deeply suspicious of expanding federal bureaucratic power and fought against nonemergency reforms.

The New Deal established the template for federal activism—but the Roosevelt administration also understood that this activism should be tempered by the desires of constituents. The New Deal philosophy insisted that Americans had the right to basic welfare protections, initiating "safety net" policies that lasted through the 20th century. Primarily, however, the New Deal was an expedient, improvisatory response to the emergency conditions of the Great Depression.

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Tom Collins

New Economic Policy, Soviet Union

The New Economic Policy (NEP) was the transition from an inherent policy of "military communism" food surplus requisitioning to regular food taxation accompanied by liberalization of internal trade and a state monopoly on international trade and heavy industry.

The introduction of the NEP was the result of the necessity to maintain the rural population and the agricultural sector of the economy, which were exhausted by civil war. A famine in 1921–23 in the central part of Russia due to economic as well as ecological and climatic factors was an argument in favor of the revision of existing economic policy.

The NEP was an initiative of Vladimir Lenin, who, by the beginning of 1921, had already realized that the young Soviet state could face a peasants' war. The 10th congress of the Russian Communist Party (of Bolsheviks) took place in March 1921 and adopted Lenin's proposal to transition from food surplus requisitioning to a regular taxation system, the starting point of the NEP, called *nepo* or *nep*. From the very beginning the NEP was perceived by Communists as a forced temporary deviation from the immediate introduction of communism based on so-called Marxist ideals.

Changes in the food taxation system (the transition from voluntaristic food requisitioning to regular food and, soon afterward, to money taxation) accompanied other reforms in the economic sphere. One of the most important of them was the introduction of the possibility for peasants to sell their surplus products at free markets, which meant the renewal of free internal trade in the country. Foreign concessions and lease and privatization of small enterprises were allowed, and trusts got permission for their activity on self-supporting bases. The organization of new collective and state farms was temporarily suspended, and private land cultivation and land lease were allowed.

Nevertheless, the building of communism was not cancelled at all, and key aspects of the economy were totally controlled by the Soviet state. It was a sort of Bolsheviks' guarantee that in the future, socialist elements would overcome capitalist ones under the proletariat dictatorship.

The first results of the introduction of the NEP were visible as early as the 1925, when in most Soviet republics grain production was already as high as before World War I, and industry production levels were also renewed. Changes in economic policy and a general improvement of human welfare were accompanied by general liberalization in the social and cultural spheres. The end of hunger and economic disaster destroyed the basis for peasants' rebellion movements and contributed greatly to the spontaneous breakup of widely distributed armed bands, particularly in the Ukraine.

Mass repressions were stopped, and amnesty was given to members of groups and noncommunist parties. Political emigrants were allowed to return to the country. Such liberalization, alongside an improvement in general welfare, gave the population under

Bolshevik rule a desire for freedom and caused movement in social and cultural life, ethnic identification, national revival, and other processes noncoherent with proletariat dictatorship ideology.

In social and cultural spheres, signs of the end of the general liberalization of internal policy connected with the NEP appeared as early as 1926–28. Usually they are associated with the campaign against so-called nationalistic deviations in the Ukraine, which was a specific trend in the communist movement that tried to synthesize the building of communist society with national liberation movements. This campaign was accompanied by an attack on the Orthodox and Autocephal Churches and the destruction of monasteries and churches.

In spite of obvious traces of economic growth, the country remained mostly agrarian in its economic orientation and could hardly be competitive with the leading European countries in its struggle for survival. Since the very beginning, the Soviet state had been permanently preparing for the great war against the imperialists, so a well-equipped and modern army needed to be created and maintained. One of the key tasks of the Bolsheviks, headed at that time by Joseph Stalin, became an acceleration of heavy industry development, which was ensured by significant investments. It was proclaimed the main goal of the country's development at the 14th congress in December 1925.

The only reliable source of such investments for the Soviet state was an internal one; that is, it could be maintained by redistribution of internal gross product, guaranteed by strictly controlling all spheres of the economy, the agrarian one included. One means of such gross product redistribution—artificially created differences in prices for industrial and agricultural products, with the help of which up to half of the agricultural segment's income was cut in favor of the industrial one—was widely used during the NEP period. By 1926 it resulted in the so-called NEP crisis: Price control by the state caused a significant excess of demand.

Economic policy reorientation, which factually meant dismantling the New Economic Policy, was marked by two epochal decisions by Communist leaders: industrialization and collectivization strategy plans, which came to be known as the Great Breakdown. The first five-year plan of industry development for 1928–33, adopted by the 15th congress of the Communist Party (December 1927), envisaged a high but relatively balanced rate of industry growth. Nevertheless, soon the Communist leadership demanded acceleration. Investment shortage was accompanied by a food crisis in 1928, which was caused by extremely poor harvests in the main Soviet granaries. It was given as the reason to reactivate food requisitioning, to destroy the agrarian market, to intensify the organization of collective farms, and to begin a campaign against relatively prosperous peasants (*kulaki*), proclaimed by Stalin at the All-Union Conference of Marxists-Agrarians in December 1929.

These decisions faced economically motivated objections, and Stalin's ideas of economic strategic development met strong opposition among Communist Party leaders, including Nikolay Bukharin, Nikolay Rykov, and others. It was a reason that Stalin started his struggle for absolute power, which implied new waves of terror, hunger, and political repressions. In fact, dismantling of the New Economic Policy was the starting point for a final totalitarian regime in the Soviet Union.

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Olena V. Smyntyna

Nigerian National Democratic Party

Historians widely credit the Nigerian National Democratic Party (NNDP) as the first political party in Nigeria. Herbert Macaulay formed the NNDP in 1922 by organizing a number of Yoruba interest groups into a cohesive single group with the intent of competing politically. In the 1922 elections for the Lagos legislative council, the NNDP won three seats and began its dominance in western Nigerian politics, which would last until the National Youth Movement (NYM) overtook the NNDP in 1938.

Politics within Nigeria during its colonial period were characterized by tribalism and geographic rivalry. The nature of the Nigerian system, along with the political culture of Nigeria, made it difficult for political parties to unite and form lasting coalitions. Obstacles to political participation traditionally included the number of rural citizens, high illiteracy rates, and the fact that Nigerians speak several hundred different languages. The dominant political parties tended to serve local interests: the Action Group is supported by the Yoruba in western Nigeria

and eastern Nigeria; the Ibos in Southeastern Nigeria follow the National Congress of Nigeria Citizens (NCNC); the Northern People's Congress (NPC) boasts support from the north and the Hausa-Fulani tribe.

Nationalism marked the period between World War I and World War II in Nigeria. Overall, the Nigerian variety of nationalism did not call for independence but for inclusion in the political system. Created by British colonialism, Nigeria reflected a number of different clans and tribes concentrated geographically. The 1922 constitution allowed the political Nigerian the chance to participate in the political process through the election of a number of representatives to the legislative council. One of the many to emerge from the new political opportunities was Herbert Macaulay, referred to as the "father of Nigerian nationalism." His background as a Nigerian civil servant and his education in England gave him a broad background and the experience necessary for successful activism. Macaulay used his newspaper, the *Lagos Daily News*, to awaken Nigerian nationalism.

The early political platform of the NNDP pushed for a number of reforms. Macaulay called for both economic and educational development. Other popular issues with the NNDP were the Africanization of the civil service and self-government for Lagos. The NNDP, however, only remained a force in Lagos until it was overcome by the NYM. Like other Nigerian political parties, the NNDP's inability to expand beyond the city of Lagos made it difficult for it to become a truly national party.

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Matthew H. Wahlert

Northern Expedition

In 1923 Sun Yat-sen made an agreement with the Soviet Union that helped him reorganize the Nationalist Party, or Kuomintang (KMT), and provided military aid to build an army. His price was to admit members of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) to the KMT, where many were given key posts. Sun formed a government in Canton and died in 1925, after which the KMT split, with the pro-Communist wing in command, led by Wang Jingwei (Wang Ching-wei) and controlled by Soviet adviser Michael Borodin. Anti-Communist right-wing KMT leaders were expelled.

By July 1926 the 80,000-strong KMT army commanded by Chiang Kai-shek and led by officers trained by him in the Whampoa Military Academy was ready to take on the warlords and unify China. It confronted over 800,000 men from three warlord armies. Chiang won overwhelming victories, clearing warlord armies from lands south of the Yangzi (Yangtze) River. In his wake, Wang Jingwei moved the Nationalist capital from Canton to Wuhan. Soviet leader Joseph Stalin's goal was to use the Nationalists to defeat the warlords. But after conquering financial centers Shanghai and Nanjing (Nanking), Chiang preempted Stalin by striking first. He purged the CCP from areas he controlled directly and established an alternate government (to Wuhan) in Nanjing in April 1927. In July the leftists in Wuhan finally realized that they were Stalin's next intended victims and, after dismissing the Soviet advisers, broke with the CCP and dissolved their "government."

Chiang resumed the Northern Expedition early in 1928. His major obstacle was Japanese intervention to prevent the unification of China. The Japanese captured provincial capital Jinan (Chinan of Shandong [Shautung] province), killing 16 Chinese diplomats sent to negotiate and several thousand civilians in the Jinan incident. Chiang avoided war with Japan, diverting his troops' advance by a longer route. In June the Northern Expeditionary army entered Beijing (Peking) peacefully. Nanjing became China's national capital, and Beijing was renamed Beiping (Peiping), which means "northern peace." By the end of 1928, the nation was reunified, though nominally for many regions; the KMT became the ruling government, and China entered a new era.

See also United Front, first (1923–1927) and second (1937–1941).

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Jiu-Hwa Lo Upshur

Nuremberg laws

During the annual convention of the National Socialist German Workers' Party (NSDAP) in Nuremberg on September 15, 1935, the "Nuremberg laws" were passed. This new legislation built the basis for the fascist policies of the Third Reich under Adolf Hitler that led to the extermination of Jews in the Holocaust. The laws defined specifically who qualified as a German citizen and thus had the right to official state protection. The laws also clearly defined Jews as enemies of the state and as such stripped them of their rights of citizenship, marginalized them, and prepared for their succeeding mass extermination.

The first Nuremberg law, titled "The Law for the Protection of German Blood and German Honor," prohibited marriages and sexual relations between Germans and Jews and forbade the employment of German women under the age of 45 in Jewish households. It clearly stated a potential danger for fertile German women working in Jewish households. This cast the Jews as lustful beings with little control over their instincts. Jews were portrayed as dangerous to Germans. The first law was passed unanimously in the Reichstag and promulgated on September 16, 1935.

The second law, the so-called Reich Citizenship Law, clarified the relationship between German citizens and the state. It made clear that only Germans determined through blood counted as "nationals." As such, they were considered worthy of protection by the state, but they were also obliged to comply with the provisions that the state made for them. The Reich only considered as citizens those who showed through their behavior that they were personally fit to serve the nation and were loyal to the state. The Reich Citizenship Law was further defined by the first supplementary of the law on November 14, 1935. It used the criterion of purity of blood to distinguish citizens from individuals of mixed Jewish blood and Jews. The state granted the right of citizenship only to full-blooded Germans. Only they were allowed to vote and hold political offices. Jews were explicitly excluded from political participation, and Jews currently in political offices were ordered to retire by December 31, 1935.

The Nuremberg laws were soon followed by "The Law for the Protection of the Genetic Health of the German People," which required all persons wanting to marry to submit to a medical examination, after which a "Certificate of Fitness to Marry" would be issued if they were found to be free of disease. The certificate was required in order to get a marriage license.

The Nuremberg laws built the basis for the exclusion and later persecution of Jews in German society that eventually led to the Holocaust. The laws operated from the premise that Germans were the pinnacle of evolution and that the German blood pool was superior to that of all other races. As such, the NSDAP considered the protection of the pure German blood pool essential and wanted to ensure that German blood did not mix with that of other races.

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Uta Kresse Raina

Nuremberg Trials

The Nuremberg Trials generally refers to the trials against members of the German leadership for war crimes committed in the period leading up to and during World War II. The decision to try these individuals was made during the war. In 1943, President Franklin D. Roosevelt of the United States, Prime Minister Winston Churchill of Great Britain, and Joseph Stalin of the USSR proclaimed in the Moscow Declaration, the intent to hold the German leadership responsible for their actions associated with the war. That same year, the initial meeting of the United Nations War Crimes Commission met in London to address the issue. Although there were differing opinions regarding the scope of the trials, the procedural framework, and the substantive nature of the charges, the ultimate decision was made to prosecute roughly 20 members of German government, military, and industry for their involvement in the war. The main portion of the proceedings was held from November 1945 until August 1946 at the Palace of Justice in Nuremberg.

The Nuremberg Trials were an ambitious undertaking. At the time the charges were brought, there was little, if any, precedent for these charges in international law. The four-count indictment sought to hold accountable not just the individual heads of the Nazi regime, but also the various governmental units. The first count alleged, essentially, that the defendants acted in a conspiracy to commit crimes against peace, war crimes, and

Hermann Göring stands in the prisoner's dock after hearing himself accused of war crimes. Seated beside him is Rudolf Hess, 1946.

crimes against humanity. The second count claimed the defendants engaged in a war of aggression. The third count set out that the defendants had a common plan to commit war crimes. The fourth count alleged crimes against humanity, which included the claim that the defendants persecuted civilians on political, racial, and religious grounds.

Like the substantive charges in the indictment, the procedure by which the defendants would be charged and tried was something unheard of at the time. Because the British, American, French, and Soviet forces had divided the conquered Germany, each country attempted to influence the manner in which the defendants were to be tried. Four prosecutorial teams assembled to address the charges, and there were four judges, as well as alternates, from the four representative nations. The logistics of holding the proceedings were also daunting. Hundreds of thousands of pages of documents were entered into evidence, and over 100 witnesses testified. Because the prosecutors and the judges presiding over the tribunal were from the representative countries, all communications at the trial needed to be translated into English, French, German, and Russian.

The individual defendants were carefully selected so as to represent various segments of the Nazi regime. The defendants were members of the military and government and heads of industry. With Adolf Hitler having committed suicide, the most prominent defendant was Hermann Göring, the commander in chief of the Luftwaffe, or German air force, and president of the Reichstag. Wilhelm Keitel was the chief of staff of the supreme command of the armed forces. Karl Doenitz, commander in chief of the navy, was Hitler's successor. One person charged, Robert Ley, committed suicide before he could be tried, and two were ultimately deemed unfit to stand trial. All in all, there were 22 named defendants tried, including Martin Bormann, who was tried in absentia. Although the majority of the defendants were convicted, a few were acquitted of some or all of the charges against them. Sentences ranged from death by hanging to imprisonment.

Although the Nuremberg Trials generally refer to the initial trial, there were, in fact, 12 follow-up trials involving other lesser-ranking members of the German government involved in various war crimes and human rights abuses. Although some legal scholars challenge the legitimacy of the trials, they served as a detailed review of the atrocities committed by the German government in World War II. The Nuremberg Trials have served as a model for subsequent war crimes tribunals.

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Darwin Burke

Nyasaland (Malawi)

Nysaland is the name for the former British protectorate that is the present-day country of Malawi. Modern Zambia, Tanzania, Mozambique, and Lake Nyasa (Lake Malawi) form the nation's borders.

A number of native ethnic groups inhabit the Nyasaland region, including the Chewa, the Yaos, the Lowmes, the Tonga, the Tumbuka, and the Ngoni. The area has been inhabited for about 12,000 years and was first visited by Europeans when the Portuguese adventurer Gaspar Bocarro explored in 1492. Like most of Africa, Nyasaland suffered the damages of the slave trade that flourished in the following centuries.

After the Scottish missionary David Livingston arrived on the shores of the lake he named Lake Nyasa in 1859, other missionaries answered his call to come to Africa and fight the slave trade. The first European trade station was built in 1884 at Karonga in the northeastern part of the territory by the African Lakes Company, owned primarily by Glasgow traders. As Britain's imperialist expansion continued, what was known as the Shire Highlands Protectorate in 1889

became a protectorate of the crown. The name was changed to Nyasaland Districts in 1891, to the British Central Africa Protectorate in 1893, and still later to the Nyasaland Protectorate. The area was called Nyasaland until its independence in 1964.

Nyasaland's people resented European rule and in 1915, led by John Chilembwe, openly revolted. Although they were unsuccessful in freeing themselves from foreign rule, the Africans continued to work for their independence. The Nyasaland African Congress (later the Malawi Congress Party) was formed in 1944 with this goal in mind. When Dr. Hastings Kamuzu Banda became leader of the party in 1959, the movement for freedom intensified.

In 1953, at the urging of Britain and of white colonial residents hoping to establish a powerful economic center in the region, the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland (also called the Central African Federation) was formed. Salisbury (now Harare) in southern Rhodesia was designated the capital of the federation. Giving powers to five governments made the constitution for the federation one of the most complex ever written. Two British administrative offices had powers: the Commonwealth Office, which managed affairs with southern Rhodesia, and the Colonial Office, which worked in northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland. In addition, each of these three territories had powerful governors, and there was a governor-general of the federation. In addition, the Africans, especially the government of northern Rhodesia now dominated by Africans, were demanding more political control of their own lives.

Nyasaland gained its independence from Britain in 1964; it was renamed Malawi in reference to the Maravi, a Bantu people who came from the southern Congo about 600 years before, and elected Dr. Banda as the new nation's first president.

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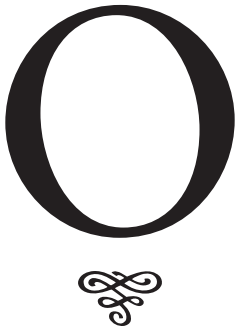
Jean Shepherd Hamm



Obregón, Álvaro

(1880–1928) *Mexican president*

The president of Mexico from 1920 until 1924, General Álvaro Obregón Salido was born on February 19, 1880, at the Hacienda de Siquisiva in southern Sonora, in the far northwest of Mexico. The 17th son of Francisco Obregón, who died when Álvaro was young, and Cenobia Salido, it is often claimed that his name was derived from the Irish surname O'Brian. In later life Obregón used to joke that he had so many older brothers and sisters that when the family ate Gruyère cheese only the holes were left for him.

Obregón did not take part in politics when he was young and stayed away from the clashes during the Mexican Revolution. He spent this time working on the family farm and was said to have learned the Mayan language during this period, although some biographers claim that he could only speak a few words. He developed skills including carpentry and photography.

In 1911 Álvaro Obregón entered politics, being elected mayor of Huatabampo. He was a supporter of the then president, Francisco Madero, who was facing four separate revolts. Madero was captured and executed by two of the rebel leaders, Félix Díaz, nephew of a former longtime president, and General Victoriano Huerta. Huerta was an unpopular president, and Obregón joined a revolt led by Venustiano Carranza, which overthrew him. With Carranza in power, there were also clashes between the new government's forces and those of Pancho Villa. Obregón, aided by General Benjamin Hill, led the federal troops on April 6–7, 1915, when they defeated Villa's men. In a battle that lasted from April 29 to June 5, Obregón again defeated Villa but lost his right arm to a grenade. On July 10 in the next engagement of what became collectively known as the Battle of Celaya, Obregón's men prevailed again.

Obregón had hoped to succeed Carranza when the presidency became vacant in 1920 and was angered when Carranza named Ignacio Bonillas as his successor. This caused Obregón to plan a military revolt to put himself into power. Carranza was deposed and killed in May 1920 and was replaced by Adolfo de la Huerta, who was provisional president until elections could be held. After the elections, which Obregón won, de la Huerta stepped down, and Obregón became president of Mexico. De la Huerta had done much to reduce the fighting in the country, and most of the country was, for the first time in many years, at peace. This situation allowed for more money to be spent on education than on defense. When rebellions did break out, they were quickly crushed, and their leaders were killed.

Although the four years of Obregón's presidency saw further land and agrarian reforms and moves to reduce the power of the Roman Catholic Church, Obregón changed Carranza's hostile approach to the United States to one of establishing better trade and diplomatic relations. When he became president, the U.S. government did not extend recognition to his regime. This initial problem was made worse by the death of a U.S. citizen, Rosalie Evans, who was killed defending her farm from the governor of Puebla, José

María Sánchez. In summer 1923, talks began between Mexican and U.S. representatives and led to the Bucareli Accords, by which the Mexican government rolled back some of the measures that had been introduced by the revolutionaries. Some senators denounced it as going back on fundamental promises made by current and previous administrations. In heated debate the accords were denounced in both the Mexican senate and the chamber of deputies. However, in September 1923 the U.S. government formally recognized Obregón as president of Mexico. Trade increased quickly, especially with the improved sale of Mexican petroleum to the United States.

Obregón's main reason for overthrowing Carranza had been the latter's choice of an heir apparent. This was also going to cause Obregón trouble. He chose Plutarco Calles as his successor, but Adolfo de la Huerta contested this, leading a revolt in December 1923. With U.S. support for his government, Obregón prevented guns from being sold to the rebels, and the rebellion fizzled out, but not before they had killed one of Obregón's allies, Felipe Carrillo Puerto, the governor of Yucatán. Obregón was able to step down as president on November 20, 1924, and then returned to Sonora.

Calles became the next president, and in 1926 there was a change in the constitution to allow presidents to serve nonconsecutive terms. Obregón decided that he would like to contest the next election. In November 1927 Segura Vilchis, a Roman Catholic engineer, threw a bomb at Obregón's car at Chapultepec Park in Mexico City. Obregón survived, but Vilchis and some accomplices were executed a few days later. In 1928 Obregón contested the presidential elections again—he was the only candidate—and won, although he was in bad health. Returning to Mexico City to celebrate his victory, he survived an assassination attempt, but on July 17, 1928, at the La Bombilla restaurant in the capital, he was assassinated by José de León Toral, a Catholic seminary student who opposed the anticlerical policies of Obregón. He was arrested, tried, and subsequently executed.

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Justin Corfield

oil industry in the Middle East

During the 20th century oil became a major revenue source for a number of Middle Eastern nations. The first petroleum concession was signed between the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company (AIOC) and the Qajar shah of Iran in 1901. An Australian, William Knox D'Arcy, negotiated the contract, whereby the shah and the grand vizier received 50,000 shares as a gift. The government was to receive 16 percent of the profits after costs were subtracted. The contract was to last for 60 years, the company was to pay no taxes, and the prospecting covered 500,000 square miles, or five-sixths, of Iran. The British government owned half of Anglo-Iranian Oil, Burmah Oil owned 22 percent, and the rest was owned by a combination of investors. The company justified the extremely favorable terms on the grounds that at the time, prospecting for oil was extremely risky and capital intensive. Dozens of wells might be drilled at great expense before oil was found. Reza Shah managed to obtain better terms after he revoked the first concession in 1932.

The first contract set the pattern for future ones in the region for the next half century. The petroleum industry was a vertical and horizontal monopoly. Western companies controlled the prospecting, sources, transport, refining, and sale of oil. Seven major corporations, or the so-called "seven sisters," eventually dominated the industry. These were Standard Oil of New Jersey (founded by John Rockefeller), Royal Dutch Shell, British Petroleum, Gulf, Socony-Mobil, Texaco, and Standard Oil of California. Compagnie Française des Petroles (CFP) and an Italian company were smaller firms. Many of these companies had overlapping ownerships and directors.

Middle East governments were too weak, lacked the technology to develop the industry themselves, and willingly granted concessions giving Western companies control over their vital natural resource. With no private ownership of oil fields in the Middle East, revenues from oil went directly to the governments to be spent as each deemed appropriate. Because the oil was purchased primarily in Western nations for industrial, military, and transport use, the resource did not generate many jobs or secondary industries in the Middle East, unlike, for example, the automotive industry in the West, which created numerous secondary industries.

The second major concession in the Middle East was signed between Iraq and a consortium of Western companies. Calouste Gulbenkian negotiated the contract in exchange for 5 percent of the shares. As a result of this deal, Gulbenkian was dubbed "Mr. Five Percent"

In the 20th century, oil became a major source of revenue for many Middle Eastern nations. As oil increased in value, these Middle Eastern nations were able to become more powerful economically and thus more important to world trade.

and became one of the richest men in the world at the time. Ownership of the company was apportioned as follows: 25 percent D'Arcy, comprising Burmah and the British government and that became known as British Petroleum (BP); 25 percent CFP, of which the French government owned 40 percent; 25 percent Royal Dutch Shell, comprising British and Dutch interests; and 25 percent U.S. gas, including Standard Oil of New Jersey and Socony Mobil. These firms divided payment of the 5 percent for Gulbenkian evenly among themselves. The contract covered all of Iraq for 75 years, allowed for no taxation of the companies, and established a set payment amount per ton. Revenues to oil-producing nations did not increase with prices that were set by the oil companies.

A New Zealander, Frank Holmes, obtained the concession in Bahrain in 1925, and U.S. companies bought into that concession. Holmes also negotiated with Kuwait for a concession there, but production in Kuwait did not begin until 1945.

Standard Oil of California initiated negotiations with King Abd al-Aziz Ibn Saud in Saudi Arabia and obtained a concession there in 1933 under the California Arabian Standard Oil Company that was to pay the Saudi Arabian government a set amount in gold sovereigns. During the Great Depression the payment was renegotiated for dollars or sterling. During the 1940s additional investments by U.S. oil firms were made, and the company became the Arabian-American Oil Company (ARAMCO). Ownership of ARAMCO was divided among Standard Oil of California (30 percent), Texaco (30 percent), Standard Oil of New York (30 percent), and Socony Mobil (10 percent). With assistance from the U.S. government, ARAMCO built a refinery and extensive facilities for the company and its employees in Ras Tanura.

ARAMCO agreed to a 50-50 split with Saudi Arabia rather than paying the 50 percent corporate taxes in the United States in 1950. Other companies, which did not enjoy the same tax benefits from their nations, were reluctantly forced to follow suit.

By 1950 Middle East oil holdings were apportioned along the following lines: AIOC in Iran, Iraq, Mosul, Basra Petroleum companies (IPC) in Iraq, ARAMCO in Saudi Arabia, Kuwait Oil Company in Kuwait, Bahrain Petroleum Company in Bahrain, and Petroleum Development Ltd. (IPC) in Qatar. However, oil production and revenues in Saudi Arabia and the Gulf states did not begin to soar until the 1960s and 1970s as demand from industrialized Western nations and Japan steadily escalated.

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Janice J. Terry

Olympic Games

The original Olympic Games were played in Olympia, Greece, from the eighth or ninth century B.C.E. to 393 C.E. The Renaissance's renewed interest in things classical inspired occasional small-scale multievent sporting festivals in various European cities throughout the 17th, 18th, and 19th centuries, but the real revival of the Olympic Games themselves began when the site of Olympia was excavated in 1829. When the French lost the Franco-Prussian War in 1871, historian Baron Pierre de Coubertin proposed that a revival of the games, a truly international competition would not only encourage international camaraderie, it would renew interest in athleticism among French youths, restoring physical competence to a generation. Coubertin and Demetrius Vikelas, a Greek businessman, founded the International Olympic Committee (IOC) to organize a modern Olympics Games.

American athlete Jesse Owens at the start of his record-breaking 200-meter race at the 1936 summer Olympics in Berlin

Unlike the ancient games, the modern Olympics were held at a different site every four years, beginning in Athens in 1896. Athens had been the site of a number of local games held in honor of the ancient Olympics, and there is some dispute today over whether the founder of those games, Evangelis Zappas, should be considered the founder of the modern Olympics. But it was not until the IOC's games that participation became international and widespread; 14 countries competed in 43 events in 10 days, the greatest variety of participating athletes of any sporting event to that date. Greece and the United States won the majority of events. The games struggled to catch on, hampered by the competing popularity of the World's Fair and the difficulty transatlantic journeys posed. In the 1908 games in London, the modern length of the marathon was established as 26 miles and 385 yards; the highlight of the 1912 Stockholm games was the participation of Jim Thorpe, a famous all-around athlete.

In 1924, the first winter Olympics were held as an event separate from the summer games, though the 1924 event was not designated as such until after the fact. The first winter games announced as such were the 1928 games in St. Moritz, where 25 countries competed in 14 events. The 1936 summer games are perhaps the single most famous Olympics Games; they were held in Berlin at the peak of Nazism's popularity before the invasion of Poland and World War II. Filmmaker and Nazi propagandist Leni Riefenstahl used technically advanced techniques to film *Olympia*, her chronicle of the games as commissioned by Adolf Hitler.

Intended to demonstrate the athletic superiority of Aryans over non-Aryans, the movie instead recorded a significant number of non-Aryan victories, including those of African-American Jesse Owens, who won the gold medal in the 100-meter run, 200-meter run, and long jump and as part of the 4 x 100 meter relay team. Despite the Nazi position on his race, Owens was treated as a hero and celebrity in Berlin as much as in any other city, perhaps demonstrating a disconnect between the ruling ideology and the feelings of the people.

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Bill Kte'pi

Open Door policy

China's catastrophic defeat in the Sino-Japanese War (1894–95) and its growing political and military weakness led to a scramble for concessions by Western powers that seemed to presage its eventual partition. The movement began in 1898 with Germany's successful demand to the Qing (Ch'ing) government for a 99-year lease of Jiaozhou (Kiaochow) as a naval base in Shandong (Shantung) Province, the right to build a railway between that port and Jinan (Chinan), the provincial capital, and numerous mining and other rights. Shandong became a German sphere of influence as a result. Russia followed by obtaining similar privileges and concessions in the northeastern provinces (Manchuria) and Mongolia, and France in the south and southwestern provinces (Guangdong, Guangxi, and Yunnan) that adjoined French Indochina. Great Britain dominated China's foreign trade, amounting to 60 percent of its total imports and exports. While it feared the division of China into spheres of influence would damage British trade, it nevertheless moved to establish a sphere in the Yangzi (Yangtze) River valley and in areas near Hong Kong.

The United States had not demanded a sphere of influence in China, did not have major trading interests in China, but feared that Western powers might impose discriminatory tariffs in areas under their influence. These concerns prompted W. W. Rockhill, private adviser on Far Eastern affairs to Secretary of State John Hay (1838–1905), to draft a memorandum, with the assistance of British diplomat Alfred E. Hippisley, that Hay sent in September 1899 to the governments of Great Britain, Russia, Germany, France, Italy, and Japan. This, the First Open Door Note, had three points: First, no country would interfere with the interests of others in its sphere of influence; second, no country would discriminate against the nationals of other countries by charging them different railway and harbor dues; and third, tariffs stipulated by treaties would be collected by the Chinese government within Western spheres of influence. Despite receiving evasive and equivocal replies and no unqualified support from any country, Hay nevertheless announced on March 20, 1900, that all had given their "final and definitive" assent.

The Boxer Rebellion in China precipitated an international intervention in 1900 that threatened to carve up the country. Thereupon, Hay issued the Second Open Door Note on July 3, 1900, in which the United States stated its goal as: to "preserve Chinese territorial and administrative integrity, protect all rights guaranteed to friendly powers by treaty and international law, and safe guard for the world the principle of equal and impartial trade with all parts of the Chinese Empire." Hay did not solicit responses from the other powers on this declaration of principle.

The Open Door policy became one of the cornerstones of U.S. policy regarding China. It was embodied in the Washington Nine Power Treaty in 1922 and the Stimson Doctrine of Non-Recognition of Japan's conquest and installation of a puppet government in Manchuria after 1931.

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Jiu-Hwa Lo Upshur

Orlando, Vittorio Emanuele

(1860–1952) *Italian politician*

Vittorio Emanuele Orlando was prime minister of Italy from 1917 to 1919 following the Italian army's defeat at Caporetto. Orlando was also head of his country's delegation to the Paris Peace Conference in 1919. Aside from his prominent political role, Orlando, who was himself a professor of law, is also renowned for his writings on judicial issues.

Orlando was born on May 19, 1860, in Palermo, Sicily, where he was also raised and educated. He made a name for himself through his writings on government administration and electoral reform. In 1897, he was elected to the chamber of deputies, the Italian federal parliament. From 1903 to 1905, Orlando served as minister of education under King Vittorio Emanuele

(Victor Emanuel) III. In 1907, Orlando was appointed minister of justice, a portfolio he retained until 1909. He was subsequently reappointed to the same ministry in November 1914, and he became minister of the interior in June 1916.

Italy remained neutral during the initial phase of World War I. The country was formally aligned with Germany and Austria-Hungary; a discussion started over whether Italy should enter the war on the Entente's side. Orlando was a strong proponent of Italy's entrance into the war, which took place when the kingdom declared war on Austria-Hungary in late May 1915. Always a strong supporter of Italy's participation in the war even after initial setbacks on the battlefield, Orlando was encouraged in his support of the Allies on the basis of secret promises made by the latter granting vast Italian territorial gains in the Mediterranean.

On October 30, 1917, Orlando became prime minister. It was a time of severe crisis following the disastrous defeat of the Italian troops at the Battle of Caporetto by the Austrians. With his appointment as prime minister having boosted national morale and having successfully rallied Italy to a renewed war effort, Orlando replaced the stubborn general Luigi Cadorna as chief of general staff with Armando Diaz. The following year saw Italian successes on the battlefield and the war's victorious conclusion in November.

Orlando served as prime minister until the end of the war and headed the Italian delegation at the Paris Peace Conference in 1919. However, he proved unable to obtain the expected and promised territorial concessions. Orlando had a serious clash with his allies, especially President Woodrow Wilson of the United States. Orlando's claims to formerly Austrian territory collided with Wilson's policy of national self-determination. Wilson even appealed over Orlando's head to the Italian people on the question of the Mediterranean port of Fiume/Rijeka, which was requested by both Italy and Yugoslavia. Although that maneuver failed, Orlando dramatically left the conference in April 1919, returning only to sign the resultant treaty the following month. His position rapidly undermined by his apparent inability to get concessions from the Allies and to secure Italian interests at the peace conference, Orlando resigned from office on June 19, 1919. He was succeeded by Francesco Nitti.

On December 2 of the same year, Orlando was elected president of the chamber of deputies. In the rising conflict between the new Fascist Party of Benito Mussolini and the workers' organizations, Orlando at first supported the Fascists. He remained a supporter of Mussolini's government upon its inception at the end of 1922, although he changed his position two years later when the prominent Socialist leader Giacomo Matteotti fell victim to assassination. In 1925, Orlando resigned from parliament in protest against Fascist electoral fraud, serving thereafter in the constituent assembly.

Orlando remained in retirement until Mussolini's fall in July 1943. After the liberation of Rome in early June 1944, Orlando became a leading figure of the newly established Conservative Democratic Union. He was elected president of the constituent assembly in June 1946. Orlando's objections to the peace treaty brought about his resignation in 1947. The following year saw his election to the new Italian senate. The same year he was also a candidate for the presidency of the republic, but he was defeated by Luigi Einaudi. He died on December 1, 1952.

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Martin Moll

Orozco, Pascual

(1882–1915) *Mexican revolutionary*

Pascual Orozco served as an important military and political leader in Mexico from 1910 to 1915, ultimately becoming a leading figure of the Mexican Revolution. Born in the northern state of Chihuahua in 1882 to a politically active family, Orozco received a few years of primary education and worked in his father's store until becoming a muleteer, transporting ore from local mines. His transportation business prospered, and by 1910 he owned his own team of mules and a retail store and was known as a successful businessman with a good reputation as an honest man.

Orozco's political consciousness awoke with his father's opposition to the regime of Porfirio Díaz. Pascual Orozco, Sr., supported the activities of the Mexican Revolutionary Party, one of the earliest groups to oppose Díaz. In 1910 Abraham González, the revolutionary leader of Chihuahua and a supporter of Francisco Madero, picked Orozco to be the military leader of his home region of Guerrero. Orozco's reputation as an honest and efficient businessman facilitated

Pascual Orozco (center) served as an important military and political leader in Mexico from 1910 to 1915, ultimately becoming a leading figure of the Mexican Revolution. A member of a politically active family, Orozco had a reputation for success and honesty.

recruitment to the revolutionary cause. On November 10, 1910, Orozco initiated his military offensive, beginning operations the day before the official date set by Madero for the revolution to begin. On November 29 Orozco's forces took Pedernales, Chihuahua, the first significant rebel victory over the federal army. Orozco rose in the ranks to a leadership position, commanding revolutionary activities in the state of Chihuahua, which were marked by several triumphant engagements with Díaz's forces. Francisco Madero returned to Mexico and joined Orozco in February 1911, assuming command of military operations. After a devastating defeat at Casas Grandes, Chihuahua, undertaken without Orozco's knowledge, Madero recognized the talent of his Chihuahuan military leader and promoted Orozco to the position of colonel in the revolutionary army.

In May 1911 Orozco and Francisco "Pancho" Villa prepared to attack Ciudad Juárez, a metropolitan center located on the U.S.-Mexico border directly opposite El Paso, Texas. Madero feared the attack could spill over into El Paso, leading to U.S. intervention. He subsequently ordered Orozco and Villa to call off the attack; they ignored orders and forced the city into surrender. Orozco captured the federal commander at Juárez, General F. Navarro, with hopes that the general would be court-martialed for executing some of Orozco's troops. Madero disagreed and aided Navarro in escaping to the United States. The attack on Ciudad Juárez created tension between Madero and Orozco, tension that reached an apex when Madero failed to reward Orozco for his vital services to the revolutionary cause with the position of governor of Chihuahua or minister of war. Orozco was appointed to the position of commander of the rural guard of Chihuahua, a modest position, and later became the head of the garrison stationed at Juárez. He resigned this position in February 1912 after Madero ordered him to quell the Zapatista rebellion in the south, but Madero refused his resignation. Orozco suppressed one more uprising in the north and resigned again.

Feeling that his talents and contributions to the revolution and Madero's presidency went unrecognized and with the financial backing of oppositional political factions in Chihuahua, Orozco openly denounced the

Madero government. Madero's oversight of Orozco's contributions to his rise to power now put the new president into open rebellion with his most successful rebel leader. Chihuahua raged with violent revolt, and the governor of the state fled for his life. Madero's new government struggled to put down the rebellion and found its coffers drained and its attention taken away from reform projects by the focus on stabilizing the country, especially the north. Madero dispatched General Victoriano Huerta to put down Orozco's rebellion in April 1912. Huerta succeeded in taking back Ciudad Juárez but did not capture Orozco.

A turn of events in February 1913 left Huerta president of Mexico by way of a military coup and Madero's assassination. Huerta needed military support to overcome resistance to his seizure of power and looked toward Orozco as an important ally. In exchange for financial demands and a program of agrarian reform, Orozco became a brigadier general in Huerta's army. In May 1913 Orozco began his northern campaign against Huerta's enemies, experiencing a series of victories, which led to his promotion to general of brigade. He battled Pancho Villa for control of Chihuahua, but disagreements with fellow general Salvador Mercado over political and military affairs ultimately contributed to the defeat of the federal forces. Huerta dispatched Orozco again in April 1914 to Chihuahua to create a base for guerrilla operations, but Huerta's resignation and exile in July 1914 dissolved that operation.

With this change in government, Orozco did not wait for a new administration to revolt. This time, however, he lacked popular support, and within two months he no longer represented a military threat. Now in the United States, Huerta courted Orozco in his scheme to take back the Mexican presidency. Orozco agreed to meet Huerta at Newman, New Mexico, to discuss the conspiracy.

Federal agents had been monitoring Huerta, and the two men were arrested and charged with conspiracy to violate U.S. neutrality laws on January 13, 1916. Orozco escaped federal custody on July 3 but was killed on August 30 by a posse made up of U.S. federal marshals, Texas Rangers, and U.S. Army troops. Some characterized Orozco's death as an execution, finding it odd that Orozco and his four companions were all shot, while the posse suffered no losses or injuries.

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Kathleen Legg

P

Pahlavi dynasty and Shah Reza Khan

At the end of World War I, Iran was in desperate straits. The authority of the central government had broken down, and the country faced national bankruptcy in addition to famine in some regions. In 1919 the majlis (parliament) declined a British offer of financial and military assistance, and British support personnel left the country. Reza Khan, the commanding officer of the Persian Cossack Brigade, along with newspaper editor and political writer Sayyid Zia Tabatabai, stepped into the void and seized power in a February 1921 coup d'état. Sayyid Zia Tabatabai became premier, and Reza Khan became commander of the armed forces. On February 26, the new government signed a treaty of friendship with the Soviet Union.

Reza Khan was the true power in the new government. Within three months he had ousted Tabatabai, who went into exile. Two years later, in October 1923, with the support of loyal army forces, Reza Khan became premier, and Shah Ahmad Mirza, the last shah of the Qajar dynasty, left the country never to return. In October 1925, the majlis formally deposed Ahmad Shah, and in December Reza Khan was proclaimed the new sovereign. In an attempt to tie the new monarchy to ancient Persian history, Reza Khan took the name Pahlavi for his dynasty. He then embarked on an ambitious program of modernization.

During his reign, Reza Shah enacted educational and judicial reforms that eroded the role and influence of the mullahs (Shi'i clergy), and the clerics gradually lost their preeminence in education, judicial administration, and document registration. The clergy opposed these and other reforms and often openly clashed with the new regime. In a push for national unification, Reza Shah banned traditional and ethnic forms of dress in favor of Western clothing. He opened the nation's schools and its first university in Tehran to women. Women were officially freed from wearing the veil in 1936, and divorce laws were also changed in their favor.

Reza Shah established an authoritarian system, suppressing political parties and restricting the press. Rebellious tribal leaders were either imprisoned or put to death. Several of Reza Shah's ministers and other prominent Iranian critics of the regime also died under suspicious circumstances.

On the other hand, Reza Shah implemented many reforms that benefited the nation. He established a national bank in 1927 and improved the tax collection process. He also transformed Iran's bureaucracy into a Western-style civil service of 90,000 people and extended the reach of the national government through reorganized ministries and administrative divisions. He instituted a form of state socialism to build a modern infrastructure. New civil, penal, and commercial codes were introduced. In 1933 Reza Khan also gained improved terms on the oil concession granted to British companies earlier in the 20th century.

External rather than internal events ended Reza Shah's reign. Fearing both increased Soviet and British influences in Iran, Reza Shah turned to Nazi Germany. After Adolf Hitler invaded the Soviet Union in 1941,

Iran's neutrality was jeopardized as the Allies sought safe, overland passage through Iran for delivery of U.S. supplies to the Soviet front. They also wanted to ensure that Germany did not gain access to vital Iranian oil supplies. When it became evident that the shah would not cooperate, Soviet and British troops invaded Iran in August 1941. In September Reza Shah was forced to abdicate in favor of his eldest son, Mohammed Reza; he went into exile first to Mauritius and then to South Africa. He died in Johannesburg on July 26, 1994.

See also IRAN-SOVIET RELATIONS; OIL INDUSTRY IN THE MIDDLE EAST.

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KEITH BUKOVICH

Pakistan resolution

The Pakistan resolution (also known as the Lahore resolution) called for the creation of one or more separate Muslim states on the Indian subcontinent. The ALL-INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE passed the resolution on March 23, 1940, during its meeting at Lahore, India. Muslims in British-ruled India had become concerned about what would happen when Great Britain left India. As the minority population in predominantly Hindu India, they were concerned about being able to protect their rights and their religious identity. They believed that their best option was the creation of Muslim states, formed in the regions where Muslims were a majority of the population.

As India moved toward self-government during the 1930s, many people believed that it would become an independent nation with a Hindu majority and Muslim minority. Many hoped that the two civilizations could work together to form a federated government. The INDIA ACT of 1935 moved India closer to independence by turning more of the government functions over to the local population by setting up elections that took place in 1937.

The Muslim League hoped to win some positions during the election, but instead it was almost totally shut out of the government and only won control in provinces with a Muslim majority. The INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS, led by MOHANDAS K. GANDHI, won control of most local legislatures and declared that it was the only national party. However, led by MOHAMMAD ALI JINNAH, the Muslim League declared that it was still an equal partner in the governing process of the country. Muslim leaders feared that the Hindus were only interested in having complete control of the government and were not interested in sharing power in governing the country.

When WORLD WAR II began the congress refused to participate in the war, claiming that it had no interest in the affairs of Europe. The congress ordered its members to resign their offices to protest India's being forced to support Britain's war effort. Hindus protested India's involvement in the war and, Gandhi said that India would only support the war effort when Britain set a date for Indian independence.

Jinnah and the Muslim League took the opposite approach. They offered Britain their support and cooperation in the hope that Britain would then support their desire for a separate Muslim nation after the war. The British were happy with the support and included Jinnah in many aspects of the government. As a result, the league enhanced its stature and gained governing experience, while many congress leaders languished in jail.

The Muslim League held its convention at Lahore, India, and on March 23, 1940, issued the Pakistan resolution calling for the creation of a Muslim state or states. They called their state Pakistan, formed from the provinces in the northwestern part of India where the majority of the population was Muslim. Pakistan became an independent state in 1947.

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DALLACE W. UNGER, JR.

Pan-Africanism

Pan-Africanism originated in the late 19th century in the West Indies. The spark for its enunciation was European colonialism's impact on Africa and African-descended people around the world. In the mid-20th century, Pan-Africanism became a rallying cry for

the African independence movements. Some elements sought a unified postcolonial continentwide African nation. The Pan-African movement developed two strains. Continental Pan-Africanism dealt with the continent itself, emphasizing political union or international cooperation. Diaspora Pan-Africanism attempted to bring together all black Africans and persons of African descent.

The underlying assumption of Pan-Africanism is that all African people have common ties and objectives that can best be realized by united effort. All Africans around the world have a common future based on a common past of forced dispersal through the slave trade, oppression through colonialism and racism, economic exploitation, and denial of political rights. All Africans also share a common history, culture, and social background, all of which are denied by white racism.

"All Africans" has been variously defined as including all black Africans, all people descended from black Africans, all people in Africa regardless of color, and all African states. All people working together for a common African goal based on a common African experience are considered part of the Pan-African movement.

Originally, Pan-Africanism sought unity of all African black cultures and countries. It expanded to encompass all black-descended people in the world, those who had been forced to the Caribbean, the United States, Latin America, the Middle East, and South Asia through the transatlantic and Islamic/East African slave trades as well as later immigration. Some Pan-Africanists include the Sudroid and Australoid blacks of India. Also included are the Andamanese Island Negritos and the black aborigines of Melanesia, New Guinea, and Australia.

Colonial conquest was commonly followed by control of the native populations as a source of cheap and reliable labor in mines and on African plantations. Europeans came to dominate a market-based production of raw materials. Europeans imposed a caste system and a foreign type of governance over the tribal peoples, and the British were notable for using the local officials as pawns. Internal developments were made to facilitate the extraction of African wealth for European benefit.

Africans fought the colonialists from early on. Discontent with the system and dislike of the colonialists led to efforts to unify Africans for their own good. African rulers protested in writing to their European counterparts, and slaves rose against oppression periodically in the Americas and the Caribbean.

At the Congress of Berlin in 1884 to reduce European rivalries and friction in Africa, the European powers prepared to divide Africa among themselves. The race for Africa led George Charles of the African Emigration Association (AEA) to declare in 1886 that the AEA intended to establish the United States of Africa. A Pan-Africanist conference in Chicago in 1893 denounced the European division of Africa, particularly the actions of the French against Liberia and Abyssinia.

In 1900 Henry Sylvester-Williams organized a Pan-African conference that brought Africans from the Caribbean and United States to London to discuss common concerns with white Britian. Initially, the meeting sought to protest unequal treatment of blacks in colonial Britain and in Britain itself. Speakers also spoke of the need to preserve the dignity of African peoples and to educate them and provide social services.

The conference also heard W. E. B. DuBois predict that "the problem of the twentieth century is the color line." Williams died in 1911, and DuBois took over management of the congresses. He organized the next several meetings. DuBois, one of the founders of the Niagara movement and the NAACP (National Association for the Advancement of Colored People), and other black leaders were concerned after World War I about the treatment of African-American and African soldiers as well as the status of the former German African colonies. The first Pan-African Congress took place in 1919 in Paris, where the European powers were holding the Paris Peace Conference.

The 1919 Pan-African Congress had an agenda similar to that of the 1900 meeting. Africans needed education and the right to participate in their own affairs. The former German colonies were of particular interest, and a proposal was made that the League of Nations hold them in trust until they were ready for self-determination. The league did take the territories under nominal oversight but gave them to the other European states without requiring any move toward self-determination.

The congresses became larger as attendance from the Unites States, Africa, the Caribbean, and Europe increased. Reasons for the growth included sponsorship of delegates by international labor movements, which were growing during the 1920s. Also, the black nationalism of Marcus Garvey was on the ascent. Garveyites in the United States sought African unity as well as improvement of the lot of working-class blacks. They contrasted with the elite blacks who tended to support DuBois. The Jamaican Garvey formed the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA) in 1914 as a vehicle for instilling black pride and improving the political and economic lot of blacks everywhere.

Garveyism also called for repatriation to Africa, the Back to Africa movement.

Garvey's movement rose rapidly, expanding beyond the United States. His UNIA had chapters in Europe, Australia, and South Africa, and his *Negro World* sold widely. The Black Star Line was Garvey's vehicle for entry into international trade as well as for transporting blacks to Liberia. In 1925 Garvey was arrested on mail fraud charges in connection with the operation of the steamship line, and the movement faded. Garvey's ideas lingered on, stimulating African students in London to create the West African Student Union (WASU) in 1929. WASU brought together the young, aggressive African and Caribbean blacks who wanted political independence for the African colonies.

Drawing attention to the problems of black people in the late 1920s and 1930s was the Harlem Renaissance, the most prominent of the black cultural movements of the time. The Harlem Renaissance, centered in New York's predominantly black neighborhood, brought public awareness of the work of such black writers as Richard Wright, Langston Hughes, and Claude McKay as well as DuBois. It also featured black artists who called for black pride and an end to racial injustice. France's African and Caribbean black artists founded the *négritude* movement, which stated that all Africans regardless of geographic location had a common set of traits. *Négritude* rebuffed those who alleged African inferiority. It included authors such as Aimé Césaire, Alioune Diop, Leon-Gontran Damas, and Leopold Sédar Senghor, who later would serve as Senegal's first president.

The Great Depression of the 1930s and the world war of the 1940s set back the Pan-African movement. British and U.S. blacks remained involved, though, protesting the 1935 invasion of Ethiopia by Italy, for instance. African-American organizations established the Council on African Affairs in 1937; this was the first black-led U.S. lobbying organization. It sought to increase Americans' awareness of the problems of blacks subjected to colonialism and sought independence for the African colonies.

While in the United States as a student in the early 1940s, Kwame Nkrumah of the British colony the Gold Coast (now Ghana) founded the African Student Organization. He moved to London in 1944 and joined the Pan-Africanist movement led by the Jamaican George Padmore and the Trinidadian C. L. R. James. Other members were Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya and Hastings Kamuzu Banda of Malawi, both of whom, like Nkrumah, would eventually lead their countries. This group sponsored the fifth Pan-African Congress in 1945. That meeting brought together trade unionists and nationalists from England, the United States, Africa, and the Caribbean in Manchester, England, and it spurred African leadership in the Pan-African and African independence movements.

Independence came to 17 African countries in 1960; 80 percent of the continent was independent by the end of 1963. Many of the new leaders resisted Nkrumah's United States of Africa, preferring to preserve newly won autonomy. The Organization of African Unity (OAU, now the African Union), founded at Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, by 32 north and sub-Saharan African nations in 1963, was a loose federation dedicated to cooperation across the continent. Political union failed to materialize because Africa's new states were preoccupied with political differences and widespread poverty.

The last European colonies became independent between 1974 and 1980. Pan-African groups throughout the world continued to pressure governments and increase public awareness through the 1980s and early 1990s of the injustice of white minority rule in Namibia and South Africa.

Continental Pan-Africanism remains as a means of addressing Africa's severe problems. It takes the form of regional cooperative groups including the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) and the Southern African Development Community (SADC, originally the Southern African Develop Coordination Council, SADCC). These trade organizations have promoted regional economic integration. They provide a counterforce to the international trade blocs led by North America, Asia, and Europe.

African-descended people throughout the world still face political, social, and economic challenges. Because their problems are similar, international cooperation and common problem-solving strategies remain essential. These approaches are the fruit of Pan-Africanism.

Critics note that Pan-Africanism fails to acknowledge that blacks around the world are not one unit. They have different cultures, ethnicities, societies, and political structures.

See also Casely Hayford, Joseph Ephraim; National Congress of British West Africa.

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John H. Barnhill

Panama Canal

Ever since the Spaniard Vasco Núñez de Balboa's "discovery" of the Pacific Ocean in 1513, Europeans had dreamed of an oceanic shortcut linking the Atlantic to the Pacific. The Panama Canal, built by the U.S. government from 1903 to 1914, realized that vision at the cost of $352 million and, by official count, 5,609 lives from accidents and disease (including some 4,500 black West Indian laborers). The canal, which extends from Colón on the Caribbean side to Panama City on the Pacific, traverses 77 kilometers through three sets of locks.

One of the most remarkable technological feats in world history and far and away the largest engineering project ever undertaken up to that time, the Panama Canal transformed markets, demographics, geopolitics, and national histories in the Western Hemisphere in myriad ways. After 1902, protection of exclusive U.S. rights to a transisthmian canal was the pivot upon which U.S. policy in the Caribbean and Central America turned. The many episodes of U.S. military, political, and economic intervention in the first three decades of the 20th century can be traced, directly or indirectly, to larger U.S. economic and geostrategic interests centered on the Panama Canal.

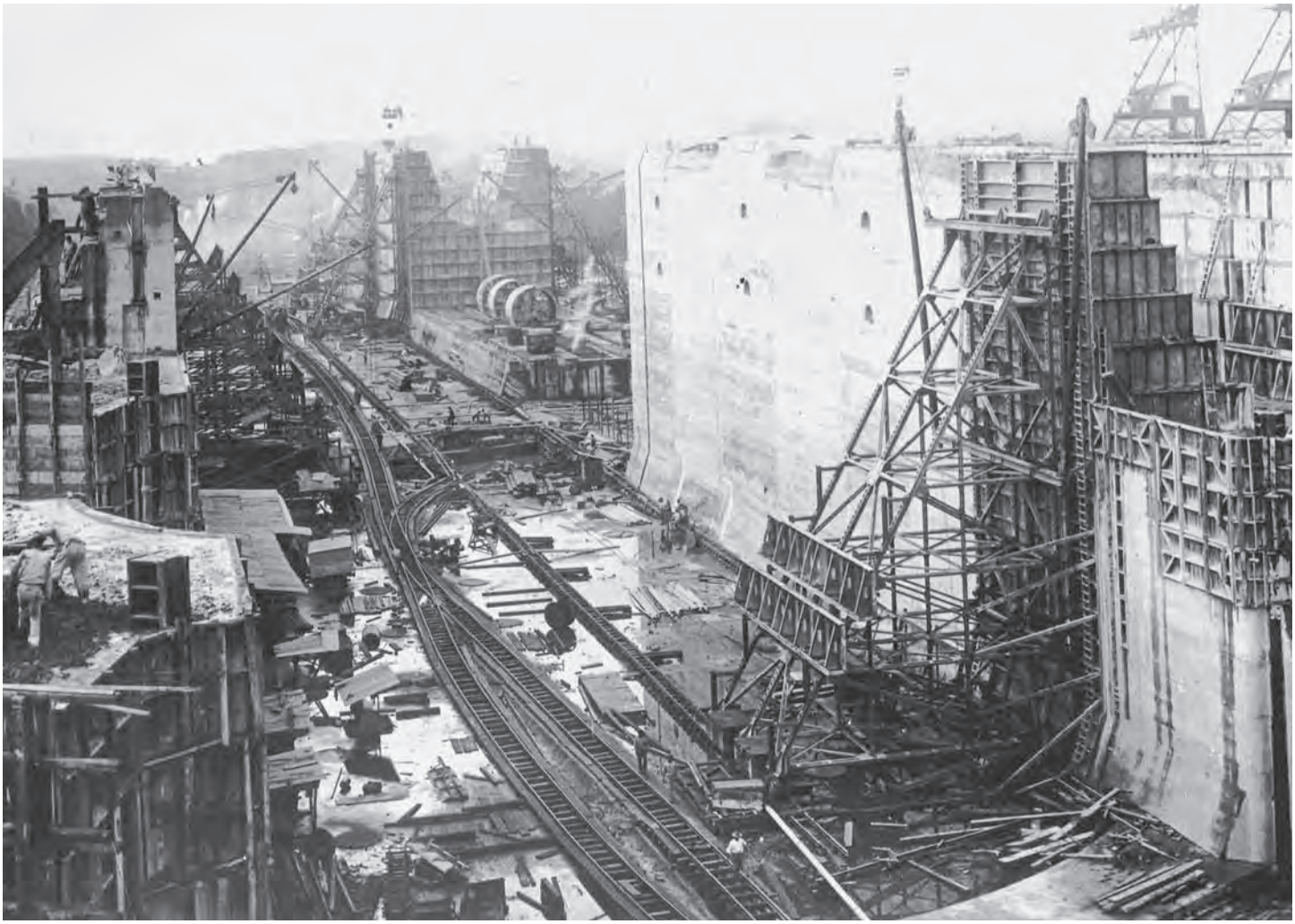
For many years, the Panama route had been considered impractical due to the elevation of the continental divide. That the canal ended up being built in Panama and not in Nicaragua resulted from a highly unlikely combination of circumstances, including a bloody three-year civil war in Colombia and its province of Panama (1899–1902); the 1901 assassination of President William McKinley; the imperialist inclinations of McKinley's vice president and successor, Theodore Roosevelt; and an intensive last-minute campaign by the "Panama lobby" in the halls of the U.S. Congress.

The building of the canal in Panama capped more than half a century of various schemes for an interoceanic route that intensified with the U.S. victory in the Mexican-American War (1846–48) and the California gold rush of 1848–49. In 1850 the U.S. and British governments signed the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty, in which both countries agreed (without consulting Nicaragua) that neither would exercise exclusive rights to the proposed Nicaragua canal. The 1850s saw two land routes built across Central America: the Panama Railroad (completed in 1855) and the Nicaragua route, brainchild of Cornelius Vanderbilt and his Accessory Transit Company (in service from 1851 to 1856). Serious surveying work for a transisthmian canal route began in the 1870s by two different groups: a French syndicate and the U.S. government. In 1878 the Colombian government granted canal rights to a French consortium under the direction of Ferdinand de Lesseps. Construction commenced in 1881, but by 1889 disease, cost overruns, and related problems led to the firm's bankruptcy and the project's abandonment. As many as 20,000 workers died during the eight-year fiasco.

In 1901 a U.S. commission unanimously recommended the Nicaragua route. In that same year the U.S. and British governments signed the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty, abrogating the 1850 Clayton-Bulwer Treaty and granting the United States exclusive rights to the proposed Nicaragua canal. The 1902 U.S. decision to build the canal in Panama shocked and dismayed the Nicaraguan elite, who had been convinced that the canal would be built in their country. In January 1903 U.S. and Colombian negotiators signed the Hay-Herrán Treaty, granting the U.S. government a strip of land across Panama for the proposed canal in exchange for $10 million and $250,000 per year thereafter.

The Colombian senate rejected the treaty. President Roosevelt, infuriated by those he termed the "contemptible little creatures . . . the Bogotá lot of jackrabbits," engineered a rebellion by dissident elements in Panama. The rebels declared independence on November 3, 1903. Three days later the Roosevelt administration recognized the breakaway republic. On November 17 the two nations signed the Hay-Bunau-Varilla Treaty, granting the United States exclusive and perpetual control of the canal zone under the same terms as the scuttled Hay-Herrán Treaty with Colombia. As Roosevelt later declared, "I took the Canal Zone."

Actual construction commenced in 1907, and the canal opened on August 15, 1914. In 1921 the U.S. government agreed to pay Colombia $25 million in exchange for Colombian recognition of Panama's independence. In September 1977 U.S. president Jimmy Carter and Panama chief of government Omar Torrijos



The Panama Canal transformed markets, demographics, geopolitics, and national histories in the Western Hemisphere in many ways. Actual construction started in 1907, and the canal opened on August 15, 1914.

signed the Panama Canal Treaty, relinquishing U.S. control of the canal to Panama by the year 2000. Panama assumed formal control of the canal at noon on December 31, 1999. The technical, diplomatic, and geopolitical aspects of the Panama Canal have spawned a vast literature.

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Michael J. Schroeder

Pankhursts

British feminists

Emmeline Pankhurst, née Goulden, was born in Manchester, England, on July 14, 1858, the daughter of successful and politically progressive parents. Her education, though, followed respectable Victorian lines, which included time in a Parisian finishing school. Upon her return to Manchester in 1878, she met Richard Pankhurst, a radical lawyer and advocate of women's rights, whom she married in 1879. Her husband's political ambitions were geared to extending the 1867 Reform Act to include women, and to this end he promoted the first Women's Suffrage Bill and reform of the Married Women's Property Bills of 1870 and 1882.

The Austrian and Hungarian treaties were similar and originally were to be presented simultaneously to the empire's heirs, but that with Hungary was delayed until the Communist regime was replaced. Both states had to abjure the Habsburg monarchy and guarantee their independence. Austria had to renounce *Anschluss* (union) with Germany. Both were landlocked and severely shrunken but emerged ethnically homogeneous.

Austria's territorial losses included Galicia to Poland; Bohemia and Moravia to Czechoslovakia; the Trentino, South Tyrol, and Istria to Italy; Bukovina to Romania; and Slovenia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Dalmatia, and coastal islands to Yugoslavia. The new Austria consisted of the vast capital of a defunct empire surrounded by uneconomic mountainous hinterlands. Psychological dislocation was also severe.

Hungary's territorial truncation was also acute but left a more economically viable state, thanks to fertile plains. Slovakia and Ruthenia went to Czechoslovakia, Transylvania to Romania, Croatia-Slavonia to Yugoslavia, and most of the Banat to Romania and Yugoslavia. A third of Hungary's prewar territory remained, and a third of the Magyars were outside its borders. Hungary never accepted the settlement but lacked the power to alter it.

BULGARIA AND TURKEY

Bulgaria was equally resentful, though its territorial losses were much smaller. However, hostile neighbors gained greatly, weakening it comparatively. Bulgaria hoped that ethnic factors would mean territorial gain, but the victors yielded nothing. Bulgaria lost to Greece its prized Aegean coastline (and thus direct access to the Mediterranean). Macedonia went to Greece and Yugoslavia, which also gained strategic border salients. Bulgaria emerged largely homogeneous but helplessly bitter.

Unlike other eastern treaties, that of Sèvres intruded in internal affairs. An international commission would control the straits from the Black Sea to the Aegean, which would be open to all ships of all nations in peace and war. The existing capitulatory regime of extraterritorial privileges for westerners was enlarged. Because territorial losses were vast, reparations would be minimal, but Europeans would exert financial control, especially of the Ottoman debt.

Some territorial losses merely ratified prewar situations, but in addition Turkey's Arabian domains were surrendered, part therefore becoming the independent kingdom of Hijaz in minimal fulfillment of wartime promises to Arabs. Syria (including Lebanon) became a French mandate, and Mesopotamia (Iraq) and Palestine (including Transjordan) British mandates, the latter with a requirement that the Balfour Declaration (November 2, 1917) be applied to ensure "a national home" for Jewish people. Various Aegean islands went to Italy (whose hopes of Anatolian territory were dashed) and Greece. In Europe Greece gained eastern Thrace and in Anatolia effective control of Smyrna (Izmir). In clauses never fulfilled, Kurdistan was to become autonomous or independent and Armenia independent.

The Sèvres Treaty, which the captive Ottoman sultan never ratified, was a 19th-century imperial document. It was overtaken by the nationalist uprising of Mustapha Kemal Atatürk, who drove Greece from Anatolia, created a national assembly in Ankara and a republic, deposed the sultan, and nearly collided with British forces in the straits. The triumphant Turks rejected Sèvres. Thus, its purely Turkish portions were renegotiated at Lausanne between November 1922 and July 1923. Kemal's deputy, Ismet Inönü, ably led the Turkish delegation with periodic Soviet and American support.

Under the Treaty of Lausanne (July 24, 1923), Turkey regained eastern Thrace, Smyrna, and some Aegean islands; a forced population exchange resolved minority problems. It retained much of Armenia and Kurdistan. Financial, extraterritorial, and most military restrictions were ended, as were reparations. Turkey gained the presidency of the straits commission and could close them to belligerents if it was at war. Aside from modification of the straits convention, this treaty lasted because it was negotiated and moderate and because Turkey accepted the end of empire.

Six lengthy treaties left much undone. Plebiscites and boundary commissions would set precise borders; the peace structure of Allied commissions, committees, and supreme councils would settle details. However, eastern borders with Russia hung fire, as did the fate of the Baltic states. The future of Fiume (Rijeka), a port disputed between Italy and Yugoslavia, was unresolved, as were reparations totals and allocations. The peacemakers did not bring stability to Europe nor address its balance of power, shattered by World War I.

AMERICAN REJECTION

Rejection of the treaties by the United States (and also China) acutely dislocated from the outset a peace structure designed by men born in the late 19th century who could not rise above their nationalistic, imperialistic, Eurocentric era. Still, Poles, Czechs, and a few Arabs gained independence; Middle Eastern mandates

were designed to be brief, whereas others restricted imperialism a bit.

Europe's ethnic minorities were cut in half, and a European-dominated international organization proved useful within limits. But, as before, great powers decided matters. Since two of them, Germany and Britain, persistently pursued revision of the Versailles Treaty, it crumbled, implying Germany's eventual continental predominance and frightening its weaker neighbors. Thus, Wilson's goal of a world "made safe for every peace-loving nation" remained unmet.

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Sally Marks

Pearl Harbor

Japan's surprise attack on the U.S. naval base at Pearl Harbor, Hawaii, on the morning of December 7, 1941, resulted in one of the most costly defeats in American history. Over 2,000 American military and civilian personnel were killed as a result of the attack, and all eight of the U.S. battleships moored in Pearl Harbor that morning were heavily damaged or destroyed. In addition, hundreds of U.S. planes on nearby airfields were destroyed or damaged in the assault. Despite Japanese hopes that such a devastating attack would force the United States to petition for peace, the events of December 7 strengthened American resolve and silenced the isolationists who had opposed the possibility of the United States' entering the war. President Franklin D. Roosevelt's request to Congress to declare war against Japan on December 8 was almost unanimously approved, with only one dissenting voice in the House of Representatives.

Although the nature and timing of the December 7 attack took Americans completely by surprise, tension between the United States and Japan had been mounting for some time over Japanese imperialist ambitions in Asia. In July 1937 the Japanese army launched an invasion of China, having already invaded Manchuria and established the puppet regime of Manchukuo six years earlier. Relations between the United States and Japan worsened in September 1940 when the Japanese signed the Tripartite Pact with Germany and Italy. When Japan occupied southern Indochina in July 1941, President Roosevelt responded by freezing Japanese assets in the United States and imposing an embargo on oil shipments to Japan. In a series of diplomatic exchanges in the summer and fall of 1941, the United States demanded that Japan withdraw its military forces from China and French Indochina.

As U.S.-Japanese relations worsened, Admiral Yamamoto Isoroku, commander of the Japanese combined fleet and Japan's chief naval strategist, planned a preemptive strike against the United States' Pacific fleet. Yamamoto, who had studied at Harvard, opposed war with the United States. In the event that war became inevitable, however, Yamamoto insisted that Japan ought to strike first with a massive surprise assault to immobilize the American fleet.

Commander Genda Minoru—an experienced carrier pilot and aerial tactician—helped to work out the details of the plan, which Yamamoto named Operation Z. On November 26, 1941, while U.S.-Japanese negotiations were ongoing, the strike force secretly set sail for Hawaii under the command of Vice Admiral Nagumo Chuichi.

On the morning of the attack on Pearl Harbor, U.S. code-breakers in Washington, D.C., intercepted and decoded the final part of a 14-part diplomatic message stating that Japan would break off negotiations that day. Correctly interpreting the message as an indication that Japan planned to go to war, but not knowing precisely where or when an attack would take place, General George C. Marshall attempted to radio Hawaii (among other places) to put the forces there on alert. Atmospheric static necessitated the use of commercial telegraph to relay Marshall's warning to Lieutenant General Walter Short, commander of the U.S. forces in Hawaii. General Short would not receive the message until several hours after the attack had ended.

SUBMARINE PERISCOPE

In the predawn hours on December 7 Hawaiian time, the minesweeper *Condor* was patrolling the security zone near the entrance to Pearl Harbor when Ensign R. C. McCloy sighted a submarine periscope. Japanese aviators had opposed the inclusion of submarines in Yamamoto's attack plan, fearing that the subs—if spotted—would destroy the element of surprise. The pilots were overruled, and a large fleet of submarines,

Photograph of the exact moment the USS Shaw *exploded during the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, December 7, 1941*

including five short-range "midget" submarines, accompanied the aircraft carriers. The midget submarines were deployed at midnight on December 6, 10 miles from the harbor; their two-man crews were to attack any U.S. vessels attempting to enter or leave the harbor during the aerial assault.

Upon detecting one of the midget submarines at approximately 3:45 A.M., McCloy and Quartermaster Second Class R. C. Uttrick reported their discovery via signal lamp to the crew of the USS *Ward*. The *Ward,* a destroyer also on patrol near the harbor, conducted a sonar search but found nothing out of the ordinary. Less than three hours later, however, Lieutenant William W. Outerbridge, the newly assigned captain of the *Ward*, was again summoned from his bunk; this time he spotted a midget submarine following in the wake of the USS *Antares*.

The *Ward* opened fire on the Japanese submarine and then followed up with a depth charge attack that sank the submarine. At 6:35 A.M. Outerbridge reported the incident to district command, but no general alarm was raised at the time. Admiral Husband E. Kimmel, commander of the Pacific Fleet, was awaiting verification of the report when the first wave of the aerial assault hit.

As the USS *Ward* fired the opening shots of the war in the Pacific, the first wave of 183 Japanese fighters, bombers, and torpedo planes was making its way toward the naval and air bases on the island of Oahu. Led by Commander Fuchida Mitsuo, the first group of planes had lifted off from carrier flight decks approximately 230 miles north of Oahu at 6:00 A.M. At 7:02 A.M., two radar operators at Opana (near the northernmost tip of Oahu) detected a large body of aircraft approaching from the north. They immediately telephoned the information center at Fort Schafter, where the inexperienced duty officer Lieutenant Kermit Tyler dismissed the reports as insignificant. Tyler knew that air force B-17 bombers were due in that morning from California en route to the Philippines, and he assumed that was what the radar operators had seen on their screens. Once again, therefore, no alarm was raised.

The air strike on Pearl Harbor was planned with two different options in mind. If surprise was achieved, then dive-bombers and torpedo planes were to strike the Pacific Fleet first, and the level bombers would follow up by dropping armor-piercing bombs over the harbor. In the event that the U.S. forces had been alerted to the impending attack, then the dive-bombers in the first wave of the attack were to strike Wheeler and Hickam Airbases and the navy airfield on Ford Island. When Fuchida fired a single flare at approximately 7:40 A.M. to indicate that surprise had been achieved, the commander of the fighter escort failed to acknowledge the signal. After a brief interval, Fuchida fired a second flare.

TORA! TORA! TORA!

The commander of the dive-bombers, Lieutenant Commander Takahashi Kuichi, mistook the second flare to mean that the defenders had been alerted, and so the dive-bombers proceeded to attack the airfields while the torpedo planes and level bombers concentrated their efforts on the fleet at Battleship Row. As the first wave of Japanese planes reached Oahu at 7:53 A.M., Fuchida radioed back to the carriers the now-famous code words "Tora! Tora! Tora!" to indicate that total strategic and tactical surprise had been achieved. Nagumo relayed the message to Japan, letting forces there know that coordinated operations against Malaya, the Philippines, and the Dutch East Indies could move forward as well.

Upon nearing Oahu, the dive-bombers, or "Vals," divided into two groups, one targeting Hickam Field and Ford Island while the other went after Wheeler Airfield in central Oahu. The first group began bombing the army air base at Hickam Field at 7:55 A.M. The fact that the U.S. planes were lined up wingtip to wingtip as a precaution against possible sabotage made them easy targets for the Japanese bombers. The army

suffered its heaviest casualties of the raid at Hickam Field, where 182 men were killed or unaccounted for. Wheeler Airfield was also heavily attacked; nearly two-thirds of the 140 planes on the ground at Wheeler were destroyed or put out of action. The naval airbase at Ford Island lost nearly half its planes in the Japanese assault, and the one at Kaneohe Bay lost all but a few. Concurrent with the airfield bombings was the two-pronged attack on the U.S. Pacific fleet. Fortunately for the United States, none of its aircraft carriers was in port that morning. The Japanese did, however, manage to inflict considerable damage to all eight of the battleships at Pearl Harbor, sinking five of them. By 8:00 A.M. Pearl Harbor was ablaze as a combination of torpedoes and armor-piercing bombs hit one U.S. vessel after another. Especially spectacular was the explosion aboard the USS *Arizona* that resulted in the deaths of 1,177 men. The *Arizona* memorial still stands to commemorate all military personnel who lost their lives in the attack on Pearl Harbor.

A second wave of 167 more Japanese aircraft was launched approximately one hour after the first; 17 Zeros (fighter planes) targeted Kaneohe Naval Air Station, while 18 others attacked Wheeler Field and the Ewa Marine Corps air base. Some 54 high-level bombers divided into three groups to attack Ford Island, Kaneohe, and Hickam Field; 80 dive-bombers attacked Pearl Harbor, including the naval yard where the drydocked battleship *Pennsylvania* was hit along with several destroyers. Near the end of the second wave, three bombs hit the destroyer *Shaw* in dry dock, setting off a spectacular explosion. The Japanese suffered considerably more damage in the second wave than they had in the first, when they had caught the U.S. forces completely unaware; in all, Japanese losses included 29 planes, five midget submarines, and 55 men. The second and final wave of the attack was over by 9:45 A.M. Genda and Fuchida pressed for a follow-up attack, but the cautious Nagumo ordered the Japanese forces to withdraw. As a result, U.S. oil storage depots and repair facilities escaped relatively unscathed. All but three of the 19 ships damaged in the attack would eventually be returned to service, and it would take just six months for the U.S. armed forces to turn the strategic tables in the Pacific with the decisive Battle of Midway (June 3–7, 1942).

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KATHLEEN RUPPERT

Pentecostalism

The Pentecostal movement burst onto the religious landscape during the 20th century as a major force within Christianity. Its adherents, scattered across many churches and denominations, came to number over half a billion worldwide, suddenly making it a Christian tradition second in size and scope only to the Roman Catholic Church.

Some historians date the origins of the contemporary Pentecostal movement to January 1, 1901, when Agnes Ozman, under the teaching of Methodist preacher Charles F. Parham, "spoke in tongues" (glossolalia) at Bethel Bible School in Topeka, Kansas. This particular event convinced many that the supernatural gifts and powers associated with the coming of the Holy Spirit at Pentecost and with the ministries of the early church in the book of Acts are still readily available to ordinary Christians who sincerely seek them. Similar teachings and manifestations gained wide attention from 1906 to 1913 during the Azusa Street Revival at the Apostolic Faith Mission in Los Angeles. William J. Seymour, an African-American Holiness preacher from Texas, was the prominent leader there.

Numerous new Protestant denominations began to form as Pentecostalism spread, beginning with the Assemblies of God, the Pentecostal Church of God, the International Church of the Foursquare Gospel, and the Open Bible Standard Churches. Still other young but established denominations such as the Church of God and the Church of God in Christ took on Pentecostal beliefs. What nearly all Pentecostal denominations shared was a conviction that Christian experience was incomplete without the sanctifying and empowering work of the Holy Spirit and that the "baptism of the Holy Spirit" is validated by the evidence of "speaking in tongues," as well as by additional signs, including prophecy, visions, exorcism, and divine healing.

As early as 1914 several within Pentecostalism began to proclaim "Oneness," or "Jesus Only," a somewhat modal view of the Trinity that allows for different manifestations of God but suggests that there is ultimately

only one divine person. Oneness Pentecostalism typically insists upon rebaptism in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ alone rather than the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. Its relationship to other Pentecostal denominations and to traditional Christian bodies concerned with theological orthodoxy remains ambiguous and controversial at best, depending in part upon how its theological claims are understood.

The Pentecostal movement was preceded by widespread, overlapping teachings among 19th-century evangelical Protestants about the need for a victorious "Higher Life" made possible by the filling of the Holy Spirit, about the importance of Holy Spirit crisis sanctification to purify the believer from sin, and about Jesus Christ as Savior, Sanctifier, Healer, and Coming King, thereby intertwining Christological and pneumatological emphases. Pentecostalism strongly affirms all four of the latter themes as basic to the Christian life—Christian conversion, the Pentecostal work of the Holy Spirit who purifies and empowers the Christian believer for service, divine healing, and the imminent return of Jesus Christ in power and great glory as a motive for holy living and missionary endeavors.

Religious demographers now recognize a third type of Pentecostalism called the Neo-Charismatic movement. It actually consists of two or more rather distinct elements. One is the so-called Third Wave of evangelicals, who wholeheartedly affirm supernatural signs yet who diligently attempt to avoid the ecclesiastical schisms, upheavals, and controversies that frequently accompanied the first two waves. A much broader, more amorphous form of the Neo-Charismatic movement numerically dwarfs every other type of Pentecostalism.

It consists of the many thousands of independent Christian groups and denominations that have sprung up across the modern world more or less independently from traditional Roman Catholic, Orthodox, or Protestant influences. Their founders often claim direct revelation from God by means of dreams or visions. Although these indigenous church bodies may prove difficult to classify, they are generally far closer to Pentecostal beliefs and practices than they are to other Christian traditions.

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Timothy Paul Erdel

phenomenology

Phenomenology is the branch of philosophy that explores phenomena (observable, experiential events) and has principally been the concern of German philosophers and 20th-century French philosophers. There are three distinct phenomenological schools: the dialectical, transcendental, and existential, all of which continue to have currency today and were prominent in the development of philosophy throughout the 20th century. Phenomenology is a descriptive approach to philosophy: It describes the world and the function of the mind, rather than prescribing the correct way to do a thing, as ethics does.

In his 1781 *Critique of Pure Reason*, perhaps the single most important text in Western philosophy, Immanuel Kant reacted to and rejected David Hume's empiricist claim that all ideas, all thoughts, were derived from "impressions," that is, from sensory experience. Classical metaphysics, Kant argued, could not have been derived from sensory experience, and so he distinguished between phenomena, events as we experience them and objects as we observe them, and noumena, which exist independent of our perception of them and which we cannot therefore experience. A phenomenon is a representation of a noumenon; the noumenon for Kant is important primarily as a limiter, something against which to contrast the phenomenon.

Publishing several years after Kant's death, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel challenged Kant's noumenon/phenomenon dichotomy, claiming in 1807's *Phenomenology of Spirit* that sufficient knowledge of phenomena can lead to complete apprehension of absolute truth. It was Hegel who coined the term *phenomenology* and who introduced the form of logic he called speculation and that is now referred to as Hegelian dialectics.

Most of the discussion in phenomenology, though, has been between the transcendental and existential schools. Transcendental phenomenology begins with Edmund Husserl, whose mentor Franz Brentano had taught that all perception is flawed and so, too, the conclusions drawn from it. For Brentano and Husserl, absolute truths were unreachable because the mind was a flawed instrument; they recalled Hume in their description of

consciousness as always "intentional." Intentionality in this respect includes the notion that every thought, every idea or feeling, is focused on some physical object.

In the 20th century, Martin Heidegger and the existential phenomenologists who followed him rejected Husserl's phenomenology. Heidegger was interested in the history of philosophy and the gaps he saw in its conversation about the world, particularly its failure to address what it means to be. Altering the Husserl-Brentano model of intentionality, Heidegger said that consciousness is not simply "about" something, it is always caring about something. The experience of a thing is the feeling of that thing's relevance and importance.

By this time, phenomenology had become a concern to philosophers at large, not simply in the German schools. The French philosopher Henri Bergson wrote about perceptions of causality—a concern that had driven the works of Hume and Kant—and on the meaning of comedy and laughter; his influence on French philosophy combined with the growing interest in German phenomenology would shape much of the next century, from Jean-Paul Sartre to Michel Foucault to Jacques Derrida.

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Bill Kte'pi

Philippines, U.S. occupation of the

In 1898 the United States acquired the Philippines as a result of the Spanish-American War, undertook a mission to prepare the Philippines for independence shortly thereafter, and succeeded in that task after World War II. Since then, the United States has had a "special relationship" with the Philippines, marked generally by warm relations and close economic, political, and social ties. The Philippine–United States War decided whether that country would gain its independence immediately, as some Filipinos asserted, or would gain its independence gradually through reform and nation building, as the U.S. government under President William McKinley and his successors argued. Throughout the periods of U.S. rule, World War II, and the independence of the Philippines, the two countries remained allies and had close bilateral relations, particularly in the areas of economic development of the Philippines, spreading democracy, expanding free trade, and combating international and regional terrorism. The facts that the United States remains the largest trading partner of the Philippines and that Filipinos are one of the largest Asian ethnic groups in the United States have fostered further ties.

The social and political forces that compelled the United States to enter the Pacific world and the Philippines in particular stemmed from a variety of American interests: the popular compulsion to spread American culture, the desire to expand and to develop commercial relations, the economic goal of gaining access to raw materials and markets, and strategic objectives to increase national security.

The outbreak of the Spanish-American War in 1898 placed the United States on a direct path toward major involvement in the Philippines. Aroused by allegations of Spanish aggression in its colony of Cuba, the disruption of U.S. trade with Cuba, and the explosion of the USS *Maine* in Havana Bay, the United States went to war with Spain and conducted military operations in both the Caribbean and the Pacific theaters. In order to negate the sea power of the Spanish fleet, Commodore George Dewey engaged the Spanish fleet in Manila Bay and decisively defeated them. Following victories in the Caribbean over Spain and the arrival of 8,500 American troops in the Philippines, the Spanish authorities in the Philippines surrendered. On August 13 the U.S. flag flew triumphantly over Manila.

The Treaty of Paris, signed by representatives of the United States and Spain on December 10, 1898, effectively ended the fighting between these two nations but left the question of rulership of the Philippines in some dispute. By the terms of the treaty, the United States gained possession of the Philippines as well as Cuba, Puerto Rico, and other island holdings in exchange for a payment of $20 million to Spain. Shortly after the acquisition of the Philippines by the United States, Filipino insurgents resisted the transfer of authority to the United States and claimed that the Philippines should immediately become independent.

Emilio Aguinaldo, a patriotic and energetic revolutionary who had led his forces against Spain both before and during the Spanish-American War, turned his military prowess against the American occupiers and conducted a guerrilla war that used the dense jungles and difficult terrain against the American military. Although the U.S. military was not prepared to fight against guerrilla tactics, U.S. forces prevailed against the rebels, captured Aguinaldo, gained his allegiance, and effectively won the support of many Filipinos.

The United States, acting on information gained from the First Philippine Commission appointed by President McKinley in 1899, adopted a policy of "tutelage," which aimed at preparing the Philippines for independence. In July 1901 the Philippine Constabulary was established as a countrywide police force for the purpose of maintaining order and suppressing the remaining rebel activities. The Second Philippine Commission, headed by William Taft, implemented broad economic, social, and political programs that expanded economic development and opportunity, free public education, and political representation of the Filipino people. Despite the successes, major obstacles to reform remained apparent, evidenced in the reluctance of the *ilustrados*, the wealthy aristocrats, who obstructed or reluctantly granted concessions to the lower classes. The emergence of a multiparty system and the indigenous political leadership of Manuel Quezon and Sergio Osmena indicated the growing independence of the Philippines. In 1913, the U.S. Congress passed the Underwood Tariff Act, which removed all trade restrictions on Philippine goods, an act that provided valuable markets for the Philippines but also allowed a high degree of economic dependency.

The Tydings-McDuffie Act, passed by the U.S. Congress in 1934, established the Philippines as a commonwealth with a constitution, an autonomous political system, and most importantly a 10-year period during which the Philippines would make the transition to independence. The agreement was approved by the Philippine legislature, even though it allowed the United States considerable authority in matters pertaining to foreign policy, immigration, foreign trade, and currency regulation.

On December 8, 1941, the Japanese army invaded the Philippines and disrupted the transitory period. General Douglas MacArthur led American and Philippine military forces. MacArthur fell back to the Bataan Peninsula and the island of Corregidor to take a defensive position against the advancing Japanese army, which outnumbered MacArthur's troops. The defeat of his troops in April and May 1942 allowed the Japanese to force the 80,000 prisoners of war taken at Bataan to march to a prison camp 105 kilometers to the north. This death march caused approximately 10,000 fatalities as prisoners faced abuses, malnutrition, disease, and the harsh tropical climate. MacArthur, under orders from U.S. president Franklin D. Roosevelt, evacuated to Australia, vowing to return again to the Philippines. On October 20, 1944, MacArthur led his forces back to the Philippines, landing at the island of Leyte. Fierce fighting followed that eventually led to the capitulation of Japanese forces after defeats in Northern Luzon and a last-ditch effort to defend the city of Manila.

After World War II the U.S. government faced the difficult task of aiding the Philippines in its recovery from the war. Despite contention regarding the issue of collaboration with the Japanese and political amnesty, on July 4, 1946, the Philippines became independent, and Manuel Roxas emerged as the first president of that republic. During the early years of the cold war, the period of renewed tensions between the Soviet Union and the United States, the Philippines proved to be a valuable ally of the United States. Manila signed the Military Bases Agreement in 1947 and thereby granted to U.S. naval and air forces base rights to 23 bases including Clark Air Base and naval facilities at Subic Bay.

In addition to allowing U.S. access to bases, the Philippines played an active role in the containment of communism, both in the Philippines and in Southeast Asia. In 1954 the government of the Philippines joined the South East Asia Treaty Organization, a collective security arrangement led by the United States to secure democracies in the region and to contain the expansion of the communist movement. Philippine president Ramon Magsaysay won the praise of many Americans for his bold leadership, economic reforms, and effective anticommunist policies, which subdued the Huks—a Marxist-Leninist organization that revolted against the government of Manila and demanded collectivization of farms.

The post–cold war era brought new challenges and new opportunities for partnership in U.S.-Philippine relations. The United States and the Philippines worked together to fight terrorism, expand global trade, and develop regional trade organizations such as the Association of Southeast Asian Nations. The U.S. Congress has taken a keen interest in the stability of the Philippines for its own good, its role as a regional ally, and its regional influence on developing democracies such as Indonesia.

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Scott Catino

Platt Amendment

The United States occupied Cuba in 1898 and passed the Platt Amendment in 1901. A condition for ending the U.S. occupation of Cuba was the inclusion of an amendment that made Cuba a protectorate of the United States. Although the Cuban constitutional convention delegates opposed the inclusion of the amendment, the United States was adamant, and it had armed forces on Cuba and warships available offshore. Given the choice between limited independence and no independence at all, Cuba accepted the Platt Amendment.

Senator Orville Platt (1827–1905) of Connecticut, a pro-U.S. nationalist expansionist who advocated high protective tariffs and helped to annex Hawaii and occupy the Philippines, authored the Platt Amendment, which was the brainchild of Secretary of State Elihu Root.

The Platt Amendment was a rider to the Army Appropriations Bill of 1901. It provided that Cuba must have U.S. consent for all Cuban trade agreements and treaties with any other nation. It also gave the United States the right to intervene in Cuban affairs to preserve Cuban independence and maintain a government sufficient to preserve life, liberty, and property. It remained in effect until abrogated in 1934. As well as stipulating the terms under which the United States could intervene in Cuban affairs, the amendment also authorized U.S. lease of land for a naval base and prohibited Cuban transfer of land to any other nation. The amendment made Cuba a virtual U.S. protectorate.

The Teller Amendment of 1898 had stated that the United States did not intend to annex Cuba after the Spanish-American War. U.S expansionists worried that German expansionists might seize the opportunity to harm U.S. interests by filling the void left by U.S. disinterest in the area. The Platt Amendment compromised between outright imperialism and the repudiation of the Teller Amendment. The compromise prevented Cuba from making treaties, assuming debt, or stopping the U.S. sanitation program on the island. It guaranteed the United States the right to intervene in Cuban affairs whenever the United States deemed U.S. interests were at stake. Additionally, because the United States had sought to control Guantánamo Bay, Cuba's best harbor, since 1899, it allowed the United States to lease sites for naval and coaling stations.

Thomas Estrada Palma, an advocate of the annexation of Cuba to the United States, took power in a 1902 Cuban election characterized by fraud and abuse of his position. Estrada Palma's term expired in 1905, but he attempted to return to power. Rebels dissatisfied with the Cuban government and the U.S. involvement in Cuba resisted Estrada Palma. To thwart the liberal revolt, Theodore Roosevelt sent in troops on September 29, 1906. The revolt ended in a negotiated peace and reoccupation of Cuba. The United States occupied Cuba militarily in 1906 under the terms of the Platt Agreement, remaining there for three years. The United States removed Cubans from government during its occupation. U.S. forces left in 1909 but returned in 1912. Another occupation lasted from 1917 until 1933.

Throughout the life of the Platt Amendment, in the interest of maintaining Cuban stability the United States refused to recognize any revolutionary government and sent warships to Cuban waters as necessary.

In 1934 circumstances had changed. Cuban nationalism was rising, and Cubans were increasingly critical of the U.S. dominance of their society. The United States was preoccupied with the Great Depression. In addition, Franklin Roosevelt had instituted a Good Neighbor Policy toward Latin America. Thus, the United States and Cuba signed a treaty abrogating the Platt Amendment. However, the United States retained its naval base at Guantánamo.

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John H. Barnhill

Porfiriato

The Porfiriato corresponds to the period in which Porfirio Díaz served as president of Mexico from 1876 to 1880 and from 1884 to 1911. The origins of Porfirio Díaz's political power can be traced to his participation in the military and political battles of the 1850s and 1860s. Díaz embraced liberalism as the ideological foundation of his regime. Inspired by the American

and French Revolutions, he aimed to establish a federal republic where democratic institutions would represent an egalitarian and secular society. Nevertheless, he was to build his career through an incipient patronage network, starting with the local priest's recommendation that he be accepted in the local Catholic seminary school in Oaxaca.

During the Mexican-American War in 1847, 16-year-old Díaz joined the army to help repel the invasion but in the end did not engage in combat. Soon after, he met Benito Juárez, already an elected governor of Oaxaca, who inspired him to study law. However, the military coup that restored the flamboyant and corrupt dictator Antonio López de Santa Anna to power to undertake his 11th—and final—term in office caused Díaz to abandon his studies again to join the resistance. In March 1854 a group of dissidents met in Ayutla, Guerrero, to plot the downfall of Santa Anna.

CALL FOR OUSTER

There the group launched the Plan de Ayutla, a manifesto calling for the ouster of Santa Anna. News of the plan spread throughout Mexico, and soon the country was in open revolt. Juárez and Díaz, who were sent into exile by Santa Anna, returned to Mexico and eagerly joined in the insurrection. Santa Anna fled the country in August 1855, and Álvarez took over as provisional president. Juárez became minister of justice, and Díaz, only 25, was named subprefect of the town of Ixtlán in Nayarit. A new constitution was adopted on February 5, 1857, containing provisions restricting the power of the church. These infuriated clerics and conservatives, and thus began the bloody Reform War of 1858–61, so named because of the "Reform Laws" that were so objectionable to fervent Catholics. During both the Reform War and the 1864–67 war against Maximilian and the French intervention, Díaz distinguished himself as a strong right arm of the liberal cause. He was wounded twice, escaped being captured three times, and during 1864–67 led forces that inflicted nine defeats on the imperialists. When caught by Maximilian's forces, he refused a pardon and then made a daredevil escape from jail in 1865, after which he became a liberal hero. As Maximilian's empire collapsed, Díaz commanded a formidable army, which on July 15, 1867, made its triumphal entry into Mexico City.

After running for the presidency in 1867—and losing to Juárez—Díaz went back to Oaxaca to cultivate sugarcane in his "La Noria" hacienda. While his brother served as governor in Oaxaca, and Porfirio Díaz concentrated on regaining political power, he crafted the La Noria insurrection plan, which defied Juárez's government and initiated an uprising anticipating the presidential elections of 1871. However, the La Noria plot did not succeed, and the insurrection was suffocated in a few months. After Benito Juárez's sudden death in 1872, interim president Sebastián Lerdo de Tejada granted amnesty to rebellious Porfiristas to gain political control over the country. Tejada ruled for a short period since he failed to see the implications of reducing federal autonomy to the states and for pursuing reelection again. Along with the social uprising, the supreme court's president, José María Iglesias, advocated for the reestablishment of the rule of law and the legitimacy of democratic elections and headed for the presidency. Nevertheless, his refusal to share power with the Porfiristas led Díaz to occupy the capital as the head of the "constitutional army."

Porfirio Díaz took office in 1876 and assumed as his first endeavor to "pacify" the country after so much revolt. However, his methods of establishing the Porfirian Pax were grounded on intimidation, coercion, and repression strategies. Another factor that contributed to establishing order as the basis for progress was the systematization of daily life through various civil, judicial, and commercial codes and regulations.

ANOTHER TERM

When his first presidential term ended in 1880, Díaz went back to Oaxaca to become governor and a cabinet minister, while his friend General Manuel González was elected president. González rewarded his friends and was on good terms with others, gaining political support in his own right. He had the constitution amended to allow Díaz to be elected to another term. In 1884 the Central Railway was completed, connecting Mexico to the United States. President González recognized Mexican debts to Great Britain, an action that proved to be essential to the country's establishing good credit. There was substantial economic development under González, but he left the presidency under suspicion of extended corruption. With the constitution amended to allow his reelection, Díaz returned to save the nation from the misrule of González and was reelected president in 1880 and would remain until 1911.

Under Díaz's rule infrastructure and public works spread all over the country, multiplying the rail system, telegraphs, and other communications networks, which built Díaz's image as the builder of a progressive and modern Mexico.

The regime also supported the creation of primary and secondary schools, where the values of patriotism,

order, freedom, and progress were to be cultivated. However, technical and professional education was not prioritized, as if progress would not require specialized skills in order to be achieved. It was with external financial resources that Díaz stimulated the internal market through industrial development, while mining extraction was intended for the external market's demand. However, it is worth stating that agriculture never kept the pace of development at large, even when the 6,000 hacienda owners were favored by the regime, which favored feudal practices that allowed the formation of huge concentrations of land.

Moreover, inequity was reflected in every area of society, as in professional education, which was concentrated in a few major cities. So eager was Díaz to attract foreign capital that he adopted discriminating policies for Mexican mining employees, which later accounted for a major strike—which was ruthlessly suppressed—at the Cananea Consolidated Mining Company in Sonora. Díaz also cleverly played one side against the other, encouraging British and European capital as a counterbalance to U.S. capital.

The end of Díaz's regime (1904–11) was marked by foreign investments flowing into the country, which fostered the production of goods and services. Likewise, the oil industry grew from 5,000 to 8 million annual barrels by the first decade of the 20th century. However, at the time a growing critique by young, middle-class intellectuals started to manifest. This group was headed by Camilo Arriaga, Juan Sarabia, and the Flores Magón brothers and started to craft an antireelection campaign. Even when the repression of opposition leaders was a priority, Díaz was serene enough to supervise the Centenario celebration (the 100-year anniversary of independence); to attend the inauguration of public works, schools, hospitals, and monuments; and even to lead parades.

Two months later Francisco Madero led an uprising that marked the beginning of a decade-long revolutionary civil war and through the Plan de San Luis proclaimed the nonreelection of Díaz. After several months of insurrection, Porfirio Díaz resigned and headed for exile in France, where he died some years later. During the Porfiriato, progress materialized in infrastructures and communications within major cities. However, the economy became totally dependent on the United States due to major investments in industries. Foreign domination extended over technical and economic domains, contrasting with the profound patriotism that Juárez, Lerdo, and Díaz professed. During the liberal age nationalistic propaganda succeeded in transmitting to the general public a national sense and a conscience that bonded race, history, and territory within a cultural symbolism that defined national identity for years to come.

See also Latin American modernism; Latin American nationalism.

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Alfonso Valenzuela Aguilera

Portsmouth, Treaty of (1905)

The Treaty of Portsmouth of September 1905 marked the end of the Russo-Japanese War and was the first international treaty to be signed in the United States. It ended a war that had occurred because of the colliding ambitions of the Russians and the newly industrialized Japanese in the Far East. Russia saw Manchuria, part of the crumbling Qing (Ch'ing) dynasty of China, as ripe for expansion. Port Arthur offered a port that could be used all year and the opportunity to build a railroad. The Russians also had designs on Korea and had received territorial concessions from the Chinese. From Japan's point of view, Manchuria also seemed ripe for development, and Japan believed that Korea should be part of its sphere of influence. Russia also had gained control of part of China, which Japan had been forced to give up after the recent Sino-Japanese War.

Japan initiated hostilities in March of 1904 by attacking Russian forces in Korea and later in Manchuria and besieging Port Arthur. The result of these battles and other actions was a string of Japanese victories. Though Russia could call upon more troops, the Japanese possessed far better equipment and weapons. In fact, many regard this conflict as a laboratory of the

Members of the Japanese delegation, Jutaro Komura and Kogoro Takahira, arrive for negotiating the Treaty of Portsmouth, which ended the war between Russia and Japan in 1905. Theodore Roosevelt received the Nobel Peace Prize for brokering the peace.

kind of combat that would occur in World War I a few years later. At sea the Japanese also inflicted severe losses on the Russian navy. Having found that their Far Eastern fleet had been sunk by the Japanese at Port Arthur, a large Russian fleet arrived in the area from Europe in May 1905 at the Battle of Tsushima Straits, met the Japanese fleet, and suffered a disastrous defeat. Many Russian capital ships were destroyed with high loss of life. This was the first great naval contest involving the new super battleships. The Japanese had defeated the Russians, the first victory of an Asiatic power over a European, but they were in desperate financial shape. The moment was at hand for peace.

The peace treaty was brokered by U.S. president Theodore Roosevelt, who received the Nobel Peace Prize for his efforts. Interestingly, Roosevelt never attended any of the sessions. Portsmouth, a pleasant New Hampshire city, was chosen as the site of the negotiations, and a number of the delegates stayed at a local resort, Wentworth by the Sea. The talks took place at the Portsmouth Shipyard in Kittery, Maine, for the sake of security. During their time off, the delegates mingled with Portsmouth citizens.

The delegations were headed by Serge Witte for Russia and Jutaro Komura for Japan. The negotiations stopped a number of times when the two sides disagreed but finally came to a conclusion brought about through compromise and through Roosevelt's intervention. According to the treaty, Russia conceded that Korea was in the Japanese orbit and that Russia should withdraw from southern Manchuria, leaving it under symbolic Chinese control. In addition, the Russian right to build the South Manchurian Railway was handed over to Japan, as well as Liaodong (Liaotung) Peninsula and Port Arthur at its southern tip, along with the southern part of Sakhalin Island. The Japanese also received fishing rights near the Russian coast. Both Russia and Japan were dissatisfied with

the results, and there were riots in Japan. Nonetheless, the treaty did mark Japan's emergence as a power in the Far East.

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Marc Schwarz

Prestes, Luís Carlos

(1898–1990) *Brazilian revolutionary*

One of the leading Communists in Brazil, Louís Carlos Prestes has been regarded by many as one of Brazil's most charismatic yet tragic figures for his leadership of the 1924 *tenente* revolt and his subsequent work with the Brazilian Communist movement.

Prestes was born on January 3, 1898, at Porto Alegre, a port 400 kilometers from the Uruguayan border, and attended the Escola Militar in Rio de Janeiro. As a cadet he had a brilliant academic record but led the 1924 revolt against the government, forming what became known as the Prestes Column, a guerrilla group that sought to overthrow President Artur da Silva Bernardes. It was an attempt to overthrow the oligarchy that had entrenched itself in power after the declaration of Brazil as a republic in 1889. Unfortunately for Prestes, he was ill with typhoid on the day of the revolt, and the defeated rebels fled to Bahia.

The Communists fought 56 battles and also negotiated treaties with Indian tribes, and, when the Brazilian army moved against them, Prestes led what became known as Brazil's equivalent of the Chinese Long March. They escaped from the soldiers and managed to get to the south of Brazil, resettling in the remote area along the Bolivian border. After operating there for three years, they moved into Bolivia, where they were interned. Prestes, however, managed to escape to Buenos Aires. The revolt was to foreshadow the 1930 revolution, which ended the "Old Republic" of Brazil, with Getúlio Vargas becoming provisional president.

Becoming increasingly influenced by communism, Prestes went into exile, by now totally disenchanted with Vargas. In Argentina and Uruguay Prestes met with Marxists in Buenos Aires and Montevideo and then was contacted by Comintern officials, who persuaded him to go to the Soviet Union, where he was named the Comintern representative for the Brazilian Communist Party (PCB). In 1935 Prestes and his German wife, Olga Benária, returned to Brazil in secret, and the two worked for a popular front that was known as the Aliança Nacional Libertadora (National Liberation Alliance). By now Vargas was strongly anticommunist and used the Brazilian congress to legislate against the Communists—in 1937 Vargas was to close the parliament down. He was seen as becoming increasingly profascist, and the police uncovered Prestes's network and arrested the couple in late 1935. Olga, who was pregnant, was deported to Germany as a foreign alien. Because she was Jewish, she was jailed after her return to Germany and died in a concentration camp. Prestes was found guilty of sedition and sentenced to 17 years in jail.

After his release Prestes started organizing the newly legalized Brazilian Communist Party. He saw that Vargas was an opportunist who had supported fascism during the 1930s but was now embracing liberal democracy in an attempt to win favor with the United States. Many Brazilian Communists despaired of Prestes, who was seen as working with Vargas for concessions. When asked why he could support the man who had his wife deported, Prestes replied that he felt that he should not allow personal disputes to get in the way of his attempt for social reform. In 1945 Prestes contested the presidency in the elections and on December 2, 1945, was elected to the Brazilian senate for the Federal District. However, two months earlier, Vargas had been deposed, and the military set about trying to stop Communist political influence in the country. Two years later the PCB was again outlawed, and Prestes returned to his earlier life of organizing secretly. He died on March 7, 1990.

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Justin Corfield

progressivism, U.S.

The progressive movement is best viewed as a series of shifting coalitions motivated by the problems caused by rapid industrialization in the United States. The composition of these coalitions varied on federal and state levels and from region to region, and progressive reform was not specifically connected to either of the major

political parties. What distinguished progressive reform was the movement's belief in the importance of professional expertise. Progressives understood that government could be an agent of positive change, believed that environment is the key to social behavior, and relied on statistics to support their causes.

Progressive reform was initially directed toward the problems of urban life. The growth of the suburbs took the wealthy away from the cities, which were increasingly populated by people who in many cases spoke a different language and proved impervious to Protestant conversion efforts. Reform efforts were geographically centered in the cities of the East, Midwest, and West and attracted support from agrarian Midwesterners and the moderate wing of southern populism.

Progressive reformers were inspired by thoughts of cultural nationalism and the perfectibility of society. They accepted industrialism but were critical of its oppressive aspects. The movement was publicized by a group of journalists termed the muckrakers, a group of moderate men and women who exposed problems caused by industrial capitalism but did not intend to propose radical remedies for the problems they exposed.

Politically, progressivism occupied the center of the U.S. political spectrum. At the state level, governors like Robert LaFollette of Wisconsin and Hiram Johnson of California were able to implement reforms that placed democracy in the hands of the people and took it away from corporations that appeared to control state politics.

Progressives urged the use of and in many states passed laws that adopted the secret ballot and implemented direct primaries, the initiative, referendums, recalls of elected officials, and direct election of senators. They also formed commissions to regulate utilities and railroads; they restricted lobbying and raised corporate taxes. To correct the worst features of industrialization, progressives advocated worker compensation, child labor laws, minimum wage and maximum hours legislation, and widows' pensions.

Progressivism entered national politics via the presidency of Theodore Roosevelt, who became president after the assassination of William McKinley in 1900. He was conservative in outlook but feared the excessive power of corporate wealth and the danger of working-class radicalism. He became the undisputed spokesman for national progressivism. Roosevelt gained a reputation as a "trustbuster" when in 1904 the Supreme Court ruled that Northern Securities Company had violated the Sherman Anti-Trust Act. In 1903 Congress created the Bureau of Corporations, housed in the Department of Commerce, to publicize and investigate the behavior of giant companies. In 1906 Roosevelt signed both the Pure Food and Drug Act, which empowered the Department of Agriculture to fine and imprison producers found selling adulterated or misbranded goods, and the Meat Inspection Act, which sent federal inspectors into packinghouses to prevent bad meat from coming to market.

Roosevelt's successor, William Howard Taft, was unable to hold the progressive and the conservative wings of the Republican Party together, leading Roosevelt to run as the presidential candidate of the Progressive Party, or Bull Moose Party, in 1912. Both Roosevelt and Taft lost to Democrat Woodrow Wilson, who himself was sympathetic to progressive reform. Wilson signed the Federal Reserve Act of 1913, which reorganized the monetary system of the country, and in 1914 he signed both the Clayton Antitrust Act and the Federal Trade Commission Act, which strengthened government's ability to regulate corporations. In 1916 Wilson signed the Keating-Owen Act, which prohibited the sale of products made using child labor.

Progressivism also had a religious aspect, known as the Social Gospel, an attempt by mainstream Protestantism to restore some of its lost authority and social prestige through a sort of secular leadership. It hinged on the belief that every Christian had a dual obligation to self and to society and combined a critique of individualism with a commitment to social justice and reform. This was significant because by the beginning of the 20th century, many Americans looked to science rather than to faith for expertise on problems of the day.

World War I redirected the energy of progressive reformers, and the Republican administrations of the 1920s had no interest in reviving the movement. Its reforms persisted into the 21st century, but many of the social initiatives favored by progressives were not enacted until the New Deal.

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David Miller Parker

Prohibition (North America)

A century of antialcohol agitation paid off in the early 20th century when the United States and most Canadian provinces passed laws against the sale and use of alcoholic beverages ranging from weak beer to high-proof whiskey. Enacted in the aftermath of World War I, the United States' "noble experiment" in nationwide alcohol prohibition proved highly controversial and was repealed in 1933. As in the United States, Canadian restrictions on liquor intensified during World War I, but most were revised or repealed by 1930.

Advocates of Prohibition both responded to and benefited from the social turmoil of late 19th- and early 20th-century America. As immigrants, many of them Jewish and Roman Catholic, flooded into rapidly expanding cities, the anti-immigrant, antiurban, and antisaloon tendencies of Protestant, small-town America and Canada intensified. Business titans like John D. Rockefeller, Andrew Carnegie, and Henry Ford supported Prohibition in the interest of the industries's need for sober machine operators.

One effective tool used by Prohibition supporters was local option, allowing towns, counties, or entire states to limit or eliminate the consumption of alcohol. By 1915, more than half of all Americans were already living under Prohibition statutes; 18 states were entirely "dry," as were parts of many others, predominantly in the South, Midwest, and West.

Prohibitionists used World War I to crusade against breweries, many owned by German Americans. They cited the need to divert grain supplies from making beer to baking bread for troops fighting in Europe. Congress approved the Eighteenth Amendment prohibiting the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquor in December 1917; it became law on January 29, 1920. The federal Volstead Act provided guidelines for enforcement. It defined "intoxicating liquors" as containing 0.5 percent or more alcohol; alcohol for industrial, religious, and medicinal use was allowed, as were grape beverages like Vine-Glo that were prepared at home.

From the beginning, enforcement proved difficult. There were many loopholes and too few federal agents to cover the coastlines. Smugglers were extremely successful at importing booze from Mexico, the Caribbean, and, ironically, Canada, where Prohibition restrictions were looser, and almost nonexistent in Quebec. Ships filled with liquor anchored outside the three-mile international limit and awaited speedy bootlegging rumrunners who returned to the mainland with an illegal cargo bound for "speakeasies" and "blind pigs" catering to women as well as men. President Warren G. Harding kept liquor in the White House. Other Americans who relished a drink brewed moonshine or bathtub gin; ill-tasting concoctions were mixed with fruity juices to create cocktails. Tainted alcohol, intended for industrial use or "spiked" with derivatives like nerve gas, caused blindness, paralysis, or death. Despite Prohibition's mounting problems, in the 1928 presidential election, which pitted "dry" Republican Herbert Hoover against "wet" New York Democrat Alfred E. Smith, the U.S. dry heartland voted overwhelmingly for Hoover.

A police raid in Washington, D.C. With the passing of the Eighteenth Amendment, alcohol became illegal in the United States.

Historians argue about the actual impact of Prohibition on drinking habits and law enforcement. In cities like New York, Detroit, and Chicago, where the dry crusade had never taken hold, illegal drinking probably exceeded pre-Prohibition levels. But there is compelling evidence that overall arrests for drunkenness and hospitalizations for alcoholism declined in the 1920s. In Canada, too, although illegal alcohol production soared, there were fewer reports of public intoxication and associated criminal behavior. Critics of Prohibition certainly had much to complain about, including the proliferation of gangsters like Al Capone and the Purple Gang, along with increased governmental corruption and general disrespect for laws. Criminalizing brewing and distilling, a huge formerly legal industry, meant loss of tax revenues and jobs.

In Michigan, the first state to ratify Prohibition, German-American beer maker Julius Stroh kept his workers employed making ice cream in what had been his brewery. Civil libertarians decried Prohibition's encroachment on states' rights and individual freedoms. By the early 1930s many formerly dry business leaders

were opposing Prohibition's heavy-handed and unsuccessful focus on law enforcement.

Franklin D. Roosevelt made repeal of Prohibition a campaign issue in the 1932 election. By April 1933 the newly elected president had persuaded Congress to quickly allow beer with 3.2 percent alcohol, while Congress initiated the Twenty-first Amendment repealing the Eighteenth. By December Prohibition was no more. Enforcement of liquor policies and restrictions was mostly returned to the states. For a while some continued Prohibition as a statewide policy; today jurisdiction tends to be at the local level, and dry counties still exist.

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John M. Mayernik

Quezon, Manuel

(1878–1944) *Philippine president*

Manuel Quezon was the oldest child of Spanish mestizo parents living in the small town of Baler on the east coast of Luzon island. At nine the young Quezon was sent to San Juan de Letran College, where he completed his secondary education and finished his bachelor of arts degree. He then went on to the University of Santo Tomás to study law.

In 1899, Quezon interrupted his studies to join Emilio Aguinaldo in the nationalist struggle against the United States, which had gained the Philippines from Spain after the Spanish-American War. After Aguinaldo surrendered to the United States in 1901, Quezon returned to law school and passed the Philippine bar in 1903. He subsequently set up his own law firm in his home province of Tayabas. Quezon's populist leanings were evident in the way he made wealthy clients pay high fees while he provided free legal services to the poor.

Quezon entered politics in 1905 when he ran for the office of provincial governor in Tayabas. Two years later he won a seat in the newly created Philippine assembly. He became the majority floor leader, with Sergio Osmena from Cebu as speaker. This marked the beginning of a long political collaboration with Osmena. The next year Quezon and Osmena established the Nacionalista Party, although Osmena remained its recognized leader through the early 1920s.

Quezon traveled outside the Philippines during this period, attending the International Congress of Navigation in St. Petersburg in 1908, visiting New York, and lunching with President Theodore Roosevelt.

In 1909, the Philippine assembly elected Quezon resident commissioner to the United States. He would hold this post for the next seven years. During this time he learned English and focused his energies on winning independence for the Philippines. By the time he returned to the Philippines in 1916, his efforts had helped lead to the passage of the Philippine Autonomy Act, commonly known as the Jones Act.

The Jones Act led to a reorganization of the Philippine legislature on the U.S. model and opened up new avenues for Quezon's political advancement. In 1916, having first won a senate seat, he was elected president of the senate by his fellow senators, a position he held until 1935. Exploiting the preamble of the Jones Act and inspired by the rhetoric of President Woodrow Wilson, Quezon led a team to Washington, D.C., in 1919 to lobby for independence. A new presidential administration in the United States in the post–World War I period doomed Quezon's mission.

In 1934 Quezon returned from yet another mission to the United States after the passage of the Tydings-McDuffie Act by the U.S. Congress, which created a 10-year transitional Philippine Commonwealth prior to full independence. The following year Quezon was elected president of the commonwealth, with Osmena as his vice president.

Manuel Quezon was a leading figure in Philippine independence and served as the country's leader in exile during World War II.

In 1935, President Franklin D. Roosevelt approved Quezon's request for the assignment of General Douglas MacArthur to help create a Philippine army as the country prepared itself for eventual independence in 1946. Quezon and MacArthur had a long-standing relationship dating back to 1903. In fact, in 1929 Quezon had lobbied hard for MacArthur to succeed Henry Stimson as governor-general of the Philippines. Quezon named MacArthur field marshal and military adviser to the Filipino president.

In November 1941, as the threat of war loomed, Quezon was reelected president, with Osmena as his vice president. A month later the Japanese military swept into Southeast Asia and invaded the Philippines. Quezon and Osmena were evacuated to Corregidor, from which they were taken to the United States.

In Washington, D.C., Quezon and Osmena established a commonwealth government in exile. Manuel Quezon would not return to the Philippines. He became bedridden by the tuberculosis that had plagued him for years and died in Saranac Lake, New York, on August 1, 1944. He was survived by his widow, Aurora Aragon Quezon, and his three children. His body was carried back to the Philippines and interred at the Manila North Cemetery. It was then moved to the Quezon Memorial Circle in Quezon City.

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Soo Chun Lu

racial segregation and race riots, U.S.

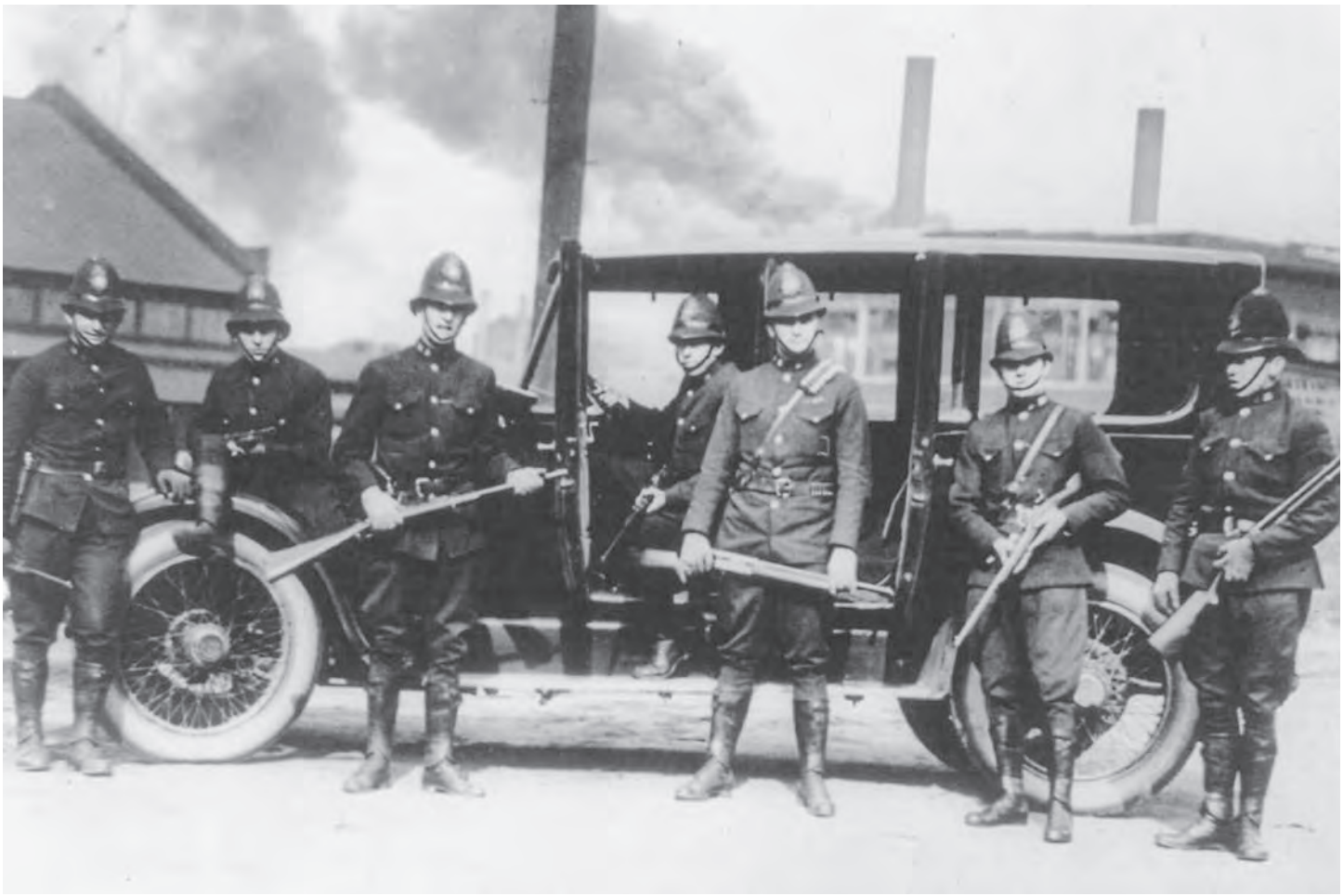
Segregation is physical separation based on race, gender, class, or religion. It can occur by law (de jure) or by actual practice (de facto). It may be voluntary, involuntary, or somewhere between the two. In the U.S. context, segregation historically has meant the separation of blacks involuntarily from white society.

In the antebellum United States, the North and cities in the South were more segregated than was the rural South, where an agricultural economy based on plantations and farms reduced opportunities or incentives for segregation. Northern segregation became more pronounced in the 1820s through the 1840s due to the large European immigration and the increase in white male voting. Northern urban segregation was occasionally de jure, but usually it was due to white preference. Blacks were removed from jobs, schools, public accommodations, churches, neighborhoods, and voting booths. Blacks responded by creating their own churches, lodges, and communities.

In the South the plantation economy required a large labor force—mostly slave. Slaves, it was thought, were better kept behind the big house where they could be observed than in towns or elsewhere where they might plot against the white near-minority. Free and slave blacks had access to churches, theaters, and other facilities, but only in their own sections. Blacks and whites did not ordinarily mingle. Schools and social welfare were forbidden to blacks. After the Civil War, the South developed de facto segregation similar to that of the antebellum North. The key concept was separate but equal. Prisons were segregated, as were militia units, cemeteries, trains and boats, streetcars, and general public accommodations. Blacks initially accepted separate but equal, however unequal, as superior to having no access at all. Where segregated institutions were totally inadequate, as they had in the North, southern blacks developed their own segregated facilities. Residential segregation developed as freedmen left the plantations for freedmen's camps, the outskirts of cities, and rural black communities.

After Reconstruction, Redeemer governments abandoned all pretense of equality. The approach was validated by *Plessey v. Ferguson* (1896), and for decades the courts ruled against black efforts to mitigate if not overturn segregation. Only in *Buchanan v. Warley* (1917), a residential segregation case, did blacks win a victory against segregation. Even that ruling was overwhelmed by white prejudice and a limited amount of black preference that combined to segregate most U.S. neighborhoods. Where blacks and whites integrated, usually both were poor.

In the North, Reconstruction meant that black voters had a voice. Most jurisdictions abandoned de jure segregation, but de facto segregation was similar to that in southern cities. Residential areas were segregated, and so were job sites. Some accommodations were off limits not by law but by custom. The GREAT MIGRATION of blacks northward after the turn of the century and particularly during and after WORLD WAR I led to



State troopers, some posing with riot guns, stand ready for rioters in 1919. Racial conflict occurred because of a loss of employment, rumors of violent crime, and questionable election results—all causes of mass riots that left hundreds dead across the country.

competition and conflict between black migrants and old-time and immigrant whites for jobs, housing, and other basics of life. Blacks became restricted to urban ghettos with their own schools, facilities, and business districts. By the 1920s segregation in the North and South was comparable.

When the federal government instituted a laissez faire policy regarding states' treatment of their black populations after Reconstruction, the states implemented disenfranchisement, discrimination, and peonage. Blacks without rights were second-class citizens. White supremacy generated race hatred and lawlessness, and the result was a massive outbreak of lynching. Although lynching occurred throughout the United States and involved whites as well as blacks, it was predominantly a southern act against blacks. Between 1882 and 1951, of the 4,730 persons lynched, 3,437 were black.

The shift began in the decade prior to World War I. Rather than attacking an individual, white mobs began attacking entire communities. Wanting to preserve white power and vent frustrations against the helpless, white mobs went into black neighborhoods, beat and killed large numbers of blacks, and damaged a great deal of black property. Blacks commonly fought back, but the preponderance of casualties were black. Because the North was more urbanized than the South, most riots occurred in the North.

Blacks began migrating to northern cities as the South's segregation became tighter and urban industrialization offered alternative employment to debt peonage on southern farms. Blacks seemed a threat to northern white jobs and neighborhoods. World War I exacerbated the situation, and it also raised the specter of black soldiers returning and refusing to accept second-class citizenship. The summer of 1919 saw 26 race

riots, not only in Chicago and Washington, D.C., but in such cities as Charleston, South Carolina; Longview, Texas; Omaha, Nebraska; and Elaine, Arkansas. Black deaths exceeded 100, injuries were in the thousands, and thousands more were left homeless.

The most serious riots were in Wilmington, North Carolina (1898); Atlanta, Georgia (1906); Springfield, Illinois (1908); East St. Louis, Illinois (1917); Chicago, Illinois (1919); Tulsa, Oklahoma (1921); and Detroit, Michigan (1943).

Wilmington's riot was the first major outbreak since Reconstruction. An election rife with fraud and intimidation of black voters produced a white racist city administration resolved to control the city's black population. Whites began rampaging two days after the election, killing about 30 blacks and forcing many others to leave. The Atlanta riot of 1906 occurred after months of inflammatory press treatment of black crime in an effort to disenfranchise blacks. Reports that 12 white women were raped in a week provoked a white riot. White mobs murdered blacks, destroyed homes and businesses, and overwhelmed police and black resistance. After four days, 10 blacks and two whites were dead, and hundreds were injured. Over 1,000 left Atlanta.

The rioters in Springfield, Illinois, reacted to a white woman's claim that she had been molested by a black man. After lynching the alleged attacker, the crowd began dragging blacks from homes and streetcars. The National Guard restored order only after four whites and two blacks had been killed. White liberals, shocked by the violence in the hometown of Abraham Lincoln, met the next year with blacks and formed the NAACP (National Association for the Advancement of Colored People).

Illinois was the scene of another riot in 1917 in East St. Louis. White workers feared black competition for jobs and attendant status. An aluminum plant brought in black and white strike breakers and, with militia and court injunctions, broke a white strike. The union blamed the blacks. The result was a riot, including beatings and destruction of property. After the riot, harassment and beatings continued for several months. In June a new riot began, and this time, along with the beatings, burnings, and the destruction of over 300 buildings, the official death toll was nine whites and 39 blacks.

Chicago's riot was the worst in the postwar years. A black swimmer entered the whites-only section of the water, leading white swimmers to stone him until he drowned; 13 days of rioting by thousands of blacks and whites produced 15 white and 23 black deaths and 178 white and 342 black injuries. Property destruction left over 1,000 families homeless.

The Tulsa riot was in response to a white girl's allegation that a black man had attempted to rape her in a public elevator. Rumors that the suspect was to be lynched led an armed black mob to the jail. Whites and blacks fought, and the riot was under way. A mob of over 10,000 rampaged through the black neighborhood. Machine guns and airplanes were used to help the white mob, and by the time four companies of the National Guard had restored order, 150 to 200 blacks were dead.

Rioting eased after that, but World War II brought a massive black migration to the war jobs of the nation's cities. Detroit's blacks and whites competed for the same jobs and the same houses. On June 20, 1943, fighting began in an integrated recreational area, Belle Isle. Fighting became rioting, with the customary looting and burning of the black neighborhoods. The white mobs spread through the city seeking blacks downtown as well as in the ghettos. Cars full of whites were shot at by black snipers. Federal troops quelled the riots, but 25 blacks and nine whites were dead.

The riots inevitably started when whites attacked blacks. This occurred at times of social dislocation. Riots grew due to the spread of rumors. The police consistently either were a precipitating factor or assisted in the growth of the riots. The location of the riots was always in the black community. Blacks reacted to white violence either by retaliating violently, leaving the cities, or engaging in peaceful protest. The NAACP publicized the riots and continued to work for legislative reform.

World War II altered the civil rights landscape. The NAACP had won a series of victories from the 1920s, slowly tearing down the legal structure supporting unequal facilities. The Supreme Court overturned the white primary in 1944, making black access to the political process theoretically possible. Between 1940 and 1952 southern black voter registration rose from 150,000 to over 1 million.

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John H. Barnhill

Ralaimongo, Jean

(1884–1942) *Malagasy activist*

In 1898, the French decided to interpret the "friendship treaty" signed with the last Malagasy queen as an invitation to transform Madagascar into a protectorate. Not everyone on the island objected to the changes, especially if, as in the case of future nationalist and socialist Jean Ralaimongo, they had been sold into slavery and released only upon the abolition of slavery effected by the French. Many longed for revolutionary changes to the traditionally rigid hierarchy that structured Malagasy society.

Ralaimongo absorbed French republican ideals enthusiastically and wanted to see them become practice in Madagascar. In the era before World War I, the majority of intellectuals optimistically expected that they would have the opportunity to advance toward independence and civilization under France's aegis. The Sadiavahe resistance movement (1915–17) drew its adherents almost exclusively from the ranks of the peasantry in the southwest of the island, and their economic grievances were caused as much by the weather as by the French-imposed cattle tax.

Many Malagasy men chose to join the French army in World War I. In return for their service, they received educational opportunities in the metropole and French citizenship. Ralaimongo remained in France until 1922, during which time he encountered various European radicals and future nationalist leaders from French colonies in Asia and Africa. With his roommate, the man later known as Ho Chi Minh, Ralaimongo attended the seminal meetings for the formation of the French Communist Party. They also collaborated on the production of a newspaper meant to raise political consciousness among colonial peoples.

Those who remained in Madagascar during World War I lived through an incident that displayed the French will to remain in control of the island. After having repeatedly heard rumors of a revolt planned for late in 1915, the administration ordered a series of arrests on December 12. The ensuing judicial processes concluded quickly. Those arrested belonged to the VVS (Vy Vato Sakelika, roughly Iron Stone Network), a group that had started to articulate an intellectual nationalism and that sought to prepare their compatriots for the distant day when they might take control of their own affairs. The majority of those convicted for their associations with the VVS were lower-middle-class youths from varying ethnic groups, though the leaders of the group were generally students at the medical school, white-collar workers, and teachers.

Soon after the VVS affair and the end of World War I, France granted a degree of representative government to Madagascar. Those war veterans who returned to the island brought with them radical ideas and an intensified sense of nationalism. In the 1920s, leaders adhered to the strategy employed by other African nationalists of the interwar period: Demand increased self-rule and the extension of European civil rights but not complete autonomy. Ralaimongo initiated his agitation from a base in Diego Suarez. They demanded the creation of a council-general with real powers and a significant portion of Malagasy members, along with the abolition of the government-general and representation in the French parliament. Financially backed by members of the business community, Ralaimongo allied former members of the VVS, French socialists, and Malagasy labor leaders in a single movement. From 1927, the group published two newspapers: *L'Opinion* (in Diego Suárez [now Antsiranana]) and *L'Aurore Malagache* (in Tananarivo).

The first mass demonstration occurred on May 19, 1929, after the French governor-general refused to receive any Malagasy to discuss the recent Pétition des Indigènes, which had presented the nationalists' requests. The unrest signified the existence of an embryonic sense of nationality. Little changed, however, and the administration did not listen to recommendations.

As a response to this inaction, nationalists became more radical in their demands. Ralaimongo, exiled to Port Beigé, started to advocate peasant resistance following the model popularized by Mohandas K. Gandhi. In 1931 he first suggested that Madagascar should break with France entirely. New groups and a more explicitly nationalistic, proindependence periodical press appeared after 1935. However, the nationalist movement had lost much of its momentum by the later 1930s as the effects of the global Great Depression caused traders to withdraw financial support. Many middle-class Malagasy simply preferred the benefits they would accrue as French citizens to the uncertainty of independence.

The mutations in French politics and foreign policy triggered by World War II yielded a new situation for colonies such as Madagascar. The administration decided to acknowledge calls for self-government. To start, the Malagasy elected two representatives to the constituent assembly in Paris. French settlers and Malagasy each had their own electoral colleges, a situation that the Malagasy representatives actively criticized. Once in Paris, these two men, Joseph Raseta and Joseph Ravoahangy, along with Paris-based writer Jacques Rabemananjara, started the Democratic Movement for Malagasy Restoration (known by its French acronym MDRM). This political

party attracted some 300,000 members from various ethnic and social groups. Raseta and Ravoahangy rejected any identity for Madagascar other than that of a sovereign nation-state, so they did not support the territory's inclusion in the French union. Provincial elections in 1946 returned a large MDRM majority in the provincial and the national representative assemblies.

These political reforms did little to mitigate the various causes of tension that sparked the revolt of 1947. Together, the return of soldiers who had fought for France in World War II, food shortages, economic scandals, and ethnic disputes contributed to the deterioration of relations with the French administration. The nationalists who challenged French rule on March 20, 1947, managed to gain support across about one-third of the island before reinforcements could arrive from France. The French outlawed the MDRM, despite its protestations of innocence, and military courts ordered the execution of 20 military leaders of the revolt. Trials of others involved in the uprising resulted in 5,000 to 6,000 convictions and sentences of either imprisonment or death. Malagasy independence remained to be won.

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Melanie A. Bailey

rape of Nanjing (Nanking), the

On July 7, 1937, Japanese forces attacked a town called Wanping in northern China near Beijing (Peking) in what came to be called the Marco Polo Bridge incident. On August 13 they attacked Shanghai, China's major port and financial center. This was the beginning of the Sino-Japanese War, which became part of World War II in Asia. Japan boasted that China would surrender within three months. However, Chinese troops defended Shanghai heroically for three months before falling back, opening the road to Nanjing, China's capital. Meanwhile, the Chinese had moved their capital to Chongqing (Chungking) in Sichuan (Szechwan) province up the Yangzi (Yangtze) River.

Nanjing fell to Japanese troops on December 13, 1937. For the next eight weeks the civilians and surrendered Chinese troops in the city were subjected to monstrous barbarity perpetrated by over 50,000 Japanese officers and soldiers. The world knows it as the rape of Nanjing and the Chinese call it the great Nanjing massacre. The massacre was condoned by the high command and the commander of Japanese forces in Nanjing, Prince Asaka Yasuhito, uncle of Emperor Hirohito. Soldiers were encouraged to commit the most horrendous atrocities and competed to kill the most people in the least time. Babies were bayoneted, and no female escaped gang rape, sexual torture, and death. All Chinese prisoners of war were massacred. The city was thoroughly looted, and large sections were burned down.

The only help for the desperate victims came from several Americans and Europeans who selflessly chose to remain in the city. They formed the International Committee for the Nanjing Safety Zone and established an area called the International Safety Zone around the campus of Nanjing University, the Ginling Women's Arts and Science College, the U.S. embassy, and some Chinese government buildings. These Western men and women stood up to the crazed Japanese soldiers, often risking their own lives. One of the bravest was a German businessman and member of the Nazi Party, John Rabe, who opened up his home as a refuge and put on his Nazi swastika armband to bolster his authority in stopping Japanese soldiers from violating the safety zone. He was so admired by the Chinese that they called him the "Buddha of Nanjing." Others later called him the Oskar Schindler of Nanjing. Another was Wilhemina Vautrin, head of the education dsepartment of the Ginling Women's College. She protected thousands of women from Japanese soldiers, which won her accolades as the "Living Goddess of Nanjing." There were many others who worked valiantly and at enormous personal risk to protect the Chinese and who kept diaries of the horrific events.

The worst was over by the spring of 1938, and Japanese authorities began damage control in an attempt to prevent international outrage. One outcome of the rape of Nanjing was the creation of a vast network of military brothels staffed by several hundred thousand young women from Korea, China, Taiwan, and later the Philippines and Indonesia, who were kidnapped and forced to serve as sex slaves to the Japanese soldiers so that they would be less likely to rape women in conquered territories. These victims were called "comfort women." The first official "comfort house" was opened near Nanjing

in 1938. These crimes were revealed in the International War Crimes Tribunal in Tokyo after the war.

See also HOLOCAUST, THE.

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JIU-HWA LO UPSHUR

Red Scare (1920)

Red Scare was a term applied during the 1920s to a period of extreme anticommunism in the United States from 1917 until 1920. It started with the Russian Revolution in October 1917 which saw the Bolshevik Party taking power in Russia. The result was that there was a fear in the United States that Communists might try to take power—initially through the Socialist Party of America and the Industrial Workers of the World, who led strikes in 1916 and 1917, and then through the Communist Party of the United States of America, which was established in 1919. There was also a fear of the rise in anarchist groups.

In April 1919 a series of letter bombs were posted to a number of prominent Americans including Oliver Wendell Holmes, a Supreme Court justice. The man who tried to bomb the home of the attorney general, A. Mitchell Palmer, Carlo Valdinoci, was killed as he placed the device on the porch of Palmer's house. It was a period of intense xenophobia, and the police started arresting people they thought were involved. During the arrests, there were strikes throughout the United States that led to some people fearing that there was a nationwide conspiracy to overthrow the U.S. government.

The terms of the Espionage Act of 1917 had been strengthened through the Sedition Act of 1918, as arrests continued, with some 10,000 people being arrested over the two-year period. The man appointed by Palmer to be in charge of organizing the arrests was J. Edgar Hoover, aged 24. Many people alleged that they were beaten by the police during and after their arrests and also denied access to their attorneys, although the tough attitude had the support of many people and some newspapers. U.S. senator Kenneth

A group is photographed in front of the home of Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer after the attempted bombing in 1919.

D. McKellar raised the idea of establishing a penal colony in Guam for subversives. However, a number of jurists, including Felix Frankfurter, later a judge in the Supreme Court, published their criticisms of the arrests.

In early 1920 Attorney General Palmer announced that he had received evidence that the Communists were planning to take over the United States on May 1, but Palmer's attempt to win the Democratic Party nomination for the presidency failed soon afterward. In spite of the arrests, which also saw several hundred people being deported, bombings continued, with one device, which had 100 pounds (45 kilograms) of dynamite and 500 pounds (230 kilograms) of steel fragments, exploded in front of J. P. Morgan Company's office on Wall Street, killing 38 and injuring 400 others. In the 1920 U.S. presidential election, Eugene V. Debs of the Socialist Party of America, who had stood in the U.S. presidential elections on four occasions, was arrested and fought his fifth election campaign from prison. The hysteria reached its peak when two Italian anarchists, Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti, were arrested for their role in the death of a paymaster and security guard on April 15, 1920, and were sentenced to death, being executed in 1927. The Red Scare of 1919–20 served to have a negative effect on progressive political parties and union membership in

America, as both experienced severe declines in membership in the next decade.

See also SACCO-VANZETTI TRIAL.

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JUSTIN CORFIELD

reparations, World War I

Since WOODROW WILSON rejected indemnities, WORLD WAR I's victors required reparation for civilian damage done from the losers, ostensibly to ease reconstruction costs. All of the 1920 treaties written at Paris contained reparations clauses, although only Germany could pay appreciably. Article 231 of the Versailles Treaty with Germany, as limited by article 232 and similar clauses in the Austrian and Hungarian treaties, laid the legal basis. Only Germany saw this as a war guilt clause. At Paris, reparations were stretched to cover war pensions to enable Britain and its empire to gain a share. As the total set in 1921 was based on estimates of German capacity to pay, the British share, not the total, was thereby increased.

Germany was to pay 20 milliard (U.S. billion) gold marks ($5 billion) by May 1921. Meanwhile, the victors would assess damage claims and arrive at a total sum. Actual German payments to May 1921, chiefly in credits for state properties in transferred territories and battlefield salvage, were deliberately overestimated by the Allies at 8 milliard, which did not cover prior charges, including provisioning Germany. The total figure set in April and May 1921 was ostensibly 132 milliard gold marks, but actually 50 milliard, including the unpaid balance on the interim payment. Figures were always misleadingly inflated so victor politicians could claim great accomplishments and German politicians could orchestrate outrage. A schedule of continuing payments in cash and kind (chiefly coal and timber) was established but soon were in virtual abeyance as Germany claimed inability to pay.

Battles over reparations dominated the postwar decade. If the victors had to pay vast reconstruction costs as well as domestic and foreign war debts while Germany, which had no foreign war debt and eradicated its domestic debt through inflation, paid nothing, Germany would be the victor. Berlin sought to reverse the military verdict by paying little and inflating its currency, blaming reparations for the inflation. Repeated German defaults on coal deliveries led to the 1923 Ruhr encirclement to force Germany to honor the treaty. France won that battle but lost the war, since in 1924 at British insistence, reparations payments and the total were reduced in the Dawes Plan, which provided a large loan to Germany and slowly rising payments. When these became onerous, Germany gained another reduction and loan in the 1929 Young Plan. After ADOLF HITLER's September 1930 electoral triumph, foreign, liberal, and Jewish capital fled Germany, creating a spreading economic crisis that led to the July 1931 one-year Hoover Moratorium on all intergovernmental debts. When it expired, the July 1932 Lausanne Agreement effectively ended reparations without saying so.

In all, Germany paid about 21.5 milliard gold marks, chiefly in kind. Cash was mostly borrowed, and the Dawes and Young loans were defaulted and not settled until 1995. Reparations could not be collected without German cooperation, which was not forthcoming. Of all Germany's battles to escape the Versailles Treaty, that over reparations was the most prolonged, bitter, and devisive.

See also WEIMAR REPUBLIC.

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SALLY MARKS

Rhodesia, Northern and Southern (pre-1950)

In 1911, Northern Rhodesia, a wealthy protectorate of the United Kingdom with borders that corresponded roughly to modern Zambia, was created from a combination of North West Rhodesia and North East Rhodesia. Both of these areas were under the control of the British South Africa Company, which had acquired the area in 1899 by dint of a royal charter. This empowered the company with complete administrative control over what became known as Southern Rhodesia and Northern Bechuanaland. While the charter gave the company power in the south, it soon expanded northward, extending its activities across the Zambezi River into what eventually became Northern Rhodesia.

The name of the area was derived from the name of Cecil John Rhodes, renowned British empire builder and

the most influential figure in the European expansion into southern Africa. Rhodes gained influence for the British in the area through negotiations with local chiefs for mineral rights in 1888. These negotiations, while questionable in terms of fairness to the indigenous population, were so successful that later the same year both Northern and Southern Rhodesia were proclaimed a part of the British sphere of influence. Southern Rhodesia was formally annexed and was granted self-government in 1923. Northern Rhodesia remained under the complete administrative and legislative control of the British South Africa Company until the same year, at which time the company surrendered all of its buildings, assets, land, and other monopolistic rights aside from mineral rights in return for a cash payment from the British government.

Thus, Northern Rhodesia became a British protectorate, and in 1924 executive and legislative councils were established along with the office of the governor of Northern Rhodesia. Seeing the situation of the white population in nearby South Africa, the Colonial Office promoted the immigration of white settlers to the area, reserving huge stretches of prime farmland taken from important tribal areas. This appropriation of land clashed with the land rights of the local population, who had little recourse for complaining about the situation.

The outbreak of World War II saw Northern Rhodesia playing an important role for the British. As soon as the war began, citizens of Northern Rhodesia signed up to fight for the British army in both the European and African theaters. Arguably as important, the vast copper resources of Rhodesia were used to create vital munitions for the British war effort. This desperate need for copper caused an upswing in the price of the material, which saved the failing Rhodesian economy. Northern Rhodesia was considered as a possible location for the settlement of European Jews fleeing the political repression of the Nazi regime in Germany, particularly following the *Kristallnacht*, a massive anti-Semitic pogram launched by facist organizations on November 9, 1938.

Following the war, Northern Rhodesia took steps toward democratization with the establishment of an African Representative Council in 1946. Again following the lead of South Africa, white Rhodesia settlers opposed any policy that would allow the larger African population to gain greater representation in the political process or better access to education. Most of the white population pushed for an amalgamation with the more prosperous Southern Rhodesia. In spite of the strong opposition of the white population, two African members were appointed to the Northern Rhodesian legislative council in 1948, the first step toward enfranchising the indigenous peoples. Northern Rhodesia became the independent nation of Zambia on October 24, 1964.

The area known as Southern Rhodesia corresponds roughly to modern Zimbabwe. After the split in 1923, Southern Rhodesia became known simply as Rhodesia. Previously, in 1922, nearly 30,000 white settlers in Southern Rhodesia voted for the area to become self-governing rather than integrated into the Union of South Africa. Very soon after the annexation by the British government in 1923, Southern Rhodesia became a self-governing colony. As with Northern Rhodesia, the right to vote was tied primarliy to property qualifications. While a few black Africans were elected to the assembly, the legislature was predominantly white.

In 1930, the Southern Rhodesian Land Act was passed, excluding black Africans from owning the best farmland and creating a situation similar to the one experienced by the native people in South Africa at the same time. Four years later, a labor law excluding black Africans from entering the skilled trades and professions was passed. Additional legislation of the time continued to discriminate against the native population.

The indigenous peoples suffered repeated shrinking of areas set aside for them, the constant confiscation of the best, most arable lands, and continued exclusion from any professions that required specific skills. Education tended to be private schools that catered to the white minority, with the education of the native Africans relegated to missionaries. However, with the onset of World War II, the social conditions of Southern Rhodesia were forced to change. During the war, many young white men enlisted to serve in the British army; this meant that black African natives had to fill the vacated jobs to prevent the complete collapse of the economy. This, more than anything, started to empower the natives.

The black population of Southern Rhodesia was not unrepresented in the legislature but was significantly under-represented. Dissatisfaction with the local political situation began to grow in the native community, and many social and politcal organizations advocating the demands of the local black population sprang up. Following the war, the British Colonial Office attempted to assuage the situation with constitutional changes, increasing the size of the electorate and granting political representation to the African majority. Naturally, the powerful white minority opposed these

measures, believing that the Colonial Office had no authority; Southern Rhodesia had been self-governing since 1924. This position was enhanced by the return of white Rhodesian servicemen following the end of the war; veterans wanted their jobs back, a situation that permitted the environment of pushing aside the grievances of the black African population and increasing racial policies that closely resembled those of neighboring South Africa.

Southern Rhodesia would remain relatively peaceful by African standards until the 1960s.

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Rian Wall

Rif rebellion

For centuries Spain controlled the mountainous areas from Ceuta to Melilla in northern Morocco. In March 1912 Sultan Mulai Hafid signed a treaty in which he recognized a French protectorate over Morocco. The French and Spanish then negotiated the Treaty of Fez; Spain would continue to control the mountainous areas of the Rif in the east and the Jibala in the west. France would control the rest of Morocco, and the Rif Mountains would serve as the border between the two protectorates.

When Spain began moving troops into the region, it caused unrest among the peoples of the Rif, who were used to living independently under the rule of the sultan. Two Berbers from the largest tribe in northern Morocco united all the tribes against the Spanish into what became the Rif rebellion of 1921–26. Muhammad Ibn Abd el-Krim el-Khatabi, also known as Abd el-Krim, became the leader of the revolt. Abd el-Krim was the eldest son of a *qadi* who received an education superior to that available to most in the Rif. His younger brother M'hommad became his chief adviser and commander of the Rif army. Abd el-Krim was appointed chief *qadi* in the Melilla region and quickly became an important figure in the administration of the Spanish zone. He also was an editor for *El Telegrama del Rif*, where he took anti-French stances during World War I, for which he was imprisoned in 1917. After being released from prison in 1919, he was reinstated in the Office of Indigenous Troops and Affairs. Shortly afterward, Abd el-Krim left the Spanish administration, and his brother came home from Madrid, where he had been studying to become a mining engineer. They then began to form an intertribal military force with the intention of creating an independent state in the Rif.

Abd el-Krim and the Rif army won several decisive battles against the Spanish. They used brief military engagements to ambush the Spanish and then retreat. Because of this, the Spanish soldiers were at a large disadvantage. They were trained to engage another European army and not to fight a guerrilla-style war. Abd el-Krim also took advantage of the region's steep mountainous terrain and the inaccessibility of the Rifian coastline. General Manuel Sylvestre, the commander of the Spanish forces in the region, was defeated and killed in battle at Annual. The fighting continued after the Spanish retreat, as the Rifians cut off Spanish escape routes. It was estimated that the Spanish suffered between 9,000 and 15,000 casualties, including General Sylvestre, in this battle.

Shortly after the battle, Abd el-Krim established a government and began making changes in the Rif in an attempt to better the lives of his people. The Rifian army continued to win battle after battle until the majority of northern Morocco was under the control of Abd el-Krim. In an attempt to stop him, the Spanish resorted to massive bombing campaigns with TNT and incendiary and chemical bombs, but to no avail. Abd el-Krim and the Rifian army continued to advance. Marshal Louis-Hubert Lyautey, the top administrator of the French zone of Morocco, kept a close eye on the events in the north.

The French authorities had pursued a successful policy of divide-and-rule against the local tribes to keep control, but Abd el-Krim's influence began to penetrate into the French zone. By April 1925 he launched an offensive into French territory. For a short time his attacks forced a French retreat until a joint Spanish-French operation caught Abd el-Krim, now fighting a two-front war, in a pincer attack. By late October 1925 the Spanish were advancing, and Abd el-Krim was forced to retreat toward the French. In May 1926 Abd el-Krim negotiated a surrender with the French. France pardoned Abd el-Krim and then exiled him to the island of Reunion in the Indian Ocean. In 1947 he was granted asylum in Egypt, where he lived in Cairo until his death in February 1963.

See also Franco, Francisco.

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Brian M. Eichstadt

Rommel, Erwin

(1891–1944) *German general*

Born into a middle-class family with no military background in 1891, Erwin Rommel went on to become one of the most decorated and senior generals in the German army during World War II. He is most famous for commanding the German Afrika Korps from 1941 to 1943. He proved such a competent commander during this period that the British nicknamed him the "Desert Fox."

Rommel first distinguished himself as a leader in a number of combat missions during World War I in France, Italy, and Romania. For his exceptional military prowess he was awarded two Iron Crosses and became the youngest recipient of a Pour le Merite, Germany's highest military honor. Following the war he served as an instructor at the Dresden Infantry School from 1929 to 1933 and the Potsdam War Academy from 1935 to 1938.

He also wrote a well-received textbook on military theory, *Infantry Tactics*, in 1937. *Infantry Tactics* caught the attention of Adolf Hitler. Rommel was subsequently promoted to colonel and given command of the Hitler Youth paramilitary force and later Hitler's bodyguard battalion in 1939–40. By now a major general, Rommel took command in February 1940 of Germany's 7th Panzer Division and led his new unit to war against France on May 10. Despite having no previous experience in tank warfare, Rommel displayed an uncanny instinct for coordinating large and fast-moving armored formations. He outperformed his more experienced colleagues in the blitzkrieg assaults. In a six-week campaign, Rommel's unit captured over 450 tanks and over 100,000 Allied prisoners.

In an effort to relieve the beleaguered Italian units fighting in North Africa, Hitler promoted Rommel once again and awarded him a new command in January 1941. Rommel landed in Libya with the two divisions that would form the foundation of the Afrika Corps (Korps). Violating his orders from Wehrmacht high command to consolidate his new units, he attacked the British forces in North Africa in March and caught them off balance, which allowed him to retake all of Cyrenaica except Tobruk. Promoted to full general in the summer of 1941, Rommel and his Panzer Group Africa held off British counterattacks until he was eventually forced to withdraw in November.

After receiving new supplies and reinforcements, he launched a series of offensives against the British, concluding in the Gazala battles through which he regained all of the lost ground and captured Tobruk. He was promoted once more to field marshal on June 22, 1942, in recognition of his success.

Rommel's panzer group was defeated by the British at the first Battle of El Alamein in July, defeated again by British general Bernard Montgomery at Alam Halfa in September, and crushed at the second Battle of El Alamein in October. Facing competent and far better supplied Allied troops, Rommel's forces were hampered by fuel shortages and his own debilitating medical problems. Despite his achieving a notable victory over the U.S. 2nd Army Corps at the Battle of the Kasserine Pass in February 1943, Rommel's campaign in Africa was ultimately a failure. Against Hitler's orders he organized an orderly withdrawal from North Africa. He flew to Germany on extended sick leave, leaving many of his subordinates to be captured by the Allies.

Following the Allied victory in North Africa, Rommel was appointed commander in chief of German Army Group B in August 1943 and tasked with planning operations in northern Italy. When Rommel failed to defend Sicily or the Italian mainland from Allied invasion, Hitler ordered him to France in November 1943 to organize the defense of that country against further Allied invasion.

There he launched a massive construction effort to strengthen the Atlantic wall, particularly with his own innovative design of beach obstacles nicknamed "Rommel's asparagus." In addition, he ordered that thousands of tank traps and other obstacles be set up on beaches and throughout the countryside and that millions of mines be laid.

Rommel disagreed with the strategy of his superior, General Rundstedt, for defending France. Rundstedt believed that a large proportion of the German army should be held in reserve to provide a flexible means of reinforcing front line units and plugging gaps opened by the Allies, while Rommel argued that the German tank units should be deployed right at the beaches to repel the Allied invasion forces immediately. The former won out, but following the Allied invasion of Normandy on D-day, both struggled in vain to stop the Allied advance across France toward Germany.

Plane wreckage is all that remains after Erwin Rommel's Afrika Corps retreated through Libya to the Tunisian coast. Despite his inexperience with tanks at the beginning of World War II, Rommel soon gained the respect of the Allies for his tactical leadership.

Rommel was severely wounded on July 17, 1944, when his staff car was strafed by an RAF fighter. He was also implicated in a failed assassination attempt against Hitler on July 20. The investigators discovered numerous connections between Rommel and the conspiracy, including the deep involvement of many of his closest aides. He was offered a choice of poison or a lengthy show trial and a promise of reprisals against his family. Predictably, he took the former course of action on October 14, 1944.

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Scott Fitzsimmons

Roosevelt, Eleanor

(1884–1962) *American first lady*

Anna Eleanor Roosevelt was the wife of Franklin D. Roosevelt and first lady of the United States from 1933 until 1945, becoming a United Nations diplomat and a major political figure in her own right.

She was born on October 11, 1884, in New York, the daughter of Elliott and Anna Hall Roosevelt and niece of Theodore Roosevelt, who became the 26th president of the United States. Both her parents died when she was young—her mother when she was eight and her father when she was nine, and as a result she was raised by relatives, rapidly becoming Theodore Roosevelt's favorite niece. It was the childhood of a wealthy girl, and she quickly developed a social conscience and keenness to help with charitable works.

She was educated at Allenswood, near London, England, and later described the three years she spent there as the happiest in her life. In 1902 she returned

to New York, and three years later, on March 17, 1905, she married a distant cousin, Franklin Delano Roosevelt. They were to have six children: Anna Eleanor, born in 1906; James, born in 1907; Franklin Delano, Jr., born in 1909 (died aged seven and a half months); Elliot, born in 1910; Franklin Delano, Jr., born in 1914; and John Aspinwall, born in 1916.

Even before her marriage, Eleanor Roosevelt had been active in charity and volunteer work, and she adapted easily to the task of accompanying her husband as he entered politics. The family moved to Albany after Franklin won a seat in the New York senate in 1911, and two years later they moved to Washington, D.C., when he was appointed assistant secretary of the navy. During World War I, Eleanor worked in a Red Cross canteen for the Navy-Marine Corps Relief Society. A particularly traumatic time came about in 1918 when Eleanor discovered that her husband was having an affair with her social secretary, Lucy Mercer. She offered a divorce, which he rejected, promising to end the affair. The two would remain married, but their relationship was badly strained.

In 1921 Franklin Roosevelt was struck with poliomyelitis, and it looked as though his political career was over. However, Eleanor stood by him, and gradually both of them became active in grass-roots politics, with Eleanor playing a major role in the Democratic Party in New York State. When Franklin was elected governor of New York in 1929, Eleanor remained an adept political hostess but also continued to run a Manhattan girls' school, Todhunter, which she and two friends had recently bought. Eleanor taught at the school and enjoyed her independence from political life.

When Franklin Roosevelt was elected president, Eleanor became a leading advocate for liberal causes, especially women's rights and equal rights for African Americans. She held a regular White House press conference restricted to women journalists. This ensured that many major newspapers had to hire women correspondents, if only, some would later admit, to get the news from her. With Franklin crippled, Eleanor toured the United States many times in his absence and was able to tell him about the success or otherwise of social programs.

Eleanor Roosevelt's championing of the rights of African Americans quickly became famous throughout the United States and overseas. In 1939 the Daughters of the American Revolution refused to allow Marian Anderson, an African American operatic singer, to perform in Constitution Hall, so Eleanor resigned her membership of the organization and held the concert at the Lincoln Memorial, with 75,000 people attending. Once, when attending a public meeting in Alabama with the public segregated by race, Eleanor sat in a folding chair in the central aisle.

In 1945 Franklin Roosevelt died, and his successor, Harry S. Truman, who called Eleanor the "First Lady of the World," appointed her to be a delegate to the United Nations, where she was chair of the Commission on Human Rights from 1946 until 1952, playing a major role in the drafting and then the adopting of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948. She was appointed in 1961 by President John F. Kennedy to chair the Commission on the Status of Women, and she came to support the Equal Rights Amendment. From 1945 Eleanor Roosevelt traveled around the world many times, unveiling a statue of Franklin Roosevelt at Grosvenor Square, London, in April 1948 and going to Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union, as well as most Western countries.

Eleanor Roosevelt died on November 7, 1962, from tuberculosis, and was buried at Hyde Park, New York, where her husband had been buried 17 years earlier.

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Justin Corfield

Roosevelt, Franklin Delano

(1882–1945) *U.S. president*

Franklin Roosevelt, known as "FDR," was the 32nd president of the United States (1933–45) and was the only president elected to that office four times. He led the United States through two major crises: the Great Depression of the 1930s and then World War II, which saw the emergence of the United States as a world power. His New Deal programs were extremely controversial at the time, and Roosevelt's moves, although nowadays seen as progressive and necessary, were subject to bitter criticisms when enacted.

Franklin Roosevelt was born on January 30, 1882, at Hyde Park, New York, the only child of James and

Sara Delano Roosevelt. The family was wealthy but discreet, spending much of their time at their estate in the Hudson River valley, New York State, or traveling in Europe. As a boy, Franklin Roosevelt attended Groton Preparatory School in Massachusetts and in 1900 went to Harvard University, where his academic results were mediocre, but he made a major impression on the social scene. He also came to know his fifth cousin Theodore Roosevelt, marrying Theodore's niece, Eleanor Roosevelt, on March 17, 1905. It was through his wife's work that Franklin came to see the condition of the poor in New York.

PROGRESSIVE REFORM

After graduating from Columbia University Law School and passing the New York bar exam, Roosevelt worked as a clerk for Carter, Ledyard, and Milburn of Wall Street, but by this time he had decided to enter politics. In 1910 Franklin Roosevelt was elected for the state senate seat for Dutchess County, New York. It was not long before he achieved national attention in opposing the choice of a candidate for the U.S. Senate by Tammany Hall, the New York City Democratic Party organization. Soon Roosevelt started to urge for progressive reform and supported the 1912 presidential bid of New Jersey governor Woodrow Wilson. When Wilson became president, he appointed Roosevelt assistant secretary of the navy in March 1913.

With the outbreak of World War I in 1914, Roosevelt supported the rearmament of the United States, which entered the war in 1917. In 1918 he toured naval bases and battlefields. It was on his return from his major tour in summer 1918 that Eleanor realized that Franklin had been having an affair with Lucy Mercer, her social secretary. Franklin rejected the divorce that Eleanor offered and agreed to end the affair and not see Mercer again, but he was to break this promise 20 years later. Although the marriage held, Franklin and Eleanor were never close again. Franklin Roosevelt had supported U.S. membership in the League of Nations and in 1920 was nominated as the Democratic vice presidential candidate, running on a ticket with James M. Cox. However, the Republicans won convincingly, and Roosevelt became disenchanted and went into business as vice president of Fidelity and Deposit Company of Maryland.

Soon after this, while on holiday at Campobello Island, New Brunswick, Canada, Franklin Roosevelt discovered that he had poliomyelitis. Paralysis set in, but Roosevelt believed that he would be able to walk again, although he had to withdraw from active politics. In 1924 he appeared at the Democratic Convention, amid cheers, to support the nomination of Alfred E. Smith as the Democratic presidential candidate. Roosevelt supported Smith's second bid in 1928, and Smith urged Roosevelt to run for the governorship of New York, which Roosevelt did, winning even though New York voted Republican in the presidential election on the same day.

Roosevelt learned to campaign from his car and soon was making many appearances in public, often holding on to one of his sons as he literally dragged himself from engagement to engagement.

As governor of New York, Roosevelt gained much support from farmers for whom he gave tax relief. In 1930 he turned his original majority of 25,000 votes into one of 725,000 votes. His public works programs were becoming increasingly popular as the Great Depression forced more and more people out of work. In 1931 he established the Temporary Emergency Relief Administration, giving unemployment assistance to up to 10 percent of all the families in New York. The popularity of this quickly made Roosevelt a likely contender for the 1932 presidential elections. He won the election comfortably, with 472 of the Electoral College seats, to Hoover's 59, and with 22,829,277 votes, as against 15,761,254 for Hoover. He also had good Democratic majorities in both the Senate and the House of Representatives.

The economy declined considerably between the election and the inauguration, with industrial production at 56 percent of its 1929 level and unemployment running at 13 million. In his first "Hundred Days" he sought to massively boost the economy by public spending through poor relief and other reforms in the economy. He declared a bank holiday, closing all banks until Congress could pass legislation to support the banking system, which was facing the possibility of widespread destruction, with "runs" on many banks. This restored public confidence in the banking system, and Roosevelt explained his actions in regular radio broadcasts that became known as the "fireside chats."

Roosevelt guided into law the Agricultural Adjustment Act (AAA) and the National Industrial Recovery Act (NIRA). The former resulted in the establishment of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration, which helped provide subsidies for wheat, corn, cotton, and some other goods in exchange for reduced production levels. This raised the prices of these commodities and hence the income of small farmers. Although there were some immediate successes, many critics saw it as immoral to destroy fields of crops at the same time that some people were going hungry and while there

were famines overseas. However, it was not until 1941 that farm income reached the level of 1929. The NIRA started public works programs, but many of these began slowly, with Roosevelt anxious that none of the $3.3 billion allocated to them should be wasted. A major part of this was the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA), with a massive hydroelectric scheme established to improve flood control and generate power in the Tennessee River basin. There was also the establishment of the National Recovery Administration (NRA), which set minimum wage levels and guaranteed workers could bargain collectively. However, in May 1932 it was declared illegal by the Supreme Court, resulting in a bruising battle between the administration and the Court.

Roosevelt's initial programs were very successful, but because of his wanting to moderate them and cautious of critics seeing the country's debt expanding rapidly, they only mitigated the effects of the depression rather than ending it. However, in November 1936 Roosevelt was reelected, winning every state except Maine and Vermont with 27,752,648 votes as against 16,681,862 for his opponent, Kansas governor Alfred Landon.

SUPREME COURT

Seeing that the main opposition to the New Deal programs was from the Supreme Court, Roosevelt came up with a very controversial program to nominate another new justice for each existing one aged 70 years or more. This bill was voted down, but the Supreme Court was nervous and upheld the constitutionality of the Social Security Act and the National Labor Relations Act (known as the "Wagner" Act). In 1937 the economy recovered, and Roosevelt was able cut back government spending to create a balanced budget. However, this produced a recession, and Roosevelt immediately increased spending.

The outbreak of World War II started to overshadow the last year of Roosevelt's second term as president. He had recognized the Soviet Union, improved relations with Latin America, but did nothing to oppose the rising power of Germany, Italy, and Japan. The latter's sinking of a U.S. gunboat in December 1937 led to a Japanese apology to avoid war. In June 1940, with the German capture of France, Roosevelt was keen to aid the British with "all aid short of war." He managed to send 50 old ships to Britain in exchange for naval bases. Most people in the United States remained isolationist, with the 1940 presidential election being fought largely on home issues. Roosevelt decided to break with the tradition set by George Washington, and he was nominated for a third term—his Republican opponent, Wendell L. Willkie, also supporting Roosevelt's policy of supporting Britain. Although Roosevelt won comfortably with 449 to 82 Electoral College seats and 27,313,945 to 22,347,744 in the popular vote, there was a great fear of Roosevelt drawing the United States into war.

Tensions rose when in March 1941 Roosevelt ordered the navy to fire at German submarines, and in August 1941 he met with the British prime minister Winston Churchill on a battleship off Newfoundland, Canada. The result was the Atlantic Charter. The close personal trust between the two men was to be the keystone of the Allied war effort. However, it was the attack on Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941, that would result in the United States going to war with Japan and Germany.

By restricting the export to Japan of certain war supplies, essentially the Japanese felt that their only way out of the impasse was to attack. It now seems accepted that Roosevelt saw that the Japanese would attack—U.S. intelligence having broken the Japanese ciphers—but was uncertain about the place and the time of the attack. The bombing of Pearl Harbor "on December 7, a day that will live on in infamy," took the U.S. government by surprise, and on December 8 Congress, at the request of Roosevelt, declared war on Japan. Three days later Germany and Italy declared war on the United States, which was now committed to war in Europe.

Massive war production programs began immediately, ending the depression and seeing the industrial might of the United States dedicated to the war effort. Roosevelt met with Winston Churchill and the other Allied leaders at various conferences, the most famous being Casablanca (January 1943), Teheran (November 1943), Cairo (November-December 1943), and Yalta (February 1945). Roosevelt saw that peace in the postwar world would depend on friendly relations with the Soviet Union, and a strong but brief alliance resulted.

By this time, however, Roosevelt was becoming increasingly ill. He defeated New York's governor, Thomas Dewey, in the 1944 presidential election, with Roosevelt standing for a fourth time. He won the Electoral College comfortably, with 432 against Dewey's 99 and 25,612,916 votes to 22,017,929 for the Republicans. After returning from Yalta, Roosevelt was forced to give his address to Congress while sitting down. In early April he went to Warm Springs, Georgia, to rest and had a massive cerebral hemor-

rhage while sitting for a portrait on April 12, 1945; he died soon afterward.

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Justin Corfield

Theodore Roosevelt was the first American president to consider the environment to be a valuable topic of political discussion.

Roosevelt, Theodore

(1858–1919) *U.S. president*

The only 20th-century president carved into Mount Rushmore, Teddy Roosevelt turned the presidency into his "bully pulpit," significantly expanding federal executive power. A progressive Republican, he used his popularity to launch the modern conservation movement, build the Panama Canal, and broker a treaty in the 1904–05 Russo-Japanese War, for which he won the Nobel Peace Prize.

The second child in an old New York Dutch family, Teddy suffered from asthma and was extremely near-sighted. He responded with a strenuous exercise regime that included hunting and ranching in the Dakotas. His legendary triumph over ill health shaped his lifelong energetic masculinity.

A stand-out at Harvard University, Roosevelt studied law but soon turned to politics. A year after marrying Alice Lee, the brash young Republican was elected to New York's assembly and joined the National Guard. Plunged into depression by the deaths of his mother and wife on the same day in 1884, Roosevelt took time to write a well-received history of the War of 1812 and then, as commissioner of the new U.S. Civil Service, won appointments from presidents of both parties.

Soon happily remarried to childhood friend Edith Carrow, Roosevelt reconnected with his political base as New York City's police commissioner but quickly returned to Washington as assistant secretary of the navy in William McKinley's first administration. When the Spanish-American War erupted in 1898, Roosevelt, already an outspoken imperialist, quit his navy post to muster 1,000 fighters for his 1st Volunteer Cavalry. These "Rough Riders" won a crucial battle at Cuba's San Juan Hill in which Lt. Col. Roosevelt suffered minor wounds but became this "splendid little war's" national celebrity. Months later Roosevelt narrowly won New York's governorship. As McKinley's reelection campaign approached, state political enemies were happy to propose Roosevelt's promotion to the harmless job of vice president. McKinley strategist Mark Hanna considered Roosevelt a "madman" but reluctantly agreed. In September 1901 McKinley was shot by anarchist Leon Czolgosz at Buffalo's Pan American Exposition. When he succumbed on September 14, Roosevelt became the 26th president and youngest ever at 42.

"TR" soon put his own stamp on the presidency. That October he invited African-American leader Booker T. Washington to dine at the White House, drawing a storm of protest. Facing a 1902 coal strike, Roosevelt made labor history by insisting that owners and mine workers negotiate. He followed his secret acquisition of Panama Canal territory with his Roosevelt Corollary, restating the 1823 Monroe Doctrine to justify military intervention in the hemisphere.

Promoting a "Square Deal" for all Americans, Roosevelt easily won his own term in 1904. Even Democratic cousin Franklin Delano Roosevelt, husband of Teddy's niece Eleanor, voted for him. Roosevelt created the National Forest Service and placed 230 million acres, including the Grand Canyon, under federal protection. In 1906 he signed the landmark Pure Food and Drug Act. Acclaimed as a trustbuster, Roosevelt used

the long-ignored Sherman Anti-Trust Act to rein in dishonest business practices, but historians still argue over whether he effectively brought big business to heel.

Disappointed in his hand-picked successor, William Howard Taft, Roosevelt sought the Republican nomination in 1912, creating his own Progressive (Bull Moose) Party when rebuffed. Roosevelt placed ahead of Taft by winning a third-party record of 88 electoral votes but thereby assured Democrat Woodrow Wilson's election.

In failing health but still rambunctious, the former president advocated U.S. entry into World War I on the Allied side and offered Wilson his military services. Denied, he considered leading a Canadian unit but settled for promoting War Bonds. Three of Roosevelt's four sons served in the war; his youngest, Quentin, a fighter pilot, died in battle in July 1918.

Generally considered America's first truly modern political figure, Roosevelt died at 60 of a coronary embolism in January 1919. He is buried in an Oyster Bay cemetery near his beloved Sagamore Hill family compound.

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Marsha E. Ackermann

Roosevelt Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine

Under President James Monroe, the United States expressed its belief that the Western Hemisphere was, essentially, off limits to European powers, a policy expressed in the Monroe Doctrine. Under Theodore Roosevelt, the doctrine was expanded to state that the United States would act as a police power in the event that a nation in the Western Hemisphere conducted its affairs irresponsibly. This corollary came when Germany and England attempted to force the repayment of loans made to Venezuela. When Venezuela refused repayment, England and Germany sent their navies to force repayment. Before sending ships, both governments consulted with Roosevelt, who initially consented to the action. However, American public opinion disagreed with European powers taking military action in the West; many felt this was a direct violation of the Monroe Doctrine. Roosevelt addressed Congress on December 6, 1904, laying out his corollary, stating that it was the job of the United States to act as a policing force for the Western Hemisphere, and, when necessary, to intervene on behalf of other nations.

On December 3, 1901, Roosevelt had stated the U.S. position as protector of the Western Hemisphere but had also said that the United States would not protect countries that did not conduct themselves in a proper manner. Specifically, he was referring to countries, in this case Venezuela, that did not make payments on their debts. Roosevelt felt that as long as the punishment did not involve occupation of any land, enforcement should be done by the country that had been wronged. In the case of Venezuela, this meant letting Germany and England deal with Venezuela's nonpayment on its debt. What Roosevelt did not count on was the strong reaction of the U.S. people and media against this policy. Roosevelt pressured Germany and England to submit their claims to the International Tribunal at The Hague for resolution. The court ruled on February 22, 1904, in favor of Germany and England. When Roosevelt issued his corollary, it allowed the United States to step in and try to take control of the situation.

Roosevelt was concerned with more than just Venezuela. The Dominican Republic was in financial trouble and could not make payments on its loans. Having suffered through several revolutions, the country was in chaos, and collection of tariffs was not happening, so the republic could not make its loan payments. After talks between the republic and the U.S. State Department, it was decided that the United States should take control of collecting the tariffs to ensure that the holders of the loans received their payments. The agreement was signed on February 7, 1905, but immediately ran into opposition in the Senate from Democrats. Refusing to act on the treaty, Roosevelt, who was concerned about European intervention, went around Congress and implemented control of the customs houses without Senate approval. Roosevelt and the Senate Democrats spent most of 1906 arguing whether Roosevelt was subverting the Constitution or not. Finally, in 1907, a new treaty was negotiated that the Senate approved and passed.

Roosevelt's corollary was later replaced by dollar diplomacy under President William Howard Taft.

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Dallace W. Unger, Jr.

Round Table Conferences

The Round Table Conferences were a series of three conferences held in London from 1930 to 1932 between British and Indian leaders to form a new constitution for India, which was formalized in the 1935 Government of India Act. The Indian National Congress and Mohandas K. Gandhi wanted immediate and complete self-rule for India, while the British wanted to grant India dominion status eventually and keep India as part of the British Empire.

The conference was held in London from November 12, 1930, to January 19, 1931. Gandhi and the congress boycotted the conference. Moderate Indian leaders, Muslims, and representatives of the princely states attended the conference. Prime Minister Ramsay MacDonald represented Great Britain. By the end of the conference, the idea of a federation was under consideration as the form of government suitable for India. Because the congress had boycotted this conference, Great Britain was anxious to get it involved in the next round.

In order to get the congress to participate in the next conference, Lord Irwin, the viceroy of India, met with Gandhi and concluded the Delhi Pact on March 5, 1931. Gandhi agreed to end the ongoing civil disobedience, and Irwin agreed to release most of the political prisoners. Most importantly, Gandhi agreed that the congress would participate in the second Round Table Conference.

The second Round Table Conference began on September 7, 1931. Gandhi attended the conference as the only representative of the congress. The congress and Gandhi believed that they represented all of India and that only they should deal with the British. The British, on the other hand, wanted other Indians to be represented in part perhaps in order to influence and control the events. Little was accomplished during the conference, and when no plan could be agreed upon on how different groups would be represented, the British government issued its own Communal Award on August 16, 1932, that outlined how minority groups, especially the Muslims and the untouchables, would be represented. The award did have the provision that it could be overruled if the congress and the minority groups could come to an agreement on their own. A separate agreement, the Poona Pact, was eventually reached between the untouchables and the congress about the representation of the untouchables. However, no agreement was reached with the All-India Muslim League. The final conference, held from November 17, 1932, to December 25, 1932, also achieved little.

The British parliament passed the Government of India Act in August 1935. The act set up an India Federation, which was to be given control of parts of the Indian government while other parts remained under the control of the British.

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Dallace W. Unger, Jr.

Russian Revolution (1905)

On January 9, 1905, a vast but orderly crowd of Russian workers approached the Winter Palace to present Czar Nicholas II with a list of both economic and political grievances. The petition included among its demands an eight-hour workday, increased wages, improved working conditions, and an immediate end to the Russo-Japanese War. In addition, at the suggestion of liberal intellectuals, the petition urged the czar to convene a constituent assembly. The demonstrators, most of whom regarded Nicholas II as a father figure who would redress their grievances, carried with them portraits of the czar and of Orthodox saints. Father Georgii Gapon—a Russian Orthodox priest and the head of a police-sponsored trade union—led the procession, which included approximately 150,000 unarmed workers.

As the procession approached the Winter Palace, it found its way blocked by armed troops. When the crowd failed to disperse as ordered, the troops opened fire, killing nearly 200 and wounding several hundred more. The events of that day, which came to be known as Bloody Sunday, sparked riots and demonstrations across Russia and marked the onset of the 1905 Russian Revolution.

Until that point, the Russian masses had played little if any role in the political turmoil that beset late-czarist Russia. In the months that followed, however, the working classes would play a key role in the revolutionary movement.

To protest the massacre of unarmed demonstrators, thousands of workers across Russia went on strike. Liberals used the occasion of worker unrest to press for constitutional reform, urging the czar to abandon autocracy in favor of a constitutional monarchy. For the next several months the czar's regime was variously confronted with student demonstrations, workers' strikes, peasant disorders, unrest among ethnic minorities, and even mutinies in the armed forces.

Efforts to restore order were not helped by the fact that Russian troops remained in the Far East fighting the Japanese. Hoping to appease popular opinion, Nicholas II decided in late August to grant freedom of assembly to university students for the first time since 1884. As part of the concession, the czar forbade police even to enter university grounds. The efforts at conciliation backfired; the universities became more of a radical hotbed than ever as students recruited workers from nearby factories to participate in political rallies without fear of police intervention.

By the second week of October, a general strike encompassing workers in several key industries forced the czar to make further concessions. Russia had negotiated a peace treaty with Japan (the Treaty of Portsmouth) in late August, but with the railway workers on strike the troops could not be brought home. Meanwhile, with the autocracy apparently unable to restore order, the Russian economy was grinding to a halt. The minister of finance, Sergei Witte, convinced Nicholas II to grant concessions in the hopes of dividing the liberals from their more radical counterparts. According to Witte, there was no other way to save the monarchy. In the October Manifesto, dated October 17, Nicholas pledged to grant civil liberties and to create a parliament (the duma) based in part on popular elections. Laws passed over the next several months abolished censorship and guaranteed freedom of assembly and association.

As a result of the October Manifesto, the liberals were divided into two factions: the Octoberists, who accepted the terms set forth in the proclamation, and the Constitutional Democrats (Cadets), who held out for further reform. Both groups, however, withdrew from revolutionary activity, at least in the short term, to prepare for the upcoming duma elections. Witte's objective of separating the liberals from the radicals was therefore accomplished, but order was by no means restored.

Workers became increasingly militant throughout the remainder of the year, and the socialist intelligentsia was further radicalized. In addition, bloody pogroms against Jews and intellectuals followed the proclamation of the manifesto. In the countryside peasants continued to riot, sacking and burning manor houses and attacking landowners and officials. By the following winter much of rural Russia was under martial law, and over 1,000 peasants were executed in a campaign of village-by-village pacification.

The constitution promised in the October Manifesto was published in April 1906. The so-called Fundamental Laws (which continued to refer to the czar as an autocrat) established a two-chamber parliament, the lower house of which was made up of elected officials. While this represented progress to many who favored liberal reform, the effects of the constitution were limited in practice. The franchise system for duma elections favored the propertied classes over ethnic minorities, peasants, and workers.

In addition, the Crown reserved the right to dissolve the duma at any time, and article 87 of the Fundamental Laws enabled the Crown to rule by decree when the duma was not in session. After the first two dumas were arbitrarily dissolved, the government took advantage of article 87 to enact a new electoral law that further skewed electoral representation in favor of the propertied classes. Meanwhile, the continued activity of the secret police at least partially undermined any concessions that had resulted from the 1905 revolution.

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Kathleen Ruppert

Russian Revolution and Civil War (1917–1924)

Like most revolutions, the Russian Revolution of 1917 had a combination of political and social causes. At the beginning of the 20th century, Russia was the last of the great powers to retain an autocratic system of

government. Educated Russians, many of them influenced by liberal ideas from the West, resented the lack of civil and political rights under the Russian system and pressed for political change. Progress was made following the 1905 revolution; an elected parliament (the duma) was established, censorship was abolished, and political parties were finally legalized. Nevertheless, Czar Nicholas II continued to rule as an autocrat, dissolving the duma at will, and political and civil liberties remained circumscribed by the pervasive presence of the secret police. The absence of an effective forum for political participation, even after 1905, furthered the development of a radical intelligentsia determined to overthrow the autocratic regime. The intelligentsia became more, rather than less, radical after 1905, viewing the events of that year as an episode on the road to full-scale revolution.

In addition to political grievances, social and economic discontent helped pave the way for revolution. Russia was comparatively late to emerge from feudalism, serfdom having been abolished only in 1861. Peasants, who made up 80 percent of Russian society at the beginning of the 20th century, pressed for the redistribution of land from private landowners to the peasant communes. Rural overpopulation exacerbated peasant discontent, and the czarist regime was confronted with ongoing agrarian disturbances in the years leading up to 1917. Compared to the other great powers, Russia was also late to industrialize. Rapid industrialization beginning in the 1890s put tremendous strains on Russian society and produced a nascent working class with great revolutionary potential. Through political rallies and educational circles, the radical intelligentsia turned to the workers for support in fostering a socialist revolutionary program. The Social Democrats in particular preached that the industrial workers were the only truly revolutionary class. In reality, most workers were probably more interested in seeing their economic grievances (low wages, poor working conditions, etc.) redressed than in seeing the autocratic regime toppled. Nevertheless, since the authorities typically responded to strikes and demonstrations by sending in police and Cossack troops, economic issues were easily politicized.

The long-term social, economic, and political discontents that confronted Russian society in the early 20th century were exacerbated by Russia's involvement in World War I. Crushing defeats at the hands of the German armies, together with the glaring inefficiency of a bureaucracy confronted with the demands of total war, discredited the czarist regime in the eyes of the Russian people. The czar's wife, Empress Alexandra, was extremely unpopular due to her German origin and her association with Rasputin, a peasant healer from Siberia who treated the heir to the throne for hemophilia. When Nicholas II left for the front to take control of the Russian armed forces, Rasputin gained considerable influence at court. False rumors about a romantic affair between the czarina and Rasputin contributed to the desacralization of the monarchy and the further erosion of czarist authority. Meanwhile, growing inflation and lengthening bread lines revitalized the workers' strike movement during the war and provided the spark that would ignite the February revolution.

The first phase of the 1917 revolution began on February 23 (International Women's Day), when women workers from Petrograd textile mills took to the streets demanding an end to the bread shortage. The strike quickly spread to nearby factories; by the following day more than 200,000 workers had gone on strike. On February 25 students and members of the middle classes joined the demonstrators, demanding an end both to the war and to the czarist government. By that point the workers' movement had developed into a general strike, paralyzing the normal functioning of the Russian capital. On February 26 armed troops, acting on orders from the government, fired on the demonstrators, killing hundreds. The massacre sparked a mutiny within the Petrograd garrison. Early on the morning of February 27, soldiers of the Volynskii regiment shot their commanding officer, then rushed to nearby regiments and persuaded soldiers there to revolt as well. Many soldiers joined the insurgents on the streets, while others simply disobeyed any further commands to fire on civilians. What began as two physically separate revolts—the soldiers' mutiny in the city center and the workers' demonstrations in the outlying districts—became joined by the afternoon of February 27 as insurrection spread to all parts of the city.

Members of the Duma (the Russian parliament) anxiously watched the street violence of late February from their meeting place at the Tauride Palace and debated how best to restore order. When Nicholas ordered the duma dissolved, Duma leaders decided to form a "Temporary Committee of the State Duma" to take over the reins of government in Petrograd. On the same evening in a different room of the Tauride Palace, workers, soldiers, and socialist intellectuals met to form the Petrograd Soviet. Over the course of the next several days, the two bodies worked together to consolidate the revolution and establish a new government. The provisional

government was formed on March 2; it was to govern until a constituent assembly based on universal elections could be convened.

With the exception of Alexander Kerensky, a moderate socialist who sat on both the provisional government and the Soviet Executive Committee, the socialists initially declined to join the provisional government. The leaders of the Petrograd Soviet pledged to support the new government, however, as long as the government pursued policies of which the Soviet approved. This decision ushered in an era of "dual authority" characterized by tense and often uneasy cooperation between the Soviet and the provisional government.

SPREAD OF REVOLUTION

Meanwhile, the revolution spread quickly and with relatively little bloodshed (there were exceptions such as Tver, where considerable violence occurred) to the provincial cities and then to the countryside. On March 2 the military high command convinced Nicholas II to abdicate in favor of his brother Michael. (The czar initially decided to abdicate in favor of his son Alexis but changed his mind due in part to his son's poor health.) When Grand Prince Michael refused the crown on March 3, the three-centuries-old Romanov dynasty, and with it Russia's monarchical system of government, came to an end.

The extreme optimism that accompanied the February revolution began to fade after several weeks as the provisional government dragged its feet on the urgent issues of land reform, peace, and elections to the constituent assembly. Returning to Russia on April 3 after almost 16 years of exile, Bolshevik leader Vladimir Lenin issued the April Theses, in which he outlined his plan for the course of the revolution. Among other things, Lenin called for the overthrow of the provisional government and its replacement by a socialist government based on that of the Soviets. He also rejected cooperation with nonsocialist political groups, demanded an immediate end to the war, and called for radical social and economic reforms. In mid-April the provisional government faced a political crisis when Foreign Minister Paul Miliokov's controversial policy of continuing the war to victory, rather than seeking a negotiated peace, led to massive street demonstrations and violence. In the wake of the April Crisis, the government was reorganized; several leaders from the Petrograd Soviet were brought in to form the first coalition government of moderate socialists and nonsocialists. The Bolsheviks, under Lenin's leadership, continued to remain aloof from the provisional government.

Throughout the summer of 1917, food shortages and continued economic hardship contributed to growing disillusionment with the provisional government. Discontent over Russia's involvement in the war continued to increase, particularly after the government launched an unsuccessful military offensive in June. The summer months were characterized by almost continuous government instability. Workers and garrison soldiers once again took to the streets during the July Days (July 3–5), demanding that all governmental power be passed to the Soviets. The demonstrations were suppressed on July 5, and Bolshevik leaders were forced into hiding. In the aftermath of the July Days, a second coalition was formed, with Kerensky as prime minister. That government collapsed as well after suspicions of an attempted coup in late August (the Kornilov Affair) seemed to confirm fears of a counterrevolutionary movement. The threat of counterrevolution, coupled with popular disillusionment over the provisional government's failure to end the war and enact promised reforms, increased the popularity of the radical left and paved the way for the October Revolution.

In the fall of 1917, with a political climate favorable to the radical left, Bolshevik leaders debated how and when to take over the government. Lenin favored an immediate insurrection, while more moderate Bolsheviks preferred to wait for the second Congress of the Soviets when, they believed, power would pass to the Soviets by democratic means. The question resolved itself on the morning of October 24, when Kerensky shut down the leading Bolshevik newspapers in an effort to suppress the radical left. The Bolsheviks could then move forward with plans to overthrow the government, justifying their seizure of power as a necessary step to defend the revolution. Unlike the February revolution, the October Revolution was not characterized by massive street demonstrations. Instead, small groups of soldiers and Red Guards took control of bridges, railway stations, and other strategic points throughout Petrograd. Unable to summon troops to resist the insurgents, Kerensky fled. On the afternoon of October 25, Lenin announced that the provisional government had been overthrown. Significantly, the insurrection was carried out in the name of the Petrograd Soviet and not the Bolshevik Party. However, Menshevik and Social Revolutionary delegates walked out of the Congress of Soviets on the night of October 25 to protest the insurrection, leaving the Bolsheviks with a majority in the congress. The following day Lenin announced decrees on peace and land and the formation of an all-Bolshevik government, the Council of People's Commissars (or Sovnarkom).

An official celebration of the Russian Revolution in Vladivostock. The Russian Revolution of 1917 saw the end of the czarist era in Russia and heralded the first Communist regime in the world.

Once in power, the Bolsheviks decided to go forward with elections to the constituent assembly in mid-November. The Socialist Revolutionaries were the clear winners in the election, gaining 40 percent of the popular vote against the Bolsheviks' 25 percent (the remainder of the votes were divided among the Constitutional Democrats [Kadets], the Mensheviks, and non–Russian nationality candidates). Recognizing that its hold on power was precarious, the Bolshevik government took steps to consolidate its authority and quash any resistance.

After ordering the arrest of leading Kadets in late November, the government established the All-Russia Extraordinary Commission for the Struggle with Counterrevolution and Sabotage (or Cheka) on December 7. The Cheka, which could arrest and execute without trial anyone suspected of counterrevolutionary activities, quickly became one of the most powerful organs of the state. The constituent assembly opened as planned on January 5, 1918, but the Bolshevik government forcibly dispersed the assembly after only one day. By circumventing the democratic process and choosing instead to rule by force, the Bolsheviks laid the foundation for the authoritarian dictatorship that would follow. The decision to suppress the constituent assembly also opened the door to civil war.

The Russian Civil War was a complex affair that is perhaps best seen as two or even three distinct civil wars occurring between 1918 and 1922. The first serious challenge the Bolsheviks faced came from the Komuch, a group of Right Socialist Revolutionaries (SRs) who opposed the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk and sought to restore the constituent assembly. In June 1918 with the aid of insurgent Czechoslovak legions, the Right SRs set up a regional government for the Volga based on the platform of the Socialist Revolutionary Party.

The conflict between the Bolsheviks and the so-called "patriotic socialists" was upstaged by the decision of the "Whites" (Russian nationalist officers, supported by industrialists and former landowners) to stage a coup in Omsk in November 1918. Despite Allied intervention on behalf of the White forces, the Bolsheviks' Red Army was able to suppress the attempted counterrevolution, but only after two years of bloody conflict. After the final defeat of the Whites in the autumn of 1920, the focus of fighting shifted to widespread peasant insurrections, collectively referred to as the Green movement.

Many of the peasant guerrilla leaders had been allied with the Red Army in defeating the White forces;

once the threat of a White victory (which would have meant the return of the landlords) disappeared, however, peasant revolts against Bolshevik policies—most notably the forced requisitioning of grain—erupted across Russia on a massive scale. It took a combination of concessions and brutal repression to quell the peasant revolts and finally end the civil war.

Throughout the civil war years Lenin and the Bolsheviks employed ruthless measures to eradicate any political opposition, thus creating the first one-party state and providing a model for later totalitarian regimes. Upon Lenin's death in January 1924, Joseph Stalin succeeded him (after considerable party infighting) as leader of the Communist Party.

See also Russian Revolution (1905).

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Kathleen Ruppert

Sacco-Vanzetti trial

Fernando (Nicola) Sacco (1891–1927) and Bartolomeo Vanzetti (1888–1927) are best remembered as the victims of injustice following the wave of U.S. antiradical persecution in the years immediately following World War I. Both men were Italian immigrants with revolutionary anarchist political beliefs. It is in the context of this political background that their legal difficulties began and led, it was claimed, to their prosecution. They were ultimately condemned to death for murder and executed by electric chair on August 23, 1927.

The circumstances behind their arrest, trial, and conviction were the gunshot murders on April 15, 1920, of Frederick Parmenter and Alessandro Berardelli during the commission of a shoe factory payroll robbery in South Braintree, Massachusetts. Cash boxes containing $15,766.51 were taken, and a .32 Colt automatic pistol was the primary weapon used. Initially, the police linked the crime to an earlier robbery of December 1919 in Bridgewater, Massachusetts.

The U.S. political climate following the Russian Revolution and World War I produced a fear of radical subversion that became known as the Red Scare of 1919–20. Sacco and Vanzetti were followers of Luigi Galleani (1861–1931), a revolutionary anarchist who published the *Cronaca Sovversiva*. Galleani's writings promoted many forms of violent insurrection, including the use of bombs, terrorism, and assassination. One member of this organization and an acquaintance of Sacco and Vanzetti, Carlo Valdinoci, was accidentally killed while attempting to bomb the Washington home of A. Mitchell Palmer (1872–1936), the attorney general. Palmer was involved in the government's antiradical policy pursuits. He was aided in this campaign by the young J. Edgar Hoover (1895–1972), who was director of general intelligence in the Department of Justice.

Sacco and Vanzetti were arrested on May 5, 1920, and were initially questioned about their radical activities. Although they denied such associations and the ownership of any guns, both had pistols and ammunition. Sacco had a .32 Colt and Vanzetti had a revolver, which was of the same type as that taken from the guard at the time of the murder. This record of deceit helped create an atmosphere of suspicion that brought about their eventual linkage with the Braintree robbery.

Although both were tried for the 1919 South Bridgewater robbery, only Vanzetti was convicted, and he received a 15-year sentence. It was the May 21 murder trial that was to prove most controversial and serious. Both men claimed innocence and produced alibi witnesses, but the prosecution challenged their reliability. It was, though, the possession of weapons that was their undoing, along with the negative trial atmosphere allowed by Judge Webster Thayer. The gun evidence from the .32 Colt in Sacco's possession ultimately convinced the jurors that it was the murder weapon. After a six-week trial Sacco and Vanzetti were found guilty of first degree murder and sentenced to death on July 14, 1921.

Their convictions marked the beginning of a lengthy legal struggle for an appeal and a new trial. In 1924

the defense's legal team was taken over by William Thompson, and the emphasis shifted from politics to one of fairness. Motions were raised concerning bias, the defendants' and their witnesses' poor command of English, political intrigue, perjury, and illegal police activities. Many leading lights within the liberal and socialist set, such as Bertrand Russell, George Bernard Shaw, H. G. Wells, Upton Sinclair, and John Dos Passos saw the conviction as a travesty of U.S. values and sense of justice. In 1925 a Portuguese immigrant, Celestino Madieros, confessed to the crime, which he claimed was part of the criminal activities of the well-known Morelli gang. But this confession failed to persuade the courts, and the death sentences were upheld. Sacco and Vanzetti went to their deaths on August 23, 1927.

The controversy over their innocence or guilt persists. In some quarters there remains the general notion that the Sacco and Vanzetti case produced a gigantic stain on the U.S. conscience and was a gross miscarriage of justice. There are others who question this view. Insiders within the anarchist community years after the trial indicated that the pair was guilty but that the case offered a great propaganda opportunity that could be exploited. This group includes some whose claims exonerate Vanzetti but state that Sacco was guilty. In 1927, 1961, and 1983 ballistics tests, making use of improved technology, have matched Sacco's gun to the murders. Most tellingly, there appeared in 2005 an Upton Sinclair letter from 1929 that claimed that Sacco and Vanzetti's attorney, Fred Moore, told him that they were guilty and that their alibis were invented.

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Theodore W. Eversole

Saionji Kimmochi

(1849–1940) *Japanese political leader*

Prince Saionji Kimmochi (or Kinmochi) was born into the Takudaijii *kuge* (Japanese court nobility) and was later adopted by the Saionji *kuge*. He grew up near the Imperial Palace in Tokyo and was a childhood friend of the emperor Meiji. Saionji participated in politics from an early age, as was expected, given his family lineage. He was influential in advocating that the Japanese imperial court take part in the Boshin War (1868–69) between the Tokugawa Shogunate and the proimperial forces in Japan. The Tokugawa Shogunate's defeat in this war made the Meiji Restoration possible.

Saionji had more exposure to European ideas than most Japanese of his time: He lived in France for 10 years (1870–80), during which time he took a law degree at the Sorbonne and became friends with many French intellectuals and politicians, including Georges Clemenceau, the authors Edmond de Goncourt and Jules de Goncourt, and Théophile and Judith Louis Gautier. As a result of his travels, Saionji became more liberal and less nationalistic in his approach to life than many of his Japanese peers, and he advocated the establishment of strong links between Japan and Europe.

Upon his return to Japan in 1881, Saionji founded the newspaper the *Oriental Free Press* to popularize democratic ideas but abandoned the paper in favor of government service. He served as education minister of Japan under Ito Hirobumi, advocating a liberal and international approach to education, and was influential in the founding of Kyoto University in 1897. Saionji was one of the cofounders of the Rikken Seiyukai (Friends of Constitutional Government) political party in 1900. He held a number of other government positions over the years, serving in several cabinets, as president of the privy council, and twice as foreign minister. He served as prime minister for two terms, in 1906–08 and 1911–12. In 1919 Saionji was the head of the Japanese delegation to the Paris Peace Conference. He also served as tutor to Hirohito, grandson of Emperor Meiji, who became emperor on his father's death in 1926 and may be best remembered today for announcing Japan's surrender to the United States in 1945 (ending World War II) and renouncing his claim to divinity in 1946. Saionji remained influential at the Japanese court through his position as a genro, or elder statesman, advising the emperor on political appointments in his cabinet and military leadership.

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Sarah Boslaugh

Salazar, António de Oliveira

(1889–1970) *Portuguese prime minister*

António de Oliveira Salazar was prime minister of Portugal from 1932 to 1968 and the creator of the New State (Estado Novo).

Salazar was born on April 28, 1889, in Santa Comba Dao, near Viseu, in central Portugal, the son of an estate manager. He received his education at the Catholic seminary at Viseu and at Coimbra University, graduating in law in 1914. Salazar became a professor of political economics at the University of Coimbra. In 1921 he was among the founders of a new Catholic party and was elected to the federal parliament, the cortes. After only one session, however, he returned to the university.

After World War I (in which Portugal had chosen the side of the Entente but gained nothing from the common victory), the country was a republic. In 1926, the army overthrew the civilian government and subsequently offered Salazar the ministry of finance, but he rejected the offer. Two years later, the president, General António Óscar de Fragoso Carmona, made a new offer to Salazar: As minister of finance he would be granted complete control over all expenditures. This time Salazar accepted. He immediately stopped Portugal's long tradition of state deficits and managed to create a budget surplus for the first time in decades. These surpluses, one of the hallmarks of Salazar's forthcoming regime, were invested in various development plans. The mismanagement of the former era contrasted sharply with Salazar's success at reorganizing the country's finances. Salazar's reputation as minister of finance paved the way for his power grab, since the church, monarchists, aristocrats, the army, the upper classes, and the parties of the right preferred Salazar to the previous military government. Salazar gained support for his course of reform from different groups of Portuguese society. The overall basis of his regime was a platform of stability. Salazar's politics privileged the wealthy classes to the detriment of the poorer sections of society. For example, education for the masses was not regarded as a priority and therefore not heavily invested in.

On July 5, 1932, President Carmona named Salazar prime minister of Portugal and handed power to him. In 1933, Salazar introduced a new constitution to Portugal, which gave him wide but not unlimited powers and established an authoritarian regime that would last four decades. This constitution and the regime based upon it sharply distanced themselves from any kind of democracy and parliamentary government, although the existing parliament was not completely abolished. As prime minister, Salazar was nominated for a seven-year-term. Legally, he was subject to dismissal only by the president of the republic. Based on the new constitution, Salazar propagated and inaugurated the Estado Novo (New State). On the whole, all efforts were concentrated on economic stability and recovery. Salazar's regime was much less bloody than other contemporary European dictatorships, such as Francisco Franco's in neighboring Spain, not to mention Nazi Germany. This was partly because the death penalty was not introduced in Portugal.

There is an ongoing scholarly debate about the nature of the political regime established by Salazar in Portugal. The main question is whether this regime was typical for the 1920s and 1930s, when apparently similar or at least closely related regimes came to power in many European countries. While some historians and political scientists argue that Salazar's dictatorship had many aspects in common with Mussolini's fascism in Italy, others find it more accurate to describe his rule as only old-style conservative and authoritarian. The style of politics created by Salazar in Portugal differed completely from the ways by which Hitler and Mussolini communicated with German and Italian society: Salazar lived a life of frugal simplicity and shunned publicity; he rarely made any public appearances. There was no cult around his "ingenious" leadership. His life exclusively devoted to the task of modernizing Portugal, he paid little attention, if any, to the reactions and feelings of the Portuguese people.

Salazar's political philosophy was based upon authoritarian Catholic social doctrine, similar to the contemporary regime of Chancellor Engelbert Dollfuss and his Christian-Social Party in Austria. The economic system adopted by Salazar was known in Europe as corporatism; it was based on the papal encyclicals "Rerum Novarum" (1891) and "Quadragesimo Anno" (1931).

During the crisis occasioned first by the Spanish civil war and then by World War II, Salazar steered Portugal down a middle path. Although the dictator supported Franco's Nationalist Spain (Salazar sent aid to the Nationalists against the Republicans), he did not side with any of the contenders in the Spanish civil war. The Iberian Neutrality Pact was put forward by Salazar to Franco in 1939. During World War II, Salazar maintained a policy of severe, if benevolent, neutrality. Indeed, Portugal provided aid to the western Allies, giving permission to them to use the Azores Islands in the Atlantic as a military base for fighting the German navy. Between 1940 and 1945, Portugal, and

particularly Lisbon, was one of the last European exit points toward the United States. Remaining neutral, Portugal continued to export goods to both the Axis and the Allied countries.

After the war, Salazar continued and even intensified his policy of economic reform. Portugal's whole transportation system, the railroads, road transport, and the merchant navy were reequipped. A national airline was instituted for the first time in the country's history. The electrification of the country was extended, and a huge number of rural schools were developed. A corporate organization, expressed in the corporative chamber as a second house of parliament, was of lesser importance.

Salazar (who personally never left Portugal) wanted his country to be relevant internationally. At the same time, Portugal itself rejected any influence from the Western world. Portugal was the only nondemocratic country among the founding members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) in 1949. This reflected Portugal's position as an important ally against communism during a period when the cold war reached its peak. Salazar's dictatorship never had to survive in total isolation like Franco's Spain had. Portugal was invited to accept economic help within the framework of the Marshall Plan, but Salazar refused.

By around 1950, Salazar's regime was firmly established. One major problem remained: the country's large overseas provinces. At that time, Portugal was in control of the Azores, Madeira, the Cape Verde Islands, Sáo Tomé e Príncipe, Angola, Portuguese Guinea, and Mozambique in Africa; Goa, Damão, and Diu in India; Macau in China; and Portuguese Timor in Southeast Asia. Almost everywhere, independence movements challenged Portugal's rule over its colonies. Salazar was determined to retain Portuguese control of these territories. The 1933 constitution and various colonial acts had provided for the integration of the provinces. Portugal became increasingly isolated from other Western countries, which were gradually releasing their colonies into independence. Around 1960, Salazar faced a broad movement of anticolonialism that united the Soviet Union and the United States. In that situation, Salazar personally took over the ministry of war and proclaimed that Portugal would defend its possessions no matter what the price. From the capture of Portuguese ports in India in 1961 until after Salazar's death, the overseas territories remained a continual source of trouble for Portugal, especially when the country had to fight the African colonial wars.

Salazar's stubbornness regarding the status of the colonies, understanding the changing world order, and grasping the impossibility of his regime's outliving him marked the final years of his regime. "Proudly alone" was the motto of his final decade. In September 1968, Salazar became seriously ill with brain damage after falling from a chair. According to some sources, he suffered a stroke. Salazar's physical condition made him unable to continue his duties and forced President Américo Tomás to dismiss him as prime minister. When he died in Lisbon two years later on July 27, 1970, he left neither property of his own nor a family. A special train carried the coffin to Salazar's hometown of Santa Comba Dao, where he was buried. Thousands paid their last respects at the funeral.

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Martin Moll

San Remo Treaty (1920)

The San Remo Treaty was signed at the San Remo Conference in April 1920 following World War I. The 1919 Treaty of Versailles ended World War I but did not resolve many complex issues surrounding the end of hostilities. The San Remo Conference, held in April 1920, was one of several conferences commissioned to address unresolved postwar issues. The most pressing problem facing the Allied powers at the conference was the breakup of the Ottoman Empire. Although the Treaty of Versailles recognized the independence of Mesopotamia, Syria, and Palestine, former Ottoman territories, and created the League of Nations' mandate system, it did not assign oversight mandatory powers. Based on Woodrow Wilson's ideals, the mandate system classified these former territories according to the approximate time the Allied powers believed it would take each to achieve independent statehood. The San Remo Treaty designated Allied countries as man-

datory powers to assist territories with political, economic, and nation-building initiatives. Once a country was able to govern itself, the mandatory power would withdraw from the country, but in practice the mandatory powers kept control over the territories until circumstances forced them to leave.

France was assigned mandates for Syria and Lebanon. Britain was assigned mandates for Iraq (Mesopotamia) and Palestine. One of the San Remo Treaty's most important provisions regarded the Palestinian mandate. The World Zionist Organization, established by Theodore Herzl in 1897 to organize Jews throughout the world, wanted a Jewish state with Jerusalem as its capital. On the other hand, Sherif Husayn, a descendant of the prophet Muhammad, desired an autonomous Arab state. During the war, Britain had entwined itself in several secret yet conflicting agreements with the rival sides. In 1915 Henry McMahon, Britain's high commissioner in Cairo, agreed to support Arab independence if Sharif Husayn assisted the Allied cause by leading an Arab revolt against the Turks. In contrast, the 1917 Balfour Declaration declared Britain's support for the establishment of a national home for Jewish people in Palestine.

Against Arab protests, the San Remo Treaty explicitly incorporated the Balfour Declaration within the Palestinian mandate by assigning the mandatory power responsibility for executing the declaration. Although it did not specify the creation of Palestine as a Jewish state and sought to guarantee the civil and religious rights of the non-Jewish population, the declaration and the Palestinian mandate itself did demonstrate British prime minister David Lloyd George's affinity for the Zionist desire for statehood. British control over Palestine lasted until 1948, when Britain unilaterally terminated the mandate and withdrew its troops from Palestine, and Israel declared statehood, which resulted in the first Arab-Israeli War.

See also British mandate in Palestine; French mandate in Lebanon and Syria; Zionism.

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Michelle Donnelly

Sandino, Augusto C.

(1895–1934) *Nicaraguan rebel and patriot*

Augusto César Sandino was the supreme chief of the Defending Army of Nicaraguan National Sovereignty (Ejército Defensor de la Soberanía Nacional de Nicaragua), which waged a rebellion against U.S. military intervention in Nicaragua from May 1927 to January 1933. To his supporters, Sandino was a patriotic hero and symbol of resistance against U.S. imperialism. To his detractors, he was a bandit engaged in pillage and criminality in the mountainous north-central part of the country bordering Honduras, where his rebellion was based, a region called Las Segovias. He was assassinated during peace negotiations on the outskirts of the capital city of Managua on February 21, 1934, by the Nicaraguan National Guard (Guardia Nacional), acting under the orders of its chief director, Anastasio Somoza García. Henceforth, Sandino was considered by many a martyr who died defending the cause of Nicaraguan national sovereignty.

In the 1960s a new generation of Nicaraguan revolutionaries, led by Carlos Fonseca Amador, resuscitated the image of Sandino to launch a prolonged struggle against the Somoza dictatorship under a politico-military organization called the Sandinista National Liberation Front (Frente Sandinista de Liberación Nacional). This second generation of Sandinistas ousted the Somoza dictatorship on July 19, 1979, initiating the period of the Sandinista Revolution (1979–90). The Sandinista party continued to play a leading role in the nation's political life after 1990, as seen in the election of Sandinista leader Daniel Ortega to the Nicaraguan presidency in 2006.

Born in Niquinohomo, Masaya Department, on May 18, 1895, the illegitimate offspring of Gregorio Sandino, a moderately well-to-do landowner, and his Indian servant Margarita Calderón, Augusto Calderón was, by his own account, excluded from the family patrimony until age nine, when he confronted his father with the injustice of his exclusion. Henceforth, he became Augusto Calderón Sandino, was brought into his father's household on an equal footing with his half-brother Sócrates Sandino, attended school, and became administrator of his father's property and a grain trader. In 1920 he shot and wounded a man in a personal dispute, compelling him to flee the country—first to Honduras and Guatemala and then to the oil fields of Tampico, Mexico, where he worked as a mechanic from 1923 to 1926.

In the ferment of postrevolutionary Mexico, Sandino imbibed revolutionary ideologies that shaped his

stance toward U.S. imperialism and his belief in the need to defend Nicaragua's sovereignty by force of arms.

In mid-1926, on learning of the outbreak of civil war in Nicaragua, he returned to his homeland and journeyed north to the U.S.-owned San Albino gold mine, where he worked as a pay clerk. Organizing the workers in the mine, he formed a small revolutionary army that from November 1926 fought against the troops of the ruling Conservative government of Adolfo Díaz, one among many such liberal bands. His military successes led him to become one of the top liberal generals. With the U.S.-brokered Espino Negro Accord (or Treaty of Tipitapa) of May 4, 1927, Sandino became the only liberal general who refused to disarm. Instead, he launched his rebellion against the U.S. Marines and National Guard, which remained confined principally to the region of Las Segovias. A provisional peace accord between Sandino's Defending Army and the Nicaraguan government was negotiated in February 1933, a year before Sandino's assassination. Most scholars agree that Sandino was motivated by patriotism and a complex revolutionary ideology. His rebellion and political thought have spawned a voluminous literature.

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Michael J. Schroeder

Sarekat Islam

The Sarekat Islam (Islamic Association), established in 1911, was one of the earliest political parties to have broad appeal in Indonesia.There was need for an organized merchant association in the face of competition from the Chinese mercantile community.

A religious motivation was also present because of increasing proselytizing activities of Christian missionaries. Sarekat Islam had many able leaders, and the most notable was Umar Sayed Tjokroaminoto (1882–1935), the *ratu adil* (savior prince). His charismatic personality and his message of improving happiness and the religious lives of people attracted many followers. His house became a center of political, social, and cultural activities.

Leaders like Tjokroaminoto, Abdul Muis, Abikusno Tjokrosujoso, and Hadji Agus Salim carried on a mission of fostering economic cooperation of indigenous merchants against the Chinese, uplifting material happiness, and defending Islam against missionaries. The Sarekat Islam had a moderate program of socialism with emphasis on *gatong rajong* (group spirit). Capitalism was viewed as responsible for the woes of Indonesia, which was essentially a Chinese and European enterprise. Initially, the party did not venture into the political realm so as not to incur the wrath of the Dutch, and at its first congress, held at Solo (Surakarta) in 1913, it declared in clear-cut terms that it was not against the colonial government. As a heterogeneous organization, it had among its followers peasants, batik traders, bankers, the *santri,* or orthodox, Muslim sect, *priyai* (lesser nobility), traditionalist *abangans* of Java, and others. The Sarekat Islam was blamed for the agitation that occurred in Java in 1919.

With members professing divergent aims, the direction of Sarekat Islam became varied. and splinter groups arose. The traditional leadership's commitment to religion came under criticism by the left-leaning members of Indische Sociaal Democratische Vereeniging (the Indies Social Democratic Association), which endeavored toward a communist agenda. The Bolshevik Revolution had triumphed in Russia in 1917, and the first communist state had become a reality, which encouraged communist movements in various parts of the globe.

The Democratic Association itself was divided in 1920 with the formation of Partai Kommunist Indonesia (Communist Party of Indonesia), which wanted the Sarekat Islam to renounce its moderate policies. At the sixth congress of the Sarekat Islam in 1921, Salim brought out a resolution prohibiting the members of Sarekat from joining other parties. The Communists were expelled. A Red Sarekat Islam was formed within the fold of the Communist Party, and this later became Sarekat Rakjat (Peoples Association). A turning point had occurred in the Indonesian nationalist movement, and it was accepted that traditional concepts and Western ideologies could not go together. The Sarekat attempted to broaden its base and adopted measures of noncooperation with the colonial government. It organized movements of youth and women.

The leadership of Sarekat tried its best to interpret Marxist doctrine in its own way; Salim was of the opinion that the Prophet had followed Marxist ideas. Even

Tjokroaminoto took a mystical approach, saying that the *ratu adil* would appear in the form of socialism. But the savior did not appear, and many members joined different parties according to their ideologies. Sarekat members flocked to the Communist Party, Nahdatul Ulama (1926), and the Indonesian Nationalist Party (1927). In the 1930s there were more divisions over the question of collaborating with the colonial government. The absence of the development of a clear-cut ideology became the most important factor in the party's failure. It continued to function as a minor party with the new name of Partai Sarekat Islam until 1973.

See also Nationalist Party of Indonesia.

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Patit Paban Mishra

Schlieffen Plan

The Schlieffen Plan was one of the most controversial military plans ever conceived. Devised as imperial Germany's blueprint for victory in World War I, it ironically contributed to Germany's defeat.

The Schlieffen Plan was named after its creator, Count Alfred von Schlieffen (1833–1912), third chief of the German general staff. The genesis of the Schlieffen Plan was in the strategic position Germany faced in 1905. Germany's enemies, France and Russia, had formed a military alliance in 1894, while France and Great Britain had formed their own alliance. If war erupted, Germany potentially faced multiple enemies on two fronts. The strategic question of the era was how Germany could win such a two-front war.

Observing the enemy from a German trench in World War I: The devastating trench warfare of the "war to end all wars" was partially the result of German leaders adopting the Schlieffen Plan in the early 1900s.

German military leaders hoped that, like German military legend Frederick the Great, by employing speed and maneuverability they could defeat one opponent and quickly confront the other. Initial plans called for a limited defensive war against France and a major assault against Russia. Schlieffen inverted this strategy in his 1905 "memorandum" by focusing German power against the French while deploying a defensive force against Russia.

To defeat France, the Schlieffen Plan relied on speed and power. An offensive against France required a rapid mobilization before Russian forces arrived on Germany's eastern frontier. German forces for the French offensive would be deployed along three wings, the left and central wings composed of defensive forces on the Franco-German border and a gigantic right wing on the Belgian border. By placing the bulk of Germany's forces against France, Schlieffen gambled that Russia's vast territory and inefficient railroad system would result in a protracted mobilization.

Finally, Schileffen called for the ruthless invasion of neutral Belgium, France's northern neighbor. By having the right wing cross through Belgium and northern France, Germany bypassed France's fortified eastern border. The right wing would encircle the French while it engaged the left wing, crushing them between the "hammer" of the right and the "anvil" of the left. If the plan was successful, the French would surrender, and German forces could be diverted to face Russia. Schlieffen predicted the fall of France some 35 to 40 days after German mobilization.

The ramifications of Schlieffen's strategy were profound. First, by relying on rapid mobilization, the plan committed Germany to striking first in the event of war. This rigidity limited Germany's diplomatic options in 1914. Germany could not seek a peaceful settlement to the diplomatic crisis in fear that France and Russia would mobilize their armies first. Also of great importance was the invasion of Belgium. The Treaty of London (1839) bound the European powers to guarantee Belgian independence and neutrality. German violation of this treaty triggered British entry into World War I and caused significant damage to Germany's international prestige. Finally, relying on Russia's slow mobilization was a considerable risk. If Russia successfully deployed its sizable armies while fighting continued in the west, eastern Germany was threatened with what was ominously described as the "Russian steamroller."

Schlieffen retired from active military service in 1906. His successor, Helmuth von Moltke (or "Moltke the Younger," 1848–1916), made significant alterations to the Schlieffen Plan. Moltke employed Schlieffen's same basic strategy when World War I erupted in 1914. Indeed, the plan nearly worked. Its failure, however, came from numerous causes. Among these were delays, Belgian resistance, the deployment of British Allied Expeditionary Forces, and German exhaustion during the rapid advance. These factors allowed France to assemble a force to meet the powerful right wing at the first Battle of the Marne. Russia also mobilized more quickly than anticipated, threatening eastern Germany.

As a result, the western front stabilized into static trench warfare, while German forces scrambled to decisively defeat Russian armies at the Battle of Tannenburg. Despite this triumph, the Schlieffen Plan's promise of quick victory transformed into a German nightmare of protracted wars on both borders.

The Schlieffen Plan's failure had ominous repercussions for Germany. Designed to prevent a two-front war against superior forces, Schlieffen's deficient strategy led to exactly that fate. The western front was characterized by four years of stalemate, a battle of attrition that led to German defeat in 1918.

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Daniel Hutchinson

Scopes trial

Often known as the "Monkey Trial," this face-off between free speech and state educational prerogatives pitted "modern" science against "old-time" religion. A major fault line in U.S. society was exposed when two of the United States' most famous figures—lawyer Clarence Darrow and three-time presidential candidate William Jennings Bryan—clashed in the tiny town of Dayton, Tennessee.

Although Charles Darwin's theory of evolution had been provoking controversy since 1859, not until the postprogressive 1920s did five states, including Tennessee, legislate how, or even whether, evolution could be taught in taxpayer-funded public schools. The actual legitimacy of evolution was not at first the main issue. Rather, the recently formed American Civil Liberties

Clarence Darrow (above) led the defense of John Thomas Scopes, basing his case on free speech and scientific authority.

Union (ACLU) challenged Tennessee's new law as a violation of free speech. A test case required a defendant, and that role was pressed on 24-year-old John Thomas Scopes (1900–70), a math teacher and football coach at Dayton's high school. Substituting for an absent biology teacher, Scopes had read a passage on evolution to his class from a textbook formerly approved for use in Tennessee. Scopes clearly had violated the new state law, but what did that mean? More than 100 reporters, including *Baltimore Sun* gadfly H. L. Mencken, converged on Dayton for an eight-day July trial to answer that question. The proceedings were carried nationally on radio.

The four-man defense, led by Darrow, sought a broad discussion of free speech and scientific authority; the prosecution's aims were less clear. Bryan, assisted by his son, Will Jr., knew that Scopes had broken the law, but he also wanted a chance to defend religious beliefs against godless modernism, including what he saw as the unacceptable Social Darwinist idea that the weak be allowed to fall by the wayside. Presiding Judge John T. Raulston allowed only one of the ACLU's scientific experts to testify. He found Scopes guilty before allowing Darrow's and Bryan's plea for closing arguments, during which both hoped to make their larger cases to a national audience.

On Monday, July 20, 3,000 people were on hand to hear the debate on the lawn outside the hot, cramped courthouse. Darrow, an admitted agnostic and skilled litigator, peppered Bryan with questions regarding the literal truth of the Bible. Bryan was the finest public speaker of his generation, but he was no theologian and seemed poorly prepared. His defense of the Bible was feeble and often laughable. Although Judge Raulston expunged Bryan's testimony from the court record, millions had heard it via the media. Mencken's newspaper paid Scopes's $100 fine. (His conviction was later voided on a technicality and never refiled.) Six days later Bryan died in Dayton of diabetes.

The Monkey Trial revealed how hard it was for urban secularists and rural believers to find common ground. In 1955 a lightly fictionalized courtroom drama, *Inherit the Wind*, introduced this "trial of the century" to new generations as a huge victory for science. It was, but it also was not. Tennessee repealed its statute in 1967. But controversy over evolution would reemerge as religious Protestants and others began expressing themselves more forcibly in school, state, and national politics.

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Marsha E. Ackermann

Scottsboro Boys

The Scottsboro Boys, as they were called by American newspapers, were nine young African-American men, all of them between the ages of 13 and 21, who became the defendants in an infamous, overtly racist criminal case. On March 25, 1931, a fracas broke out between white and black vagrant men riding a freight train through Alabama. When the train was stopped by

local authorities, two white women were also discovered onboard. These women had worked as prostitutes and feared arrest; to avert suspicion, they claimed the black men had raped them.

Two weeks later, the men went on trial in the town of Scottsboro, where a throng of white onlookers gathered. Following hasty legal proceedings in which the men received a minimal defense, they were found guilty, and most were sentenced to death.

The Scottsboro case was widely discussed in the northern press. A communist-affiliated legal group, the International Labor Defense, agreed to handle the appeals process. In subsequent trials, prominent defense attorney Samuel Leibowitz offered ample evidence that the accusers were lying, and one of the women disavowed her story and even testified as a defense witness. Nevertheless, the various Scottsboro defendants were found guilty by 11 southern juries, and their convictions were upheld by the Alabama Supreme Court. In 1937 four of the men were released in a plea bargain agreement, and the others were eventually paroled. The last defendant was released in 1950.

As a result of the case, southern mores and Jim Crow justice were held up to national and international scrutiny. African-American church and civic groups were galvanized. Demonstrations were held in Harlem, and the mothers of some of the defendants—women who had passed their lives in obscurity in the rural South—found themselves addressing crowds across the country to win support for their sons. The NAACP (National Association for the Advancement of Colored People), which had been slow to defend the Scottsboro Boys, was criticized by many African Americans.

Two important U.S. Supreme Court decisions resulted from the Scottsboro case. In *Powell v. Alabama* (1932), the Court ruled that the defendants had been denied their right to adequate counsel. In *Norris v. Alabama* (1935), the Court found that African Americans in Alabama had been systematically and arbitrarily excluded from jury rolls. These decisions—and the activism in response to the Scottsboro case—became important precursors to the Civil Rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s.

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Tom Collins

SEASIA (Southeast Asia)

The term *Southeast Asia* came to be used during World War II, when the region was placed under the command of Lord Louis Mountbatten (1900–79). It includes the area to the east of the Indian subcontinent and to the south of China. In 2006 the countries of the region were Brunei, Cambodia, East Timor, Myanmar, Indonesia, Laos, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore, Thailand, and Vietnam. In the first half of the 20th century, all of Southeast Asia except Thailand was under foreign domination. Southeast Asia is a region of ethnic, cultural, linguistic, and historical diversity. It has retained its own identity in spite of cultural influences from different areas. The first half of the 20th century witnessed momentous events and new ideas that transformed the history of the region. World War I, World War II, Japanese occupation, the rise of anticolonialism, the growth of communist ideas, and the onset of the cold war had varied impacts on the countries of the region.

In a geographical sense, before 1950 Southeast Asia comprised two broad groups. The mainland comprised the British colony of Myanmar (formerly Burma), the French colony of Indochina (Laos, Cambodia, and Vietnam), and Thailand. Island Southeast Asia consisted of the British colony of Malaya, the Netherlands East Indies, and the Philippines under U.S. domination.

Thailand survived without becoming a colony of either Britain or France due to the sagacious policies of the kings. It did not succumb to colonial subjugation by signing unequal treaties of friendship and commerce or allowing extraterritoriality rights to France, Great Britain, the United States, or Germany. Rama V (1853–1910) maintained friendly relations with the colonial powers even at the cost of Thai territory. King Vajiravudh (1881–1925) joined with Allied powers and was able to revoke extraterritorial rights. In 1932 there occurred for the first time in the history of Thailand a bloodless coup, which ended absolute monarchy there. Pridi Phanomyong (1900–83) and Pibul Songgram (1897–1964) were important leaders. The military dominated the affairs of government. Thailand gave the Japanese passage to invade the British colony of Malay. But after the defeat of Japan, Thailand gave up the newly acquired territories to Malay, Burma, and Cambodia.

The British colony of Burma was governed as a province of British India until 1937. The Japanese drove out the British in 1942. Burmese nationalism, which had been given a boost after World War I, was in full swing. The days of the British were numbered. Leaders like Aung San (1915–47), who had collaborated

with the Japanese, sided with Great Britain in 1945. On January 4, 1948, the country became independent. The three Indochinese states of Cambodia, Laos, and Vietnam rebelled against French colonial rule. Ho Chi Minh (1890–1969) had pleaded in vain with the Allied countries to give independence to the Indochinese countries at the Paris Peace Conference. The Indochinese freedom struggle had communism as one of its ideologies for a sizable number of people. When the French came back again, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (DRV), or North Vietnam, had already been established on September 2, 1945. The Khmer Issarack, or the Free Khmers, of Son Ngoc Thanh (1907–76) and Souphanouvong's (1901–1995) Pathet Lao (Land of Lao) had been aligned with the Vietminh. The First Indochina War began in 1946 and continued until the French defeat eight years later. The communist faction had not accepted the limited independence given to Laos, Cambodia, and South Vietnam in 1949.

The Philippines was annexed by the United States after the Spanish-American treaty in December 1898. After the Philippine-American War (1898–1901) military occupation was replaced by civilian governments. In principle, the independence of the Philippines was recognized by the U.S. Congress in the Jones Act of 1916. On July 4, 1946, it got complete independence. British Malaya had three types of administration: Crown colonies, protected federated states, and protected unfederated states. The Japanese had faced tough opposition from the Malay Chinese, who had formed the Malayan People's Anti-Japanese Army. The British created the Malayan Union in April 1946, which faced problems from the Malayan Communist Party. The pan-Malayan party called the United Malay National Organization was established in May of the same year. The British created the Federation of Malay in February 1948, which became a stepping stone to independence in 1957.

In World War II Japan occupied Singapore on February 15, 1942. General disillusionment with British rule and the growth of political consciousness accelerated. After the abolition of Straits Settlement, Singapore became a separate Crown colony on April 1, 1946. Elections to its legislative council were held in March 1948. The British government was compelled to give greater self-government to Singapore in 1953. Singapore attained self-government in 1959, with Britain retaining control of its defense and foreign affairs.

The Dutch established direct rule over the whole of modern Indonesia by 1909. Nationalism grew out of the country's glorious historical past, colonial exploitation, Western education, anticolonial movements in Asia, and miserable social conditions. The first nationalist organization was Budi Utomo (Noble Conduct), founded in May 1908. The Sarekat Islam (Islamic Association), established in 1912, became a mass organization with membership running above 2 million. In 1920 a group of radicals formed the Partai Komunis Indonesia (PKI, Communist Party of Indonesia). The Partai Nasional Indonesia (PNI, Indonesian Nationalist Party), with its motto of one nation (Indonesia), people (Indonesian), and language (Bhasa Indonesia), was established in 1927. It was led by Sukarno (1901–70). The nationalist struggle was suppressed by policies of repression and by sending leaders to prison camps. On August 17, 1945, Sukarno and Muhammad Hatta (1902–80) proclaimed independence and established the Republic of Indonesia. But it took five years of guerrilla warfare and diplomatic offensives to establish its independence unchallenged, as the Dutch came back. At last, on August 17, 1950, the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia was restored.

In the second half of the 20th century this historical legacy, along with new developments, shaped Southeast Asia. In the 21st century Southeast Asian countries had increasing importance among the nations of the world.

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Patit Paban Mishra

Selassie, Haile

(1892–1975) *Ethiopian ruler*

Tafari Makonnen was born in Ethiopia in 1892, the son of a general who was a trusted adviser and grand-nephew of Menelik II. In 1911 he married Wayzaro Menen. As Ras (prince) Tafari, he quickly became a rival of Menelik's grandson for the throne. The grandson was unreliable politically and supportive of Muslims, and Ras Tafari was progressive and Christian. Tafari deposed him in 1916. He became regent and heir to Menelik's daughter, Empress Zauditu (Judith), in 1917. Between 1917 and 1928 he traveled in Europe, becoming the first Ethiopian ruler to travel abroad. He became

The leader of Ethiopia in the years before World War II, Haile Selassie attempted to modernize his nation.

king in 1928. Zauditu died in November 1930, and Ras Tafari became the 111th emperor in the succession from King Solomon. He took the name Haile Selassie, Amharic for "Might of the Trinity."

Selassie inherited a land rich in culture and resources and recognized as sovereign by European colonial powers since 1900. It had grown under Menelik II and established treaties with Italy. Britain and Italy agreed, however, that Ethiopia should be under Italian influence. Tensions erupted occasionally, but when Selassie took the throne, Ethiopia was free and independent.

Selassie's travels in Europe convinced him that he needed to modernize Ethiopia. He reformed the laws, bureaucracy, schools, and health and social services while serving as regent. He applied to the League of Nations for Ethiopian membership in 1919 but was rebuffed because Ethiopians still practiced slavery. After abolition of the slave trade in 1923, the league accepted Ethiopia.

In 1928 Ethiopia and Italy signed a 20-year treaty of friendship. In 1930 Ethiopia outlawed the sale of illegal arms and established the government's authority to purchase arms for protection against external enemies and internal unrest.

In 1931 Selassie gave Ethiopia its first constitution. He established his bloodline as the only princely line eligible to inherit the throne and fought for four years before getting the princes to accept it. He continued to modernize schools, universities, and newspapers while establishing electricity, telephones, currency, banking, and other modern benefits.

Selassie's modernization occurred in the shadow of Benito Mussolini, who took power in Italy in 1922. Italy had a colony in Eritrea, where Mussolini instituted segregation. He also used Eritrea as a base for expansion in Africa. In 1934 Italian forces provoked an incident in Welwel, Ethiopia. The League of Nations failed to condemn the aggression, and Mussolini invaded Ethiopia in October 1935. Selassie personally led his forces into battle. After seven months of fighting, Italian forces, gas warfare, and league inaction forced Selassie into exile on May 2, 1936. On June 30 he spoke passionately at the league about how league inaction would promote international lawlessness instead of collective security.

Ethiopians continued to resist the Italian occupation throughout Selassie's exile in Britain. Once Italy entered World War II against Britain, Britain recognized the strategic asset of an ally on the Red Sea, so it helped Selassie to return to Khartoum. With a force of British, African, South African, and Ethiopian troops, he returned to Addis Ababa on May 5, 1941. Fighting continued in Ethiopia until January 1942.

After the war Ethiopia was a founder of the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity. As his relationship with Britain waned in 1953, Selassie sought U.S. support. And he later received assistance from Italy, West Germany, Sweden, Taiwan, China, and the Soviet Union. Internally, he attempted to bring peace among Ethiopia's many religious, ethnic, and economic factions. His reforms of the government continued in the 1950s, as did the internal factionalism. In 1960 he quashed a coup led by his son, among others, but internal discord grew as economic and social reforms failed to match their promises. From the mid-1960s to 1974 Ethiopia was plagued with inflation, corruption, and famine. Selassie's attempts to divide and weaken his enemies failed in 1974 as uprisings broke out in several provinces, and the coup leaders united into the Derg, which, under the pretense of allegiance to Selassie, took effective control of the government. After taking his resources and charging him with intentionally provoking the famine of the early 1970s, the Derg arrested Selassie and deposed him on September 12. Selassie died in August 1975 under questionable circumstances.

During his lifetime Selassie inspired Nelson Mandela, Martin Luther King, Jr., and Malcolm X with his commitment to civil disobedience as a path to social justice and redress. He also inspired the Jamaican-born religion of Rastafarianism. Rastafarians generally believe that Selassie is the messiah and Ethiopia is heaven on earth.

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John H. Barnhill

Senghor, Leopold Sédar

(1906–2001) *Senegalese writer and politician*

Leopold Senghor was born into a wealthy merchant family in 1906 in a small fishing village south of Dakar in present-day Senegal. He was educated in Catholic mission schools. Senghor studied in Paris on a state scholarship and during the 1930s taught in several French lycées. He was granted French citizenship in 1932, and when World War I broke out Senghor enlisted in the French army and was captured by the Germans, spending over one year as a prisoner of war.

Senghor and Aimé Césaire are credited with developing the ideas of *négritude*, a glorification of African history and culture that was also a revolt against imperial control. Although he presented highly romanticized visions of Africa and its peoples, particularly women, Senghor was also highly assimilated into French culture. Senghor's descriptions of Africa as a region of feeling and Europe as one of reason were criticized by later African nationalists and intellectuals.

Poetry was Senghor's preferred medium of expression. Writing in French, Senghor published a collection of poetry, *Chants D'Ombre*, dealing with memories and loss of homeland in 1945. Senghor was well known in French intellectual circles, and Jean-Paul Sartre wrote the introduction to his *Anthologie de la nouvelle poésie nègre et mangache de langue française* in 1948. In 1944 Senghor became a professor of African languages at the École Nationale de la France d'Outre-Mer.

Senghor married a Guyanese woman, with whom he had two children, but the marriage ended in divorce. He then married a French woman from Normandy. From 1945 to 1946 Senghor represented Senegal in the French constituent assemblies, and he continued to serve in the French national assembly into the 1950s. With Alioune Diop, another Senegalese intellectual, Senghor established *Présence Africaine,* a renowned intellectual cultural journal.

When Senegal broke off from the federated Sudanese Republic and became an independent nation in 1960, Senghor was elected its first president. Although he was a practicing Catholic from a small ethnic group, Senghor ruled over a majority Muslim nation that was mostly Wolof. However, Senghor maintained cordial relations with Muslim leaders.

Senghor served as president until 1980, when he willingly stepped down from office. In retirement he divided his time between Senegal and France. Senghor was honored with many awards, including the Dag Hammarskjold Prize in 1965. He was appointed to the prestigious Institut Française, Académie des Sciences in 1969. In 2001 Senghor died in France.

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Janice J. Terry

Shandong (Shantung) Question (1919)

Shandong (Shantung) is a province on China's northern coast. It is the birthplace of two great sages, Confucius and Mencius, and is therefore called China's Holy Land. Dramatically weakened after its defeat by Japan in 1895, Germany set off the "scramble for China" in 1898 by seizing Jiaozhou (Kiaochow), a port in Shandong, for a German naval base and forcing the Qing (Ch'ing) government to lease it to Germany for 99 years. Germany also received the right to build and control two railways in Shandong and gained other mining and financial concessions. Shandong became a German sphere of influence.

Japan entered World War I as an ally of Great Britain with a goal of destroying German influence in East Asia; by November 1914 it had ousted all German interests in Shandong. In 1915 the Japanese government presented Chinese president Yuan Shikai (Yuan Shih-k'ai) with the Twenty-one Demands, aimed at establishing its hegemony in China. One group stipulated the transfer of German interests in Shandong to Japan. Although Yuan agreed to the demands in May 1915, they were never ratified by the Chinese parliament,

which he had dissolved. In 1917 Japan's allies (Great Britain, France, Russia, and Italy) agreed to the transfer of German rights in Shandong to Japan after the war. After joining the war the United States also agreed to Japan's special rights in China.

China joined World War I in 1917 as an associated power and thus won a seat at the Paris Peace Conference in 1919. Its broad goal, the rescinding of the unequal treaties China had been forced to sign with Western powers since 1842, was never discussed. Japan had three goals at Paris: (1) the Micronesian Islands (Carolines, Marianas, and Marshalls) in the northern Pacific as mandates under the League of Nations, which was granted; (2) a clause in the covenant of the League of Nations on racial equality, which was controversial and withdrawn; and (3) obtaining German rights in Shandong. China's legal position was compromised when Japan revealed a secret agreement with Yuan's successor in China that acknowledged Japan's rights in Shandong in return for Japanese loans.

The loss of Shandong provoked enormous public anger in China, directed mainly against its politicians, who were seen as incompetent and traitorous. Protests led by students, called the May Fourth Movement, won widespread support from merchants and workers. The government was pressured into not signing the Treaty of Versailles with Germany.

See also Lansing-Ishii Agreement; Washington Conference and Treaties (1921–1922).

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Jiu-Hwa Lo Upshur

Shaarawi, Huda

(1879–1947) *Egyptian feminist*

Huda Shaarawi was a prominent Egyptian women's rights activist and arguably the most important Arab feminist of the 20th century. She began her career of political activism by organizing lectures for mostly upper-class women of the harem and later became a member of the Wafd Party women's committee, which gained recognition because of substantive all-women's demonstrations in the 1919 revolt. Shaarawi was from an upper-class background, with extensive political connections—her husband was one of the founders of the Wafd Party in 1919, and she was the daughter of the president of Egypt's first national assembly.

However, Shaarawi fought the upper-class institution of the harem by removing her veil in 1923 when she disembarked from a train station in Cairo, marking the beginning of the end of the harem in Egypt. In 1923 she also formed Egypt's first women's organization, the Egyptian Feminist Union, whose agenda focused on women's political rights, including the right to vote and the right to stand for parliamentary elections. In her activism Shaarawi reflected two ongoing social and political movements, Islamic modernism and secular nationalism, challenging both British colonial rule over Egypt and Egyptian patriarchy by claiming that they concurrently served to eclipse women's voices. She was the founder and president of the Arab Feminist Union and vice president of the International Women's Union. She was a strong advocate for girls' education and participated in more than 14 international women's gatherings on behalf of Egyptian women.

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Randa A. Kayyali

Sherif Husayn–McMahon Correspondence

The Sherif Husayn–McMahon Correspondence was a secret agreement between Sherif Husayn, representing the Arabs, and the British over the future of Arab territories in the Ottoman Empire. Sherif Husayn was sherif, or ruler, over the Muslim holy city of Mecca. A member of the Hashemite family, Husayn was a direct descendant of the prophet Muhammad and consequently had both political and religious influence. An Arab nationalist, Husayn wanted one unified, independent Arab state. Personally ambitious, he also wanted to be the ruler of that state.

In 1915 Sherif Husayn sent a secret letter to the closest high-ranking British official, Henry McMahon, the British high commissioner in Egypt, proposing that the Arabs would fight on the side of the British in World War I in exchange for an independent state when the

war was over. Because the letters had to be hand delivered by secret agents from Mecca to Cairo and back, the correspondence extended from July 1915 to January 1916. Although McMahon, who did not speak Arabic or know much about the Middle East, had nothing to do with the British responses that were written by government officials in London, as the highest-ranking British official in Cairo his name was affixed to the texts. After Husayn's letters were translated into English, they were put into secret code to be transmitted to London for final decisions as to what responses the government wished to make.

In his first letter, Husayn delineated the borders for the proposed Arab state. The boundaries were to run along the Red Sea and include the Arabian Peninsula, but not Aden, which was already a British colony; the state would also include present-day Iraq, Syria, Lebanon, Israel-Palestine, Jordan, and the area around Alexandretta, in present-day Turkey. All this territory was overwhelmingly Arab ethnically, linguistically, culturally, and historically. Husayn also sent his son Faysal to ascertain whether Arab nationalists in greater Syria would support the proposed Arab state.

They agreed to back Sherif Husayn's plans. As an excuse for this fact-finding mission, Faysal also visited Istanbul to meet with the Committee of Union and Progress, the virtual rulers of the Ottoman Turkish Empire, which was fighting on the side of Germany and the Central Powers in the war. This was a highly dangerous mission, as in Turkish eyes Sherif Husayn's proposals were treasonous. In the summer of 1915, the Turks publicly hanged several Arab nationalists in downtown Beirut. The square where the executions took place is still known as Martyrs Square in present-day Lebanon.

The British responded that discussion of the borders of the Arab state was premature. Sherif Husayn then ceded Alexandretta, and Britain replied that it wished to omit most of the area in present-day Lebanon because the French had interests there. They also wanted to omit most of present-day Iraq. Throughout the letters, the territories were referred to by the Turkish administrative terms of *vilayets,* or provinces, which did not precisely conform to the boundaries of present-day nations in the Middle East. Although the British did not communicate their interests to Sherif Husayn, they knew about the oil reserves in Iraq and were anxious to maintain control over Iraq for economic and strategic reasons. Nor was Sherif Husayn informed about the secret negotiations simultaneously taking place between the British and the French regarding Arab territories. These secret negotiations resulted in the Sykes-Picot Agreement of May 1916, which in part seemed to contradict the agreement the British government was making with Husayn.

By early 1916 Sherif Husayn had essentially agreed to fight on the side of the British in exchange for what he believed would be one Arab state, possibly minus Lebanon and parts of Iraq, which, as predominantly Arab, he believed would ultimately become part of that state. Palestine was not specifically mentioned by name in the exchange, but Sherif Husayn clearly believed that it would be included in the proposed Arab state. On the basis of this correspondence, the Arabs rose up in armed revolt against the Turks in June 1916 and fought on the side of the British for the duration of the war. Husayn's forces immediately secured Mecca and much of the coast along the Red Sea but failed to take Medina, which remained in Ottoman Turkish hands until the end of World War I. The British supported the revolt with money, supplies, and advisers, including T. E. Lawrence, who was known as Lawrence of Arabia. The Arab forces used mostly guerrilla warfare tactics, attacking the Ottoman Turkish flanks and blowing up railway and communication lines as the British army advanced northward through Palestine and into Syria and Lebanon in 1917 and 1918.

The publication in late 1917 of the Balfour Declaration giving British support to Zionist aspirations for an independent Jewish nation in Palestine was immediately opposed by Sherif Husayn and the Arabs on the grounds that the area was Arab and that the declaration contradicted the earlier agreement made with Sherif Husayn. The controversy over the conflicting terms of the three wartime agreements—the Sherif Husayn–McMahon Correspondence, the Sykes-Picot Agreement, and the Balfour Declaration—became a point of contention at the Paris Peace Conference and continued to be debated into the 21st century.

See also Arab nationalism.

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Janice J. Terry

Shidehara Kijuro

(1872–1951) *Japanese diplomat and politician*

Shidehara Kijuro was born in Osaka and educated at the Imperial University of Tokyo. He began his career as a

diplomat in 1899; his postings included Korea, the United Kingdom, the Netherlands, and the United States. In his capacity as ambassador to the United States (1919–22), he argued (without success) for the repeal of laws restricting Japanese immigration to the United States. Shidehara led the Japanese delegation at the Washington Naval Conference (also known as the International Conference on Naval Limitation) in 1921–22, called by the United States to establish security and arms limitations agreements in the Pacific. He assumed the post of minister of foreign affairs in 1924 and served in this capacity in the years 1924–27 and 1929–31. Shidehara's foreign policy approach was notable for his pursuit of peace and reconciliation rather than aggression and territorial expansion, an approach that became known as Shidehara diplomacy. This conciliatory approach brought Shidehara into conflict with those individuals in the Japanese government who wanted to pursue more militaristic, expansionist goals, particularly toward China. Shidehara was forced out of office in 1931 after the Manchurian incident, when the bombing of a Japanese railway near Shenyang (Mukden) became a pretext for the Japanese capture of Manchuria from China.

Shidehara was held in high regard abroad even after he left office in Japan. He was well known and popular within the United States. He appeared on the cover of *Time* magazine in 1931 with the caption "Japan's Man of Peace and War." After the Japanese surrender in 1945 that concluded World War II, Shidehara, with the approval of the U.S. military occupation authorities, became the first prime minister of postwar Japan. Shidehara appointed Matsumoto Joji to head a commission to draft the new constitution. However, the result was rejected by the U.S. authorities as too similar to the Meiji constitution. A new constitution that included women's right to vote and a renunciation of war was produced by General Douglas MacArthur's staff and was adopted in 1946. Shidehara was elected to the house of representatives of the diet in 1947, became speaker of the house in 1949, and held this post until his death in 1951.

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Sarah Boslaugh

Sino-Japanese War

The Nationalist government in China faced two major challenges after completing the Northern Expedition in 1928: domestically, the Communist rebellion, and internationally, Japanese aggression. While warlords ruled China Japan could exploit Chinese disunity by extorting concessions. Japanese militarists bent on preventing the formation of a strong China had tried and failed to halt the advance of the Nationalist Northern Expedition in May 1928 by landing troops in Shandong (Shantung). They failed again in December 1928 to prevent the young warlord of Manchuria from acceding to the Nationalist government.

The Manchurian incident demonstrated the ascendancy of Japanese militarists over the civilian government. On September 18, 1931, junior officers of the Kwantung Army (a unit of the Japanese army stationed in Manchuria, a Japanese sphere of influence) attacked many cities in Manchuria (called the Northeastern Provinces in China). China appealed to the League of Nations, which passed resolutions ordering Japan to halt its aggression, in vain. The league then sent a commission of inquiry (the Lytton Commission) to investigate the legitimacy of the puppet government that Japan set up in Manchuria. When the commission report rejected Japanese claims and ordered Manchuria's rendition to China, Japan resigned from the league.

Emboldened by the league's impotence and the indifference of the United States, Japan stepped up its aggression against China. Its troops conquered Rehe (Jehol) province, which adjoined Manchuria, in 1933 and attacked the Inner Mongolian provinces in 1934. Fearing an all-out war where it would be crushed and beset by the Communist rebellion, the Nationalist government, led by Chiang Kai-shek, sought piecemeal resistance and negotiations with Japan in order to buy time to build up Chinese infrastructure and defenses. Successes against China made the Japanese militarists heroes at home, and their tactic of assassinating their opponents silenced the opposition. Their avowed policy was to control all of China, then move by sea to conquer South and Southeast Asia and by land to conquer the Soviet Far East and then all of Central Asia. These ambitions would lead to the formation of an Axis between Japan, Nazi Germany, and Fascist Italy in 1938 that aimed at world domination by these three nations. In 1935 Japan initiated a program to create another puppet state, called North Chinaland, to include five provinces in northern China.

The acceleration of Japanese aggression led to widespread demand in China that all Chinese unite and that the government cease its anti-Communist campaigns. In response to that prospect, Japan initiated the Marco Polo Bridge incident on July 7, 1937, by attacking a town in northern China at a railway junction near the Marco Polo Bridge (called Lukouchiao or Lugouqiao in Chinese). Realizing that the incident was part of a large design, the Chinese government decided to resist to the end. A United Front was formed with the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) and other parties and groups, all pledged to support the war of resistance led by the Kuomintang (KMT). Japan had expected to conquer China in three months. The war would last eight years and become part of World War II in Asia.

CHINA FIGHTS ALONE

The modern Japanese army, aided by air and sea power, inflicted heavy losses and conquered the entire coastal region by the end of 1938. However, Japanese attempts to destroy Chinese morale by bombing schools, destroying industries, and treating the civilians in conquered areas with extreme brutality only forged an iron will among the Chinese to fight on. The rape of Nanjing (Nanking), in which the Japanese soldiers raped, tortured, and slaughtered upward of 300,000 Chinese in the surrendered former capital, was one of the most despicable acts of brutality in World War II. Millions of Chinese civilians were killed in the war, but more millions trekked to Free China in the interior, moving schools, libraries, and factories to continue resistance. To slow the Japanese advance, in 1938 the Chinese even breached the Yellow River dikes, at a horrendous toll to the local population. The Chinese government moved too, up the Yangtze (Yangzi) River first to Wuhan and finally to Chongqing (Chungking) in Szechuan (Sichuan) Province, deep in the interior, where the mechanized Japanese military could not penetrate, though its bombs did inflict heavy damage. Chongqing was repeatedly destroyed by Japanese incendiary bombs, but life and factory production continued in caves excavated in the surrounding mountains, which served as air-raid shelters. Despite great odds, the government persisted in its goal of resistance combined with reconstruction. China fought alone with little outside aid until Japan attacked Pearl Harbor in December 1941. Japan could not entice prominent Chinese leaders to collaborate. The only man of national prominence to defect and form a quisling regime was Wang Jingwei (Wang Ching-wei) in 1938. But he had become so discredited by then because of his previous political machinations and because Japan so obviously dominated the several puppet regimes in China that few followed him.

The United Front with the Communists was ill fated and a lifesaver for the besieged remnant Communist forces, down to about 30,000 men in 1937. From the beginning the CCP used it to increase their numbers and territory, while the KMT army was mauled by superior Japanese forces. As Communist leader Mao Zedong (Mao Tse-tung) told his men, "Our fixed policy should be 70 percent expansion, 20 percent dealing with the Kuomintang, and 10 percent resisting Japan." In the light of these policies, it is not surprising that even nominal cooperation between the two parties had broken down by 1941. In April 1941 Japan and the Soviet Union signed a neutrality pact that allowed the Soviet Union to focus on preparing for war against Germany. This pact also removed the doctrinal basis for CCP-KMT cooperation. Their standoff continued throughout the war. The CCP continued its expansion, and the KMT maintained a military blockade of CCP-controlled areas around its capital, Yanan (Yenan). The war also provided the CCP an opportunity to restructure its party and its army and provided Mao and other leaders time to develop new social, political, and economic institutions and strategies.

CHINA GAINS ALLIES IN WORLD WAR II

China fought alone between 1937 and 1941 except for Soviet aid in its air defenses in the initial years, some small loans from the United States and Great Britain, and an Air Volunteer Corps (Flying Tigers) of U.S. airmen under General Claire Chennault. After Japan attacked Pearl Harbor and British and Dutch colonies in Asia in December 1941, World War II expanded to include all Axis powers against China and all Allies against Japan. China became part of the China-Burma-India theater of war, and Chiang Kai-shek became supreme commander of the China theater. China also began to receive expanded U.S. aid. 1942 was a bleak year for the Allies in Asia as Japan conquered most Western holdings—the Philippines, Hong Kong, Singapore, Malaya, Burma, and the Dutch East Indies. In contrast, China had stood alone against Japan for over four years. China's international prestige soared. In 1943 treaties were signed between China and the United States and Great Britain that ended 100 years of unequal treaties. Chiang and Madame Chiang Kai-shek traveled to Cairo, Egypt, to meet with British leader Winston Churchill and U.S. president Franklin

D. Roosevelt. The leaders agreed that Japan would have to surrender unconditionally, return its conquests since 1895 to China, and grant Korea independence.

War also brought disagreements between the Allies. Churchill and Roosevelt had agreed that they would give first priority to defeating the Nazis in Europe, then the Japanese in the Pacific, with the Chinese theater coming third. Friction developed between China and its allies over expectations. In exchange for China's receiving U.S. Lend-Lease aid, the United States expected China to expand its role in the war, while exhausted China expected the United States to bear a greater burden in the fighting. There were also disputes over Lend-Lease. Roosevelt appointed newly promoted general Joseph Stilwell, the chief of U.S. forces in China, Chiang's U.S. chief of staff, and gave him control over Lend-Lease materiel in China (whereas Lend-Lease materiel in Britain was under British control). China was also disappointed that it received the least amount of Lend-Lease, although the logistics of transportation were a factor in the limited amount reaching China. The worst thorn in the side of Sino-U.S. relations was Stilwell's abrasive personality, for which he was called Vinegar Joe and his insulting attitude toward the Chinese leaders. Stilwell also clashed with Claire Chennault, an advocate of air power, and finally demanded that he be handed total command of Chinese troops. Convinced that Stilwell's goal was to subordinate rather than cooperate with the Chinese, Chiang demanded his recall, which was endorsed by General Patrick Hurley (secretary of war under President Hoover), Roosevelt's special emissary to China to mediate between Stilwell and Chiang. He was recalled in October 1944 and replaced by General Albert Wedemeyer, who was not given command of Chinese troops. Relations between the two nations improved as a result. Hurley, however, was unsuccessful in mediating between the KMT and the CCP.

In February 1945 Roosevelt met with Churchill and Soviet leader Joseph Stalin at Yalta to obtain Soviet entry into the war against Japan after Germany's surrender. The terms included important concessions to the Soviet Union in Manchuria and Chinese recognition of the independence of Mongolia (a Chinese possession that had become the first Soviet satellite state in 1924). These agreements were made without prior consultation with the Chinese government, which was forced to agree. World War II ended in Asia on August 10, 1945, after the United States dropped the second atomic bomb on Japan. China was Japan's first victim and had suffered most from Japanese aggression. The Chinese rejoiced in their victory, and in China's new international status as one of the Big Four Powers, a founding nation of the United Nations (UN), and a permanent member of the UN Security Council.

See also Cairo Conference (1943); Stilwell mission; Yalta Conference.

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Jiu-Hwa Lo Upshur

Smith, Alfred E.

(1873–1944) *U.S. political leader*

Al Smith was born in Manhattan into a working-class family of partly Irish ancestry. He had no formal education past grade school because he had to go to work at age 12 when his father died. Smith took various jobs, including a well-paying job at the Fulton Fish Market, which brought him to the attention of Tammany Hall, New York's political machine, and at the age of 22 he became a clerk in the office of the commissioner of jurors. He was elected to the New York state assembly as a Democrat in 1904 and elected speaker in 1913.

Smith gained even greater prominence when he was appointed vice chairman of the New York State Factory Investigating Commission, formed to investigate the fatal 1911 Triangle Shirtwaist Fire. This familiarized him with industrial conditions in New York State and encouraged him to support progressive policies. By 1915 Elihu Root, a Republican senator who had won the Nobel Peace Prize in 1912, could call Smith "the best informed man on the business of the State of New York."

In 1915 Smith was elected to the office of sheriff of New York. Three years later he was elected governor. He lost the position in the Republican landslide of 1920, regained it in 1922, and kept it through two more election cycles. As governor he assisted in the creation of the New York Port Authority, run jointly by New York and New Jersey, and he sponsored legislation on rent control; tenant protection; workers' compensation; aid

Alfred E. Smith (center) was the first Roman Catholic nominated for president by a major political party.

to mothers, infants, and dependent children; and regulating women's work hours. He also put Robert Moses in charge of the state park system.

During his tenure as governor he feuded with newspaper publisher William Randolph Hearst and the mayor of New York. Smith's reelection victory in 1926 against a very strong Republican candidate made him the foremost Democrat holding public office in the country.

Smith had been nominated as a candidate for the presidency at the Democratic National Convention in 1924, but the combination of a late start in the hunt for delegates, his Roman Catholic faith, and a fight over a platform plank denouncing the Ku Klux Klan by name led to a deadlock with a southern candidate, William McAdoo, and neither received the nomination. In 1928 Franklin Delano Roosevelt presented Smith to the convention as "The Happy Warrior," and he was nominated on the first ballot, making him the first Roman Catholic ever nominated for president by a major party. His New York accent, his religion, his association with a big-city political machine, and his stand against Prohibition led to a sound defeat by Herbert Hoover in a campaign characterized by appeals to religious bigotry.

After his defeat Smith became involved in the project of erecting the Empire State Building, and he became president of the firm that owned and operated it, a position he held until his death. Although he supported the nomination of Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1932, he became a critic of the New Deal and government regulation of industry. He later joined in the formation of the American Liberty League, a nonpartisan organization devoted to protection of the rights of property and opposition to the "political experiments" being conducted by the Roosevelt administration. Smith supported Republican presidential candidates in 1936 and 1940.

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David Miller Parker

Smuts, Jan Christiaan

(1870–1950) *South African general and statesman*

Jan Christiaan Smuts was born on his family's farm in the Cape Colony on May 24, 1870. The second child in the Smuts family, Jan grew up working on the farm and roaming the Afrikaner, the countryside dominated by Dutch-speaking colonizers in South Africa. At the age of 12 he attended school at Riebeck West, and after graduating he attended Victoria College in Stellenbosch. Smuts graduated with an emphasis on science and literature from Victoria College. Upon graduation Smuts traveled to England on scholarship to study law at Christ's College, Cambridge University. Though he passed the legal examinations that allowed him to practice law in England, Smuts decided instead to return to the Cape Colony and practice law in Cape Town.

Upon Smuts's return to South Africa he practiced law and later wrote for the Cape Town newspaper, the *Cape Times*. He worked in Cape Town as a lawyer and writer until the Jamison Raid, where a militia from the British South African Company led by Colonel Jamison tried to lead a revolt of the Uitlanders, the term for British mining workers in the Transvaal. In protest, Smuts moved to Johannesburg to practice law. After

successfully establishing himself in the mining city of Johannesburg, he was appointed state attorney of the Republic of Transvaal in 1898 by President Kruger, which cemented Smuts's loyalty to the Boer nation-state.

His loyalty to the Republic of Transvaal was strongly evinced during the second Boer War (1898–1902). As the war began to erupt, Smuts helped write a polemic essay, *A Century of Wrong*, to instill support for the Boer cause and to vilify British imperialism. Smuts gained a distinguished notoriety in South Africa for leading a band of Boer fighters in the war. Smuts was a participant at the Vereeniging Peace Conference that led to the Vereeniging Peace Treaty, signed on May 1, 1902, which formally ended the war.

Smuts continued to be politically successful in South Africa after the war. He teamed up with Louis Botha in 1905 to create Het Volk, an Afrikaner political party to counteract the British governing elites. In 1906 Het Volk won the majority in the independent elections in the Transvaal. As a cabinet appointee as education secretary and the colonial secretary, Smuts slowly climbed up the echelons of political power in South Africa. At the constitutional convention in Durban in 1908, Smuts drafted and reworked the South African constitution, which unified South Africa in December of 1909.

With the unification of South Africa, which led to a majority Afrikaner voting population among whites, Louis Botha became the prime minister of United South Africa in 1910. Under Botha Smuts was appointed to positions as the secretary of the interior, secretary of mines, and secretary of defense for South Africa. Smuts came under pressure from his own political party and the press for his numerous cabinet positions, later including secretary of finance.

Although he fought against the British in the second Boer War, Smuts fought alongside the British in World War I. He created the South African Defense Force, which helped with the defeat and subsequent acquisition of German East Africa and South West Africa. As a member of British prime minister David Lloyd George's war cabinet, Smuts was one of the masterminds of the Royal Air Force. Smuts helped lead negotiations toward the end of the war at the Paris Peace Conference of 1919. Smuts also helped conceive and support the League of Nations.

Smuts was the prime minister of South Africa from 1919 until the Afrikaner-dominated National Party defeated him in 1924. After his tenure as prime minister Smuts dabbled in academia, especially philosophy, publishing his book *Walt Whitman: A Study in the Evolution of a Personality.* Smuts returned to politics in 1933 when he again became the prime minister of South Africa. As an ardent anti-Nazi he led the South African effort in World War II, joining British prime minister Winston Churchill's war cabinet. After World War II ended Smuts signed the Paris Peace Treaty on February 10, 1947.

In 1948 the National Party, which supported apartheid, government based upon the separation of races, ousted Smuts as prime minister in the national election. At that point he officially retired from South African politics. Jan Christiaan Smuts died soon thereafter on September 11, 1950, on his family's farm in Doornkloof, Irene, South Africa.

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Brett Bennett

Somaliland

Somaliland is an area along the northeast Horn of Africa bordering the Gulf of Aden, Djibouti, Somalia, and Ethiopia. It is roughly the territory formerly known as the British Somaliland Protectorate and has had a history of unrest and adversity.

In the mid-19th century France gained control of part of the Somaliland territory. At about the same time, Britain became interested in Somaliland as a source of supplying meat to troops stationed in the colony of Aden, where its ships refueled as they sailed to India. When the opportunity arose to take control of strategic parts of Somaliland because Egyptian forces were busy fighting in the Sudan, Britain acted quickly. Negotiations with local Somali leaders led to the formation of the protectorate in 1887. Treaties with France in 1888 defined the borders between the two colonies. The next year Italy established its presence in other parts of Somaliland.

Throughout its rule by European colonial forces, Somaliland was divided by the whim of nations, often causing hardship for the inhabitants. In 1899 the "mad mullah" Sayid Maxamed Cabdulle Xasan began a Somali rebellion against British rule that was to last almost two decades. When the British withdrew to their coastal outposts in 1910, they left the interior in chaos. There was constant fighting among the Somalis and little food available. As much as one third of Somaliland's male population may have died from fighting or starvation.

Britain returned to the interior in 1920 and began a series of administrative and social reforms that were halted by World War II. In 1925 Jubaland, a region in Kenya, was added to Italian Somalia. Shortly before World War II Italian-speaking regions of Ethiopia were joined with the Somali territories to become Italian East Africa. During the war Somalia saw a great deal of fighting, with the British taking control of the Italian districts and ruling a combined Somaliland Protectorate from 1941 until 1950, when the Italian districts came under the auspices of the United Nations.

In 1956 Italian Somaliland was granted autonomy, and in 1960 it was granted total independence. In the same year Britain gave its ill-prepared protectorate independence. At the time, Somaliland had only one secondary school and only a few college-educated individuals. An infrastructure was almost nonexistent, and the indirect rule system used by Britain had not trained Somalis for positions of authority. For a period after 1960 Somalia and Somaliland were united as the United Republic of Somalia.

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Jean Shepherd Hamm

Somoza García, Anastasio

(1896–1956) *Nicaraguan president and dictator*

Founder of the Somoza dynasty, which ruled Nicaragua for 43 years (1936–1979), Anastasio "Tacho" Somoza García became chief director of the Nicaraguan National Guard (Guardia Nacional de Nicaragua) in November 1932, despite his lack of military experience. His rise to political and military prominence can be attributed primarily to his political and family connections and his capacity to charm U.S. policy makers with his fluency in English. Born in San Marcos, Nicaragua, to a wealthy Liberal coffee planter, in his teens he traveled to Philadelphia to live with relatives. There he honed his English skills, taking classes at the Pierce School of Business Administration. In Philadelphia he also met his future wife, Salvadora Debayle Sacasa, a member of one of Nicaragua's most prominent Liberal families. Returning to Nicaragua, he engaged in a number of unsuccessful business enterprises, including a stint as a used car salesman. With the outbreak of civil war in 1926, he joined the Liberals on the side of ousted president Juan Bautista Sacasa, his wife's uncle. A minor Liberal chieftain who led a failed assault on the Conservative garrison at San Marcos, he gained prominence in U.S. military and diplomatic circles by serving as interpreter during U.S.-brokered negotiations between Liberal and Conservative factions.

Under the administration of José María Moncada (1928–1932), he was appointed governor (*jefe político*) of León department and later foreign minister and consul to Costa Rica. Principally by ingratiating himself with U.S. officials and exploiting his family ties, by 1932 he had become the assistant director of the Guardia Nacional, whose main task was suppressing the six-year insurrection led by nationalist rebel leader Augusto C. Sandino in the mountainous north. After being appointed director of the National Guard on the strong recommendation of U.S. ambassador Matthew E. Hanna, Somoza engaged in a series of unsuccessful peace talks with Sandino. On February 21, 1934, in the capital city of Managua, he had Sandino and members of his entourage assassinated, soon followed by a series of massacres of Sandino's supporters, most notably at the Río Coco cooperative near the Honduran border.

Tensions mounted between Somoza and President Sacasa, elected in 1932. In June 1936, Somoza orchestrated a coup against Sacasa and in December, in a rigged election, was elected president with over 99.9 percent of the vote. The same year he published an important book, *The True Sandino* (*El verdadero Sandino*), demonizing Sandino as a criminal psychopath. After 1936 his Nationalist Liberal Party dominated the country's politics. His regime can be characterized as a populist, patrimonial dictatorship that ruled through a combination of shrewd co-optation and violent suppression of opposition. Amassing enormous wealth through exploiting his political power, by the mid-1940s he had become the country's largest landowner, in part by expropriating the properties of German nationals. A staunch ally of the United States in World War II, he responded to mounting domestic opposition in 1944 by reorganizing his ruling bloc, permitting limited opposition, and orchestrating the passage of a progressive labor code in 1945 intended to defuse opposition among the country's incipient urban working class.

In the late 1940s he ruled through a number of puppet presidents elected in his stead (Leonardo Argüello, Benjamin Lacayo Sacasa, and Victor Román Reyes) until his rigged reelection in 1950. On September 21, 1956, the poet Rigoberto López Pérez shot him dead in the city of León. He was succeeded by his sons Luis

Somoza Debayle (dictator, 1956–1963) and Anastasio "Tachito" Somoza Debayle (dictator, 1963–1979), both of whom governed with strong U.S. support. The latter, more avaricious and less prone to compromise than his elder brother or father, was overthrown on July 19, 1979, in the Sandinista revolution and later assassinated in Paraguay by a Sandinista hit squad. Within Nicaragua, popular memories of Somocista rule remain overwhelmingly negative, emphasizing especially the three dictators' cruelty, corruption, and cupidity.

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Michael J. Schroeder

South African Native National Congress (pre–1950)

The South African Native National Congress was the predecessor of the African National Congress (ANC). It changed its name in 1923 to reflect a growing demographic that included members outside of South Africa. The South African Native National Congress was founded on January 8, 1912, in Bloemfontein, Orange Free State (now the Free State), by John Dube, Pixley Seme, and Sol Plaatje in opposition to the South African Native Land Act. The group had existed for almost a century under various auspices with similar goals. However, it was not until 1912 that the group was able to formally gain recognition in South Africa and abroad as a counter to the repressive white rule.

Opposition to the land act began in 1909 when a group of black delegates met in Bloemfontein to object to the act's predecessor, the South Africa Act. This act and those that would come after centered on South Africa's land tenure system. The land act, eventually passed in 1913, was the first law in the 20th century to create group areas. It declared that the whole of South Africa would be exclusively for white South Africans, with the proviso that certain "scheduled areas" would be kept in trust solely for the welfare and benefit of black South Africans. The scheduled areas made up approximately 13 percent of the total land area and were mainly occupied by tribal communities. The act facilitated the formal establishment of African reserves, which would later become a political behemoth under apartheid's separate development policies as Bantustans. Although the population of black South Africans vastly outnumbered white South Africans, only 7 percent of South Africa's land area was set aside as reserve land. The economy of South Africa during this period was highly dependent on the gold discovered in the high veld.

With little else to sustain the growing South African economy, the South African government encouraged mining companies and the resulting offshoots in big cities such as Johannesburg to draw migrant labor from the reserves. In addition to addressing the labor needs of the mines, the act also set out to eliminate independent rent-paying African tenants and cash croppers residing on white-owned land by restricting African residence on white land to labor tenancy or wage labor and prohibiting African land ownership outside of the reserves. Initially, the South African Native National Congress aimed to express dissatisfaction with the Native Land Act as well as the treatment of black South Africans during the South African Boer War.

The founding members of the congress were of an educated and elite background. John Dube was a minister and a schoolteacher; Sol Plaatje (the secretary-general) was a court translator, author, and newspaper editor; and Pixley Seme was a lawyer with degrees from Columbia University in the United States and Oxford University in Great Britain. In contrast to later calls by the African National Congress, the trio was not pushing for the end of British rule in South Africa, just the beginning of equality and representation.

In order to express the group's discontent with the present government in South Africa, they sent a delegation led by W. P. Schreiner to London to try to convince the British government not to accept the Union of South Africa that was being put forward by the Afrikaner government in Pretoria. While it was a futile effort on the part of the South African Native National Congress, it did strengthen the bonds of the members of the new organization. Although initially the organization was elitist, only representing those black Africans with education, it did attempt to represent both traditional and modern elements of African society. Like most groups and organizations worldwide at the time, however, women were not admitted.

The draft constitution of the South African Native National Congress that was put forth in 1912 outlined five basic aims:

- To promote unity and mutual cooperation between the government and the South African black people

- To maintain a channel between the government and the black people
- To promote the social, educational, and political uplift of the black people
- To promote understanding between chiefs and loyalty to the British Crown and all lawful authorities, and to promote understanding between white and black South Africans
- To address the just grievances of the black people

Although the contents of the constitution were not radical, the official constitution was not passed until 1919. The South African Native National Congress would send another delegation to Britain in 1913 led by Sol Plaatje to officially protest the Native Land Act. Plaatje would travel later to Canada and the United States, where he would meet Marcus Garvey and W. E. B. DuBois. The efforts of the group would have little effect until the group became the African National Congress.

See also Afrikaners, South Africa.

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Rian Wall

Soviet Five-Year Plans

The Five-Year Plans (which existed from 1928 to 1990 with the exception of a break from 1965 to 1971) were the means by which the Soviet Union managed its centralized economy. Using the plans, the Soviet Union devised priorities, assigned resources, determined objectives, and then measured the results. What is more, the Five-Year Plans were not only used to achieve objectives in a given time period but were the means by which the Soviet government took and maintained complete control over all economic matters.

The Five-Year Plans came into existence in the Soviet Union in the 1920s. In the years after World War II, this method of top-down planning and control was more or less forcibly adopted by the Eastern European nations that came under Soviet control.

Starting in 1928, there were 11 Five-Year Plans (1928–32, 1932–37, 1938–42 [interrupted by the beginning of World War II in 1941], 1946–50, 1951–55, 1956–60, 1959–65 [designated the Seven-Year plan], 1971–75, 1976–81, 1981–85, and 1986–90).

Immediately after the revolution of 1917 and through the Russian Civil War, the Soviet leadership attempted to manage the economy through what it referred to as War Communism. All industrial and agricultural enterprises were nationalized by the state to better manage what was produced and distributed. War Communism lasted until 1921, when it was replaced by the New Economic Policy (NEP). NEP represented a significant change in the structure of the economy. While heavy industry remained under direct state control, smaller concerns could operate on an entrepreneurial basis. It was, essentially, a small-scale, partial return to private enterprise. Farms were not to be appropriated by the state; they had to deliver a tax but could keep the rest to sell or use as they wished.

NEP was extremely popular not only among the citizens who saw its tangible benefits but among a large percentage of the Soviet leadership. There was, however, a faction that believed that the Soviet Union was so far behind the West that NEP was unsatisfactory. Building the Soviet Union to the point where it could ensure its military, economic, and political survival required effective management of all resources. In addition, as would be made clear by the Stalinist policies of the late 1920s on, exercising control over every aspect of life was considered to be essential.

By 1927, as Jospeh Stalin assumed a more secure position and could begin to impose his policies, NEP's days were numbered. State control would return but in a more effective way than had existed under War Communism. Under this imperative the Five-Year Plans began, the first to be performed from 1928 to 1932.

From the beginning, the Five-Year Plans mainly emphasized heavy industries. First raw materials such as oil, coal, timber, and iron ore had to be extracted. Then factories and even factory cities had to be constructed. The most famous, but not the only one of these, was the city of Magnitogorsk, built to be a major steel producing center. From these factories and centers, capital goods to manufacture other goods would be made and distributed. Population movements to support these efforts, the construction of roads and railroads, and the building of ships, all to support the industrialization component of the plan, were considered and included.

Lighter industries and consumer goods were assigned a very low priority but were factored in to the plan. Every aspect of economic activity was subject

to planning and control, even agriculture, important because although the Soviet Union comprised a huge landmass, only 10 percent of it was suitable for growing crops. The scarcity of food in the years of the civil war through the 1920s was a major source of unrest and possible destabilization.

Each plan was different in that it would emphasize different objectives. In the first two plans (1928 to 1937), creating heavy industry for the Soviet Union was the single most important goal, and all of the plan components were coordinated to support that goal. In later years, there was an increased emphasis on making consumer goods available to the general population. The plans after World War II focused on rebuilding and repairing the immense destruction that had occurred during the war. In the postwar years, there was once again a very heavy emphasis on increasing agricultural production.

The planning of each Five-Year Plan was a process with defined stages, objectives, and roles to be played by the designated participants. Although planning through the years evolved and each was different, a look at how it was done for the second Five-Year Plan gives a good general sense of how it was done.

In 1931 general work on drafting the second Five-Year Plan began. Each department or industry would develop its targets to be reached during the period under consideration. The State Planning Commission (GOSPLAN) acted as coordinating agency. It worked with all departments to adjust targets and prepare a cohesive nationwide plan. In preparing the planners would have to take into account the Politburo's grand objective and required resources. The plan's general provisions with substantial detail were completed by early 1933.

In November 1934, the plan received its final approval by the XVII Party Congress. After approval there might be some changes to the plan, but there were no significant departures. In 1935 and 1936, the changes made to the plan were primarily to increase quota quantities to be produced. In this phase, Stalin often took a more or less direct role in encouraging increases in expectations. There were changes to the objectives in 1936 and 1937.

Officially in 1937, the plan came to an end, and the objectives were considered to have been met. Stalin, however, attacked the alleged success of the plan, stating that the goals and objectives were set so low that no satisfaction could be taken from meeting them. What is significant about this statement is that 1937 was considered to be the worst of the purge years. As perceived political enemies were being rounded up, sabotage and lack of commitment to the fulfillment of the Five-Year Plan was one of the "crimes."

Quotas, or norms, were an integral part of the plans, and the assignment of objectives to an industry or factory percolated down to teams and the individual workers. Meeting one's goals was an important responsibility. In the prison camps of the Gulag, whether one ate or not would depend on whether one met a norm in construction, cutting timber, or mining gold. Outside the Gulag, however, the rewards for production could result in significant rewards. In 1935 a miner named Stakhanov dramatically increased his team's output by reorganizing its work. Stakhanov was made into a hero, and workers who excelled in production were known as Stakhanovites. They were rewarded with bonuses and recognition. A significant problem with this, however, was that often, to exceed the goals, the quality declined.

By the mid-1930s, Soviet steel manufacturing capacity was not far behind Germany. There were, however, many problems that existed throughout the existence of the plans. While remarkable progress was made, there were areas in which the plans did not succeed. Reporting was not always accurate. Inaccuracy was a systemic problem but one that was exploited by managers who could not meet their quotas and so falsified their accomplishments. While the planning was supposed to be coordinated on a national scale, not everything went as intended.

Also, even though everything was theoretically controlled by the state, workers still had a degree of freedom that could make life a nightmare for managers. The workers had to be managed, often with tact and rewards, such as one might have seen in capitalist countries. In the years after World War II, opposition from workers could require sending in the army to use violence to get workers back into the factories.

See also Soviet purges.

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Robert Stacy

Soviet purges

Soviet purges were Joseph Stalin's systematic elimination of dissenters and potential opponents when he was general secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) during the 1930s. Stalin and the Politburo sought to ensure the adherence of the members of the Communist Party to the orders of the Central Committee by eliminating divergent ideologies within the party, creating a monolithic Communist ideology. The Communist Party had regularly used repression against perceived enemies to increase a state of fear in order to establish a pretext for increased social control, yet it had not used this strategy on itself on a massive scale while it was the established governmental authority in the country. The purges resulted in Stalin's complete subjugation of the Communist Party and the Soviet regime, monolithic unity, and loss of intellectualism, leadership, and millions of lives.

After the Russian Revolution, which overthrew the monarchy, the Bolsheviks, or Communists, eventually seized control of the country during a brutal civil war and established the Soviet Union. Vladimir Lenin emerged as the leader of the new regime and began the suppression of non-Bolshevik socialist parties. Following the elimination of rival political parties, Lenin expelled and purged opponents of his own party, using terror as state policy to establish a totalitarian state. He introduced a decree on party unity to thwart future deviations in every possible manner and forbade members to enter factions advocating policies different from those of the established leadership. The Party Central Control Commission was established to maintain political discipline. Lenin did not favor the parliamentary system and created the Orgburo to allocate forces and the Politburo to decide policy to bypass the larger and less manageable Central Committee. In 1917 Stalin was elected to the Central Committee, retaining the position for the rest of his life. Stalin worked to establish the myth that he and his Party Center directed the October Revolution, which resulted in the Communists' rise to power. In 1922 Stalin became general secretary, a position whose influence he increasingly expanded.

Lenin's death in 1924 created a power vacuum for control of the Communist Party and the Soviet Union. Stalin continued Lenin's methods of consolidating power. As general secretary, he kept in touch with Communist officials throughout the country. Stalin removed threats to his power base from within the party. He formed a moderate coalition with Grigori E. Zinoviev (1883–1936) and Lev B. Kamenev (1883–1936), both prominent Communists, to govern the party and maneuvered against Leon Trotsky, his major rival and the leader of the left-wing Communists. Stalin favored establishing communism in the Soviet Union first, rather than the theory of permanent revolution favored by both Lenin and Trotsky. Trotsky was soon expelled from the Communist Party and was exiled in 1929. Stalin then established an alliance with the right-wing members of the Communist Party, led by Nikolai Bukharin (1888–1938), against Kamenev and Zinoviev, who unsuccessfully attempted to counter Stalin.

Those opposed to Stalin favored Leningrad party chief Sergei Kirov (1886–1934), one of Stalin's close associates and advocate of a moderate policy toward the peasantry. Kirov's assassination in 1934 initiated a purge of the local Leningrad party and mass deportations to hard labor camps, known as gulags, in Siberia. Zinoviev and Kamenev, former allies of Stalin, were arrested and executed for their alleged participation in Kirov's murder. The further announcement of the discovery of an alleged plot by the exiled Trotsky to overthrow the Stalinist regime initiated a series of purges in the Soviet Union that reached their peak during 1936–38.

Stalin destroyed the upper echelon of the original committed Communists, replacing them with loyal appointees. Stalin had an effective secret police force, known as the People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs (NKVD). Through intense surveillance provided by a network of informers, the NKVD claimed to uncover numerous anti-Soviet conspiracies. All allegedly dissident persons were accused of crimes, usually fabricated, and were forced to sign confessions that led to sentences of death or to long terms of hard labor. Many of the arrests and sentences were carried out in secret, although some of those charged with crimes received public "show trials," which were trials meant to provide an illusion of justice but in fact had predetermined outcomes.

In 1937, the Politburo issued an order allowing physical coercion, which was used to justify torture and extrajudicial executions by the NKVD. Although the NKVD chief was Genrikh Yagoda (1891–1938) when the purges began, Nikolai Yezhov (1895–1940), nicknamed the "Bloody Dwarf," was chief of the NKVD during the height of the purges; consequently, this period is sometimes called the Yezhovshchina, or Yezhov Era. Toward the end of the purges, Yezhov, arrested on

charges of espionage and treason, was executed and soon replaced by Lavrenty Beria (1899–1953), who became a longtime associate of Stalin.

During the height of the purges, three trials of former senior Communist Party leaders were held; they were accused of participating in conspiracies to assassinate Stalin and other Soviet leaders and of attempting to dismantle the Soviet regime. The first trial in 1936 involved 16 defendants, chief among them Zinoviev and Kamenev. All of the accused were convicted and executed. Zinoviev and Kamenev granted confessions under the condition that their lives and the lives of their family members would be spared. Although Stalin relayed assurances to both men that the conditions would be granted, not only were Zinoviev and Kamenev executed, but most of their family members were arrested and executed as well. The second trial, held in 1937, involved 17 defendants, including Karl Radek (1885–1939) and Grigori Sokolnikov (1888–1939); 13 of the defendants were executed, and four received sentences of hard labor. The third trial, in 1938, included 21 defendants, including Bukharin, former head of the Communist International, former prime minister Alexei Rykov (1881–1938), Christian Rakovsky (1873–1941), Nikolai Krestinsky (1883–1938), and Yagoda. Bukharin agreed to confess under the condition that his wife would be spared; after his execution, she was sentenced to hard labor.

The purges conducted of the military resulted in the execution or incarceration of more than half of all officers. A group of military generals, including Mikhail N. Tukhachevsky (1893–1937), were tried in secret in 1937. The military was left weak, leaving the Soviet Union vulnerable to attack, as demonstrated in the German invasion during World War II (1939–45).

The purges spread to the general population, and the NKVD charged countless commoners with alleged crimes. Amid the Great Terror, Stalin introduced a new Soviet constitution in 1936. Promoted as an instrument of democracy, the constitution stipulated free, secret elections based on universal suffrage. It also guaranteed all citizens a range of civil and economic rights. However, other provisions within the constitution nullified these new rights.

Purges in the non-Russian republics were particularly brutal. The NKVD carried out a series of national operations during 1937–40, targeting specific minority groups and members accused of attempting to destabilize the country. NKVD local officials were assigned quotas for arrests and executions.

In 1938, legislation was passed to halt NKVD operations of systematic repression and executions. However, such actions did not completely end Stalin's use of mass arrest and exile, for he sporadically continued such practices until his death in 1953. Trotsky, the last of Stalin's enemies, was murdered with an ice pick in Mexico in 1940, presumably by the NKVD.

By 1939, all power rested with Stalin and his inner circle. Millions of people had died in the purges. Several hundred thousand had been executed, and millions had been exiled, tortured, and sent to hard labor camps, where they died from starvation, disease, and overwork. Stalin's exact reasoning for initiating the purges is unclear. Although the purges succeeded in consolidating Stalin's control over the Communist Party and the Soviet regime, they severely weakened the country's military, cultural and intellectual accomplishments, and leadership ability. Party congresses met with increasing infrequency, and state power increased. A cult of personality developed around Stalin. During his lifetime, the adoration and reverence among the common people toward Stalin eclipsed that shown toward Lenin.

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Eric Martone

Soviet society: social and cultural developments

Traditionally interpreted in "Western" and "Eastern" (i.e., Soviet and post-Soviet) historiography, the process of social and cultural development of Soviet society reflects the main phases of Soviet societal evolution and all its lacks and advantages.

Strong ideology and total control by Communist Party authorities usually are identified as the main trends in the social and cultural history of Soviet society, and recent years have brought new insight

connected with unofficial (underground, or dissident and samizdat) cultural phenomena studies.

The first decade after the October Revolution was a time of transformation of cultural stereotypes connected with the introduction of Marxist-Leninist ideology that demanded revision of mental reference points and human behavior.

Milestones of cultural and social revolution of that time were introduced by Vladimir Lenin, among them liquidation of cultural backwardness and illiteracy in the majority of the Soviet Russian population, creation of socialist intelligence, and promotion of Communist ideology. These ideas were realized step by step through the introduction of a new education system based on new genres of higher and secondary education institutions, through activation of wide publication activity, and in the course of the establishment of tight and sometimes friendly connections with old Russian intelligence.

New tendencies in art and literature appeared at that time, the most striking and well-known of them represented by Kazimir Malevich in painting; Sergei Eisenstein in cinematography; Maxim Gorky, Mikhail Bulgakov, Isaac Babel, and Mikhail Zoschenko in prose; and Anna Akhmatova, Vladimir Mayakovsky, and Sergei Yesenin in poetry. These works concentrated mainly on the process of adaptation to the new life among different population groups.

It is worth mentioning that many representatives of the Russian intelligentsia could not adapt to their post-revolution motherland; more than 2 million voluntarily emigrated from the Soviet Union, including composers Sergei Rachmaninoff and Igor Stravinsky; ballerina Anna Pavlova; painters Marc Chagall and Konstantin Korovin; writers Ivan Bunin, Vladimir Nabokov, and Alexander Kuprin; and others whose works have become part of world cultural heritage.

A problem of special importance at that time was relationships with the Orthodox Church, which greatly influenced the mentality of a major part of the population. In February 1918, a law separated the church from the state and schools from the church, which caused fundamental religious opposition led by the patriarch Tikhon. Bolsheviks and church opposition resulted in the plunder of church property and utensils, destruction of churches, repression of church leaders and friars, and broad atheist propaganda.

At the period of the New Economic Policy (1921–27), the politics of *korenization* implied increasing attention to national minorities, whose language and traditional culture were introduced in Soviet republics. Reflecting the general liberalization of internal policy inherent to that time, *korenization* was dismantled with the improvement of the totalitarian system and was replaced by a general tendency toward Russification and repression of minority cultures.

During the period of active promotion of socialism in all spheres of human life, significant results were achieved in the area of social and cultural developments. By 1937 overall elementary education had been introduced in the country, the average level of literacy was already as high as 81 percent, and the task of overall secondary education (in villages, shortened up to seven years) had been put forward as had the necessity of medical service in the country. The new so-called Stalin Constitution, adopted in 1936, guaranteed Soviet citizens democratic civil rights and freedoms. Nevertheless, its statements in practice were totally ignored by Joseph Stalin, who successfully created a totalitarian system based on the physical destruction of his opponents and competitors. This tendency was displayed also in the cultural sphere, where artistic works of different genres were evaluated mainly subjectively, and many artists and representatives of science and education were repressed or lost the chance to be published because Stalin did not like their works.

Soviet culture gradually gained a strong ideology based on a new artistic method and style introduced by Nikolay Bukharin and later called socialist realism. Its main idea was that an artist must provide a precise and true picture of real life in its historical development; this picture should be used as an instrument to encourage socialist ideas among working people. To make control over Soviet artists easier, they were united in hierarchical professional organizations totally controlled by party bureaucracy. Nevertheless, even in this hard situation of ideological control, Soviet writers and poets, composers, and cinematographers enriched world cultural heritage by their works.

The struggle against fascists had caused a revision of the ideological implications of the sociocultural internal policy of the Communist Party. The necessity to maintain a unified Soviet society had resulted in slogans of patriotism, unity, and friendship among all Soviet peoples, and the mass media had actively and effectively contributed to the dissemination of these ideas. Theater, literature, and visual art (also in the form of political placards) were used as potent instruments to maintain the Red Army warriors' inspiration and motivation. In this situation Stalin even met with the leadership of the Russian Orthodox Church, and this fact reflects a general amelioration of party-church

relations. Scientific research was concentrated on the improvement of already-existing arms and the creation of the nuclear bomb.

The obvious success of many artists was caused also by the fact that their ideas fit well with the inspirations of the Soviet people. In spite of measures undertaken by the Soviet government to move its most valuable art objects to remote territories or to mask nonportable objects in their places, the cultural heritage in the Soviet Union was seriously damaged during World War II, and many objects were lost for eternity.

Victory over fascism and the general aspirations of the Soviet people had made the World War II the main subject of art in the first postwar decade. At the same time, the destroyed national economy demanded urgent restoration, and this need could be satisfied only by highly educated specialists. Education and science became the subject of special attention in economic development.

At the same time, Stalin started a new phase of totalitarian system improvement that resulted in a new series of repressions and meant the end of the liberalization of ideology. Soon, typical Stalinist forms of culture and society control were restored.

The 20th Congress of the Communist Party and the following dismantling of the personality cult of Stalin following his death caused democratization of social and cultural processes in the Soviet Union and revision of basic ideas, highlighted by literature and art. Responsibility for past mistakes and comprehension of the lessons of the past have become an important subject of discussion, tightly connected with the general problem of fathers and children. For many recognized representatives of Stalinist culture this process was disastrous, and a series of suicides stressed Soviet intelligence.

Phenomena that were principally new in Soviet culture sprang up, including samizdat (i.e., nonofficially printed literature) produced by Soviet dissidents. Artistic comprehension of repression and Stalinist terror became a striking subject of discussion, and rehabilitation of the works of many repressed writers, artists, and scientists took place during these years.

Nikita Khrushchev, the leader of the Communist Party and initiator of the dismantling of Stalin's personality cult, actively influenced the cultural process, trying to outline what he saw as appropriate frontiers of mental freedom. One of the greatest reformers in the history of Soviet culture, he had inspired the abolition of avant-gardist and abstractionist visual art, including the works of Soviet poet, Jew, and Nobel laureate Joseph Brodsky and Boris Pasternak's novel *Doctor Zhivago*.

General liberalization of life displayed itself mainly in big cities (in the "center"), where the majority of the well-educated population was concentrated. Inhabitants of the countryside, in spite of the political rights and social freedoms proclaimed in the Soviet constitution, could hardly explore them in full measure. In most cases they could not even move from their villages because they had no official identification documents at their disposal. Even to apply for study at the university in the regional center, they had to ask special permission to get their passports from local Soviet and party authorities.

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Olena V. Smyntyna

Spanish civil war

The Spanish civil war raged from July 17, 1936, until April 1, 1939, when the Nationalists, led by General Francisco Franco (1892–1975), overcame the ruling Republican, or Loyalist, government to take control of Spain's future. The origins of the war can be found in Spanish political instability, which characterized the early decades of the 20th century, beginning during the rule of Alfonso XIII (1886–1941), who became monarch in 1902.

A military coup led by Miguel Primo de Rivera in 1923 saw the constitution suspended. Further attempts at economic and social change failed to reverse long-term negative trends. After the army withdrew its support, Rivera resigned, and Alfonso XIII was forced to accept free elections in 1931. As a result, Alfonso

relinquished the crown and went into exile, and a republic was declared. In the June 1931 elections the Socialist Party (PSOE) and assorted left-wing parties won a major victory that made Alcala Zamora (1877–1949) prime minister, but he was soon replaced by the more radical Manuel Azana (1880–1940).

A series of reforms that challenged the land-owning agricultural elites and the dominating position of the Catholic Church followed. The 1933 elections saw the right-wing parties, led by the Spanish Confederation of the Autonomous Right (Confederación Española de Derechas Autónomas, CEDA), regain control of parliament (the Cortes); they abolished the earlier reforms. A general strike followed in 1934, and armed rebellion occurred in Asturias. To overcome these divides and in a hope of establishing legitimacy, Manuel Azaña established a broad coalition of the left, which included the communists (PCE, known as the Popular Front).

In opposition to this movement, the right-wing parties formed the National Front, which included CEDA and the Carlists (monarchists) as well as the Falange Española, a nationalist party with fascist sympathies. The February 1936 general election saw a narrow Popular Front victory. The Popular Front won 34.3 percent of the votes, and the National Front gained 33.3 percent. With control of 263 seats out of 473 in parliament, the Popular Front attempted a reform program in agriculture. They also freed political prisoners, banned the Falange, and sent several prominent military officers, such as Francisco Franco, to overseas outposts.

POLITICAL MANEUVERING

Important sections of the military leadership, led by General Emilio Mola, began to discuss what could be done about this government. The issue became more serious when in May 1936 the conservative Niceto Alcalá-Zamora was removed as president and the more left-wing Manuel Azana replaced him. Azaña made Diego Martínez Barrio prime minister on July 18, 1936. Barrio failed to reach a compromise with the opposition, and he was replaced by the more radical José Giral, who armed left-wing groups for possible resistance.

General Mola declared the army in revolt on July 19, 1936, and gained initial but somewhat blundering success in the Canary Islands, Morocco, Navarre, Seville, and Aragon. Francisco Franco, commander of the Army of Africa, joined the revolt and began his conquest of southern Spain. General Mola concentrated his forces in the northwest and took the important naval base at Ferrol. Mola would be killed in a plane crash in June 1937.

Franco commanded the superior Army of Africa, which contained the Spanish foreign legion and over 34,000 men. He moved his forces with the help of the German Luftwaffe to control practically all of southwestern Spain. Most of the Civil Guard and the Assault Guard joined with the Nationalists.

The Popular Front's army was larger than that of the Nationalists and had gained the support of a variety of overseas left-wing recruits, primarily led by communists, who were organized into International Brigades. This also included U.S. volunteers, who served under the Abraham Lincoln Brigade banner. This mix of various national groups and ideologies produced friction among left-wing factions.

The Nationalist side also attracted international support in the form of Lieutenant Colonel Walther Warlimont (1894–1976), a member of the German General Staff. Warlimont became an adviser to General Franco and arranged for the creation of the Condor Legion of volunteers, numbering 19,000 men by war's end, to fight for the Nationalist cause. The Luftwaffe put in the field squadrons of bombers, fighters, and other aircraft to support ground operations. In August 1936 the border area with Portugal fell to the Nationalists after General Juan Yagüe overran Badajoz city, gaining in the process the epithet "Butcher of Badajoz." President António Salazar of Portugal gave his support to the Nationalists and closed the border to the Republicans.

In September 1936 Francisco Largo Caballero (1869–1946), a left-wing socialist, became Republican prime minister. It was during this time that General Franco assumed total control of the army, becoming generalissimo as well as head of the Nationalist state, a position strengthened with the fall of Toledo to Nationalists armies. By November 1936 Nationalist troops under General José Varela, supported by the Condor Legion, began their siege of Madrid, which lasted for nearly three years and ultimately forced Caballero's government to leave the capital.

Benito Mussolini came to the aid of the Nationalists with men and supplies. The Italian Blue Shirt Militia, numbering 30,000, joined 20,000 Italian army soldiers as part of the Nationalist Front. There were also pro-Catholic Irish Blue Shirts who joined the Nationalist side. This Italian force included air force squadrons that joined with the Germans in bombing missions for the Nationalists. In March 1937 the Italian contingents were amalgamated as the Italian Corps. The intensity of the fighting increased at and near Madrid in 1937 in an effort to take the city and cut off Republican

supplies. Battles in the Jarama Valley and at Guadalajara were costly for all sides but left the Republicans hanging on.

In April 1937 Franco brought all the Nationalist groups together under Falange Española control with himself as a supreme leader, or caudillo, an imitation of the titles *Duce* and *Führer* used by Mussolini and Hitler. On April 26 the Germans bombed the Basque city of Guernica, made famous by Picasso's painting that became a tribute to the city's losses. The city was captured by the Nationalists two days later, and the regional capital, Bilbao, fell in June. Santander and Aragon were taken in August, and by October Asturias, including Gijón, had surrendered, giving the Nationalists control of the north.

Tensions mounted in the Republican camp because of Communist Party demands, which Caballero refused to meet. With the coalition threatened, President Azaña removed Caballero and replaced him with Juan Negrín (1892–1956), who allowed the Communists greater influence in the cabinet. This internal strife became outright conflict in Barcelona when in May 1937 the Communists challenged other left-wing elements, such as the anarchists and Trotskyites, for control of local institutions. Death squads killed an estimated 400 people until troops from Valencia arrived.

This event lost the National Front credibility, and Negrín's pro-Communist sympathies gave more and more influence and control to Stalin and his agents. With its intensive bombing campaigns and its more unified military command, the Nationalists in April 1938 broke out of their pocket, advancing to the sea toward Valencia, and appeared ready to encircle Madrid. Negrín launched the Ebro offensive in July in order to reverse these advances, but the losses were very heavy, particularly in International Brigade ranks. The International Brigade elements were eventually totally withdrawn from Spain in September 1938. The Ebro battles also cost the Nationalists dearly; 6,000 were killed and 30,000 wounded. Yet the Republican inability to reverse the tide of war meant that they were now essentially a spent military force without hope of victory.

Negrín's efforts at reform and reorganization also proved futile. When the Nationalist army took Barcelona on January 26, 1939, the Republican government withdrew to the French border. In February 1939 the British prime minister, Neville Chamberlain, recognized General Franco and the Nationalists as the legitimate Spanish government. President Azaña now had no option other than to resign and flee to France.

Splits also occurred on the Madrid front when Republican forces led by Segismundo Casado (1893–1968) formed an anti-Negrín junta. These internal divides saw Communists fight anarchists in the heart of Madrid. Casado realized the situation was hopeless and attempted negotiation with the Nationalists. However, Franco refused anything less than total surrender. The Nationalist Army entered Madrid on March 27 without significant opposition, and on April 1, 1939, Franco declared the civil war over.

The civil war proved costly for Spain in economic, military, and social terms. Although estimates of deaths vary considerably, a general view is that approximately 500,000 were killed, tens of thousands on both sides were murdered for their political associations, and an estimated 10,000 civilians were killed through German and Italian bombing. The end of the war also saw the Nationalists extract a sizable revenge, executing 100,000 Republican prisoners; thousands more died from the conditions of their imprisonment.

The civil war left in its wake a legacy of bitterness. Spanish democracy did not return until the restoration of the monarchy under King Juan Carlos following the death of Franco in 1975. Franco remained the longest-serving fascist dictator of the era. He eventually normalized relations with his neighbors and joined the NATO alliance in the postwar period. Even his sending troops to fight with the Nazis on the Russian front during World War II was forgotten, for he never officially joined the Axis powers.

For many, the Spanish civil war was a precursor to the World War II struggle against fascism. The conflict also revealed the ineffectiveness of the League of Nations in stopping such actions, which were made worse by the neutrality and nonintervention policies of the democratic states. The civil war in military terms became a testing ground for equipment and tactics that would be used in World War II, such as the carpet bombing of cities and the idea of total war.

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Theodore W. Eversole

SS (Schutzstaffel)

The SS was the abbreviated form of the German *Schutzstaffel*, meaning "protection squadron," which began as a small personal bodyguard for Adolf Hitler and grew into a large multipurpose arm of the Nazi Party by the end of World War II. In 1925 the Stosstrupp Adolf Hitler was formed as a group of eight men with the task of protecting Adolf Hitler at rallies, speeches, and other events after the failed Beer Hall Putsch. In 1926 the group was renamed the Schutzstaffel, expanded, and given the role of protecting Nazi Party leaders. The SS remained a small force for the first few years but expanded rapidly after the appointment of Heinrich Himmler in 1929 as its leader. Under Himmler the SS expanded from 280 to 209,000 members in five years. After 1932 the SS wore distinctive black uniforms, changing to army grey uniforms prior to the beginning of World War II. Admittance to the SS was restricted by race to Germans, and the organization had a special interest in attracting "Aryans," blonde-haired, blue-eyed Germans who were viewed as the vanguard of the Germanic peoples.

Under Himmler and his right-hand man Reinhard Heydrich, the power of the SS grew, and it became a branch of the German government under Hitler. The SS assumed the role of guards of the Reichschancellery and later expanded into the first Waffen-SS Division. The Waffen-SS became a second German army (in addition to the Wehrmacht), which was first loyal to Hitler. The SS first exercised its power by carrying out purges in the Nazi Party during the Night of the Long Knives.

Shortly after the Nazis came to power, the SS expanded its role in German politics and society. In 1934 the SS took control over the Geheime Staatspolizei (the German secret state police, known as the Gestapo). The Gestapo was combined with the SS intelligence service, or Sicherheitsdienst (SD), to form the Sicherheitspolizie (security police). Two years later all German federal, state, and local police were absorbed into the SS. The newly established concentration camps came under the control of the SS-Totenkopfverbande (SS Deathshead Unit, or SS-TV). The SS-TV continued to expand with Nazi conquests, establishing new concentration camps. During the war, disabled Waffen-SS veterans often moved into SS-TV units and were sent to work at the concentration camps. Once Germany began to expand, Einsatzgruppen (special action squads) were formed by the SS on an as-needed basis to neutralize threats to Germany. In 1941, as a precursor to the final solution, the Einsatzgruppen moved into the Soviet Union and began the extermination of Jews, Gypsies, and communists.

The Algemeine-SS, also established in 1934, was responsible for race, security, finance, administration, and personnel. Officers were established to help SS officers who had suffered during the struggle for power. Other offices oversaw party and military awards, press and information, and liaison between Himmler and the Four-Year [economic] Plan. Another office controlled the teaching of ancestral heritage, genealogy, and biological research; still another oversaw the welfare of SS mothers and children. Later the Algemeine-SS took on a reserve role, with many of its members serving in other Nazi organizations. The SS Medical Corps provided medical care to SS units in the 1930s. After the establishment of the concentration camps, the SS Medical Corps began experimentations on human prisoners. The most notorious of these crimes occurred at Auschwitz under the leadership of SS doctor Joseph Mengele.

During the war the Algemeine-SS was responsible for executing SS policy in the occupied territories. These were added to the Weimar government records that the Nazis had inherited, making the Nazi regime the most heavily documented government and society in history. Shortly after the Reichstag fire, the Algemeine-SS provided help to the police forces during the roundup and imprisonment of Germany's communists and potential Nazi Party opponents.

The Waffen-SS continued to grow after the outbreak of war and eventually reached 38 divisions. Many were made up of foreign volunteers from occupied Europe. The racial restrictions were relaxed because of a manpower shortage. Some foreign units ended up defending Berlin and Hitler's bunker during the final Russian offensive. Because of their fanatical loyalty to Hitler and the Nazi Party, SS combat formations were given priority when new equipment and new weapons were issued. They also had priority in receiving replacements to cover casualties. Waffen-SS units were feared by the Allies because of their fanatical indoctrination and cruel treatment of civilians and prisoners.

See also Holocaust, the.

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Collin Boyd

Stalin, Joseph

(1878–1952) *Soviet leader*

Joseph Stalin seems to have dedicated himself to acquiring and maintaining political power in the manner of Machiavelli's prince. Unlike the prince, however, Stalin subscribed to an ideology that suggested his priorities while foreclosing certain policy options. As the leader of the Soviet Union from 1925 until his death in 1952, he defended the achievements of the Bolshevik Revolution, pushed through an accelerated and brutal industrialization, successfully waged war against Nazi Germany, and contributed to the division of Eastern from Western Europe in the 1940s.

The man who later earned the name of "Stalin" (meaning "steel" in Russian) grew up in a Christian area of Georgia, in Russian Transcaucasia. Born Josif Vissarionovich Dzhugashvili in December 1878 to parents who both belonged to the legal estate of peasant, he had little money and few opportunities as a child. His alcoholic father left the household during Stalin's childhood and died a vagabond in 1909. Stalin maintained a close, if not affectionate, relationship with his mother.

A good, though not brilliant, student, Joseph initially pursued his coursework diligently, and he continued to improve his Russian. He became critical of the "humiliating regime" maintained by the extremely conservative Russian Orthodox priests who ran the school, however. Around 1895 he became involved in the social democratic discussion circles that had begun to form in Tblisi. His earlier belief in Georgian nationalism was increasingly replaced by a devotion to Marxist internationalism.

Before he left seminary in 1899 (without completing his training), he had organized strikes and protests. In 1902 he was arrested by the czar's police for his activities. He spent the first of several terms in prison or internal exile (usually in Siberia). He attracted the attention of Vladimir Lenin and other leading revolutionary Communists for his ruthless effectiveness as an organizer as well as for his intellectual work on nationality and nationalism. On the other hand, his methods often caused schisms and rendered him unpopular.

When the revolutionary year of 1917 began, Stalin was in Siberia. The Bolsheviks were distancing themselves from the duma, which had been created by the czar in 1905 to placate protesters but which lacked legitimacy. The destruction of life and property during World War I fatally undermined the czar's authority, as it revealed that Russian industrial backwardness meant not only a poor standard of living for the people but also an inability to supply troops or to sustain infrastructure during war. In addition to ending the war, the Bolsheviks promised to build industry and improve agriculture through communist principles.

Stalin generally, though often cautiously, supported Lenin while the Bolshevik leader proposed a radical strategy to bring his party to power. Although important as an adjutant, Stalin did not enjoy the name recognition of Lenin, Leon Trotsky, or Lev Kamanev. Nevertheless, he joined the Central Committee and the Politburo as soon as they were created; he was also appointed people's commissar of nationalities.

During the civil war that followed Bolshevik victory, Stalin was sent by Lenin to Czaritsyn (later Stalingrad) in summer 1918 as special plenipotentiary. His assignment was to secure food from southern Russia with the assistance of a small armed detachment. Stalin butted heads with Trotsky over the conduct of operations against the Cossacks. Before being recalled to Moscow, Stalin had carried out the executions of Red Army officers with noble blood or ties to the old czarist army. Stalin's fears—occasionally but not always entirely paranoia—of betrayal by members of the military and party were already manifest in 1921.

HISTORICAL DEBATE

Historians have debated whether Lenin wanted to prevent Stalin from succeeding him. Certainly Lenin was concerned about Stalin's readiness to use torture and violence instead of persuasion. In the years immediately after Lenin's death in 1924, Stalin consolidated his hold on power by discrediting rivals such as Trotsky and by emphasizing his respect for Lenin's legacy. In fact, he immediately began to distance himself from that legacy by ordering the immediate imposition of agricultural collectivization and by elevating himself above the Communist Party. Furthermore, unlike Lenin, Stalin asserted that the Soviet Union could effect "socialism within one country" and so did not need to await socialist revolutions elsewhere.

Stalin's long tenure as leader of the Soviet Union was characterized by immense gains in industrial production, especially in the decade prior to World War II, often at the expense of human life and of agriculture. He ordered citizens to build enormous steel factories and industrial towns, such as Magnetogorsk; when foreigners visited the Soviet Union, they typically expressed amazement that Stalin had achieved such results while the rest of the world struggled to cope with the Great Depression. Indeed, industrial production quadrupled between 1929 and 1938.

Meanwhile, Stalin collectivized approximately 80 percent of Soviet agricultural land and deported, exiled, or executed millions of peasants who resisted state expropriation of their land and produce. Stalin's determination to acquire foreign currency in order to support industrialization led him to authorize grain exports even in years of crop failure and dearth. Famines occurred, especially in the "breadbasket" republic of the Ukraine. As many as 4 million people died in the Ukraine alone during the 1932–33 famine. Incompetent management and flawed policies, not a lack of grain supplies, caused the deaths from starvation.

Aside from industrialization and collectivization, Stalin also strived to reform the educational system and culture. He made it possible for generations of young people from poor and working-class backgrounds to acquire higher education and respectable jobs. Men who benefited from Stalin's egalitarian measures included several, such as Nikita Khrushchev, who in turn became leaders of the Soviet Union. Within the sphere of culture, Stalin promoted socialist realism, an aesthetic that encouraged artists and writers to idealize peasants, workers, and everyday life under Communism while achieving a certain degree of verisimilitude. Stalin attempted to uproot the Russian Orthodox Church from its place in Russian life, replacing it with the "religion" of Communism. However, neither Christianity nor Islam disappeared from the Soviet Union.

For much of the 1930s, Stalin prepared for imminent war against Germany. Despite the signing of the Molotov–von Ribbentrop pact between the Soviet Union and Nazi Germany, Stalin expected that war between the countries was inevitable. Soviet armament production increased, as did fear of treason and the exile or execution of supposed traitors. During the period known as the Great Terror, in the immediate aftermath of the December 1934 assassination of Leningrad party chief and Stalin confidant Sergei Kirov, Stalin pursued all suspected terrorists and promulgated an edict that enabled an accelerated execution timetable for terrorists. With the assistance of NKVD head Nikolai Ezhov, Stalin organized the arrest of 1.3 million political criminals, of whom almost three-quarters were executed. Approximately 90 percent of all death sentences assigned to pre–World War II convictions for political crimes were imposed in 1937 and 1938. The Great Terror affected enormous numbers of ordinary citizens, but Communist Party elites were also imprisoned or executed in large numbers. Stalin also eliminated officers in the Red Army: 412 of 767 members of high command in 1936 were killed.

Stalin may initially have been shocked by the Nazi invasion of the Soviet Union in 1941, but he quickly recovered and marshaled his infamous strength of will. He spoke to Muscovites about the ideological meaning of the war and the Russian history of valiantly resisting invasions by seemingly superior armies. The "Great Patriotic War" cost an average of 7,050 Soviet lives each day, with a total of 8.6 million soldiers and 17 million civilians killed.

After 1945 an aging Stalin gradually reduced his active involvement in day-to-day government. He oversaw the creation of an eastern bloc of countries sympathetic to the Soviet Union. He also prevented any war hero from gaining widespread popularity and thus from becoming an alternative ruler. He did not appoint a successor before he died in 1952. The de-Stalinization campaigns of the later 1950s and early 1960s could not, however, remove the imprint left by Stalin over several decades.

In fact, opinion polls taken after the fall of communism indicated that a large percentage of Russians continued to admire him, despite the opening of archives that revealed the magnitude of the human tragedy that accompanied the triumph of industrialization.

See also Soviet purges; Soviet society: social and cultural developments.

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Melanie A. Bailey

Stalingrad, Battle of (1942–1943)

The Battle of Stalingrad was one of the decisive battles of World War II. Lasting from August 1942 to February 1943, the battle pitted the forces of the Soviet Union against those of Nazi Germany amid the ruins of the city of Stalingrad. Soviet victory in February 1943 proved a major Allied triumph and a turning point of the war.

On June 28, 1942, the German High Command launched Operation Blau (blue) against the Soviet Union. Blau's objectives were to capture the oil fields and agricultural resources of the Caucasus region and

The difficult Russian winter helped stall the advance of the German Wehrmacht around Stalingrad. The lengthy siege proved disastrous for Germany and began the slow shift of fortunes in favor of the Allies in World War II.

the city of Stalingrad. This task was assigned to Army Group South, a coalition of German, Italian, Romanian, and Hungarian armies. Army Group South advanced through heavy Soviet resistance throughout the summer of 1942 and by August had reached Stalingrad.

German forces unleashed a devastating bombardment against Stalingrad and reduced much of the city to rubble. As German infantry units entered the city, Soviet forces and even Stalingrad's citizens fiercely resisted. Seemingly endless street-to-street and house-to-house combat resulted in heavy casualties on both sides. Snipers hid amid the ruins and inflicted numerous casualties, with both Russian and German snipers earning renown for their marksmanship and lethality.

The Soviet commander charged with the defense of Stalingrad was Vasily Chuikov. Chuikov had strict orders from Joseph Stalin to hold the city at any cost; indeed, Stalin had issued similar instructions to all Soviet soldiers in the famous Order No. 227 forbidding retreat. Particular Stalingrad landmarks were fought over continuously, such as the Red October factories, "Pavlov's House," and a large hill overlooking the city, the Mamayev Kurgan. Although Soviet forces tenaciously defended these sites, by November German forces held 90 percent of Stalingrad.

While Stalingrad's defenders held fast, the Soviet High Command launched a counterattack, Operation Uranus. Uranus called for an assault on the northern and southern flanks of Army Group South. The Soviets deemed these flanks particularly vulnerable because ill-equipped and unenthusiastic Romanian units guarded them. On November 19 Soviet forces assaulted the Third Romanian Army in the north. The following day Soviets attacked the Romanian 4th Army Corps in the south. The Romanians quickly gave way, allowing Soviet armies from both flanks to meet at the town of Kalach and successfully execute a pincer movement that encircled 250,000 Axis soldiers within the Stalingrad sector.

The German commander of Axis forces within Stalingrad, Sixth Army's general Friedrich Paulus, sought permission to fight through the encirclement and escape. Hitler refused, assuring Paulus that Ger-

man relief would soon break the siege. Hermann Göring pledged that his Luftwaffe could supply Stalingrad via an "air bridge," delivering over 300 tons of food, fuel, and ammunition daily. His boasts, however, were wildly exaggerated and only a trickle of the supplies arrived.

The bitter Russian winter, dwindling supplies, and constant fighting severely reduced Axis resistance in Stalingrad. Soviet troops inexorably inched forward, pushing the Germans back to the city center. Paulus was captured by Soviet forces on January 31, along with 22 other German generals. Axis forces finally surrendered on February 2. Soviet forces captured over 90,000 German soldiers; only 6,000 would survive the war and return home.

Germany's defeat at Stalingrad proved the turning point of the war. Germany's reputation for invincibility was shattered, and after Stalingrad the Germans endured a defensive position on the eastern front. The Soviets gained an important strategic and psychological triumph and pushed steadily toward Berlin. Soviet victory came at great sacrifice, however; the Battle of Stalingrad is considered World War II's bloodiest battle, with over 2 million deaths on both sides.

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Daniel Hutchinson

Stilwell mission

Joseph Stilwell (1883–1946) was assigned to China between 1920 and 1923 and between 1926 and 1928 as a military intelligence officer in the U.S. legation in Beijing (Peking). He learned spoken Chinese. Between 1932 and 1939 he served as U.S. military attaché to China. China fought Japan alone between 1937 and 1941, but the United States and China became allies against Japan after Pearl Harbor. The Allies established the China-Burma-India theater of war, and Chinese leader Chiang Kai-shek became supreme commander of the China theater. Since Stilwell was one of the few U.S. military officers who spoke Chinese, he was promoted from colonel to lieutenant general and appointed commander of U.S. forces in China, administrator of U.S. Lend-Lease aid to China, and chief of staff to Chiang in 1942. Although he was a brave soldier, he was the worst possible choice for these positions because he was abrasive, stubborn, and entirely lacking in diplomacy, for which he was called "Vinegar Joe." His earlier experiences in China had also made him contemptuous of Chinese leaders.

Relations between Stilwell and Chinese leaders were bad from the beginning. His first campaign in 1942 to keep open the Burma Road, which supplied China overland, was a disaster and led to mutual recriminations. Stilwell complained that the Chinese forces were unwilling to engage the Japanese, while Chiang countered by complaining about the little aid that he was receiving and expressing unwillingness to step up his efforts until he received more aid. With his tactless ways, Stilwell became the lightning rod in Sino-American relations and caused divisions within the U.S. administration.

He also quarreled with Claire Chennault, a proponent of air power, the commander of the volunteer airmen called the Flying Tigers, and later the commander of the Fourteenth U.S. Air Force, who had Chiang's support for building airfields to bomb Japan. The friction came to a head in September 1943, when Stilwell demanded that Chiang lift the blockade against Chinese Communist Party (CCP)–held regions and use the freed-up troops against Japan.

In the midst of a major Japanese offensive, Stilwell received U.S. president Franklin D. Roosevelt's endorsement that Chiang hand over to him total command of all Chinese troops, and he delivered the ultimatum to Chiang in the most offensive manner, intending to humiliate the Nationalist government.

Both Vice President Henry Wallace and special presidential envoy general Patrick Hurley deemed the way Stilwell handled the situation with Chiang unacceptable. Although the difficult military situation compelled Chiang to accede to the U.S. demand for a U.S. commander for the Chinese forces, he rejected Stilwell as the man for the job, charging that he wanted not to cooperate with the Chinese as allies but to dominate them.

Hurley agreed, reporting to Roosevelt that "there is no issue between you and Chiang except Stilwell," adding "my opinion is that if you sustain Stilwell in this controversy, you will lose Chiang Kai-shek and possibly you will lose China with him." Roosevelt recalled Stilwell on October 29, 1944. His replacement, General Albert Wedemeyer, did not command Chinese forces.

The Stilwell episode was unfortunate because of its effect on Chinese-U.S. relations.

See also Sino-Japanese War.

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Jiu-Hwa Lo Upshur

Sudan under British rule (1900–1950)

After the area of present day Sudan was conquered by Muhammad Ali of Egypt in the 1820s, Great Britain began to exert pressure on Egypt to halt the flourishing slave trade that was prevalent in the area. Strong resistance arose among the Sudanese, who had grown wealthy and powerful from the slave trade. They harassed the Egyptian officials who administered the Sudan until 1883. The British became more involved both due to fears of French expansionism in the area and after the massacre of British troops under General Charles Gordon in 1885 by followers of the Mahdi. Great Britain viewed its interests in Egypt to be under threat and set about to uproot the Mahdist regime.

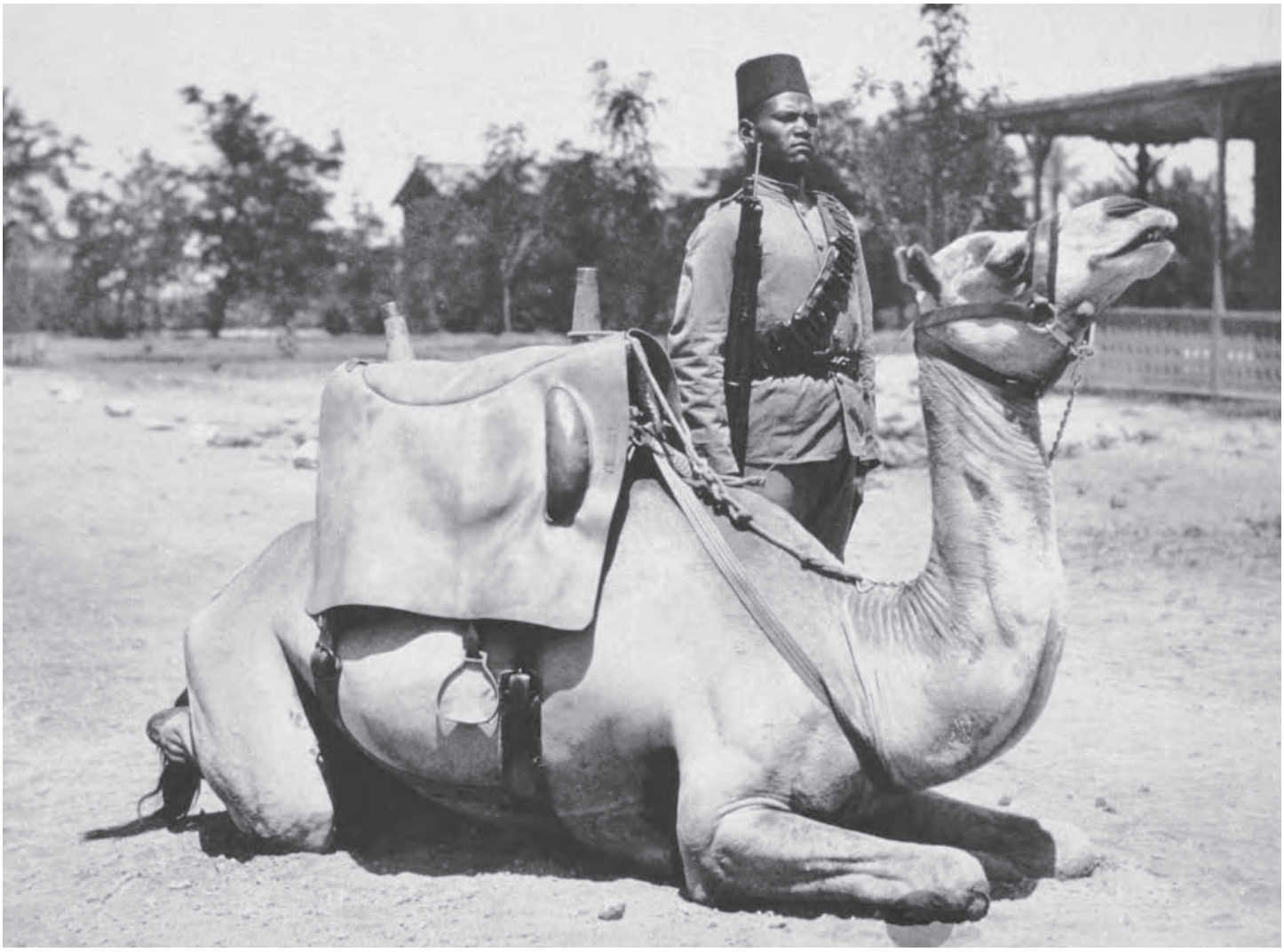
British forces under General (Lord) Horatio Herbert Kitchener concocted a plan to rout the Mahdist forces in the Sudan and bring the Sudan under joint Egyptian and British control in response to French aggression in Fashoda. By September of 1898, the British forces had uprooted the Mahdist regime and stopped the French march. In 1899 the Anglo-British condominium was established, stating that England and Egypt would jointly administer the Sudan. In reality, British officials and Egyptian officials selected by the British administered the Sudan. The British dominated the condominium and crushed many small uprisings throughout the country.

Lord Kitchener became the first governor-general of the Sudan and was followed by his former aide, Sir Reginald Wingate, who served as governor-general from 1899 to 1916. Wingate was knowledgeable about the Sudan and kept taxes light to allow the economy to grow. Railway, telegraph, and steamer services were expanded, although they were heavily dependent on Egyptian subsidies. In 1902 the Gordon Memorial College was founded, which produced a highly educated Sudanese class. However, this new class was not able to find positions in the government, nor were they able to function within the traditional Sudanese society. Frustrated and disillusioned, it is from this class that Sudanese nationalism was born.

These educated Sudanese nationalists were encouraged and assisted by their Egyptian counterparts, who also sought to rid themselves of British control. In 1921 a Gordon Memorial College graduate, 'Abd al-Latif, formed the United Tribes Society and was arrested by the British. After his release he formed the White Flag League in 1924 with the specific goal of pushing the British out of the Sudan. Demonstrations in Khartoum followed in the summer of 1924 but were ruthlessly suppressed by the British. On November 19, 1924, the British governor-general of the Sudan, Sir Lee Stack, was assassinated in Cairo. The British, suspicious that the Egyptians provoked unrest in the Sudan, forced the Egyptians to withdraw from the area. A Sudanese battalion rallied to support the Egyptians but was wiped out by the British. This ended the revolt, and the British ruled the Sudan alone until 1936.

In 1936 Britain and Egypt reached a semi-agreement that allowed the Egyptians to return and once again administer the Sudan jointly. The newly educated class of Sudanese were angered that they were still not involved in the administration of their country and publicly expressed their discontent through the Graduates' General Congress, a Gordon Memorial College alumni association. The congress split into two factions, a moderate and radical branch. The radical faction was led by Isma'il al-Azhari and actively sought Egyptian help in expelling the British. In 1943 al-Azhari's faction was in full control of the congress and organized the Ashiqqa' Party, the first Sudanese political party.

They were opposed by another party formed under Sayyid 'Abd al-Rahman al-Mahdi, the son of the Mahdi. His party, the Ummah Party, used his father's reputation and following to gather a strong base. Both the Ashiqqa' Party and the Ummah Party sought to unify other minority groups under their respective banners. Sayyid 'Ali al-Margahani of the Khatmiyyah Brotherhood supported al-Azhari's party, both factions uniting under the umbrella National Unionist Party in 1951. The rivalry between al-Azhari's party and the Mahdist party would affect politics for years, even after British domination in the region ended.



Anglo-Egyptian Sudan. A camel soldier of the native forces of the British army stands ready. Both the British and Egyptians ruled the Sudan throughout the first half of the 20th century. It was not until 1956 that the country was declared an independent republic.

The British, aware of Sudanese nationalistic aspirations, attempted to incorporate some Sudanese into the government. They established an advisory board for Northern Sudan led by a governor-general and 28 Sudanese, but this was not a legislative body. The Sudanese agitated for more power and for the inclusion of Southern Sudan in the legislative body. Under the British administration, the Christian and animist sects of the south had been ruled and administered separately from the Muslim Arab sects of the north. This division would prove fatal when the British established a legislative body (under pressure) that encompassed all of the Sudan, north and south, in 1947.

This move angered the Egyptians, who then threw out the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty of 1936 and proclaimed sole Egyptian rule over the Sudan. The Sudanese agitated until the Egyptian revolution in 1952 under Gamal Abdel Nasser prompted both the Egyptians and the British to sign an agreement granting the Sudanese self-determination within three years. Elections followed in 1953, and al-Azhari's National Union Party won the majority. Al-Azhari declared the Sudan an independent republic on January 1, 1956.

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Katie Belliel

Sun Yat-sen

(1866–1925) *father of the Chinese republic*

Sun Yat-sen was the son of a farmer from southern China, a region that had the most contact with Westerners. In 1879 he went to Hawaii with his successful elder brother and studied in a Christian missionary school. Later he received a medical degree in British Hong Kong, where he came into contact with anti-Manchu secret societies.

Dr. Sun soon abandoned his medical practice for politics. He first sought out Li Hongzhang (Li Hung-chang), the leading reformer in the Qing (Ch'ing) government, with a detailed letter outlining his ideas. Because Li was too busy with international problems to respond, Sun was discouraged and became a revolutionary, forming the Xingzong hui (Hsing-chung hui), or Revive China Society, in Honolulu in 1895; it quickly expanded among overseas Chinese worldwide and secretly in China.

The society's declared goal was to "expel the Manchus, restore Chinese rule, and establish a federal republic." Its uprising in 1895 failed miserably, and Sun fled to England with a price on his head. In London he was lured into the grounds of the Chinese legation and arrested, but he escaped shipment to China and execution when his teacher, Dr. Cantlie, alerted the British authorities, who forced the Chinese authorities to free him.

A wanted man in China, Sun traveled widely in Japan, Southeast Asia, and the United States to recruit followers and raise funds. Japan had become a magnet for Chinese students, many on government scholarships. It also gave refuge to opponents of the Qing dynasty. There Sun formed the Tungmeng hui (T'ungmeng hui), or League of Common Alliance, in 1905. His ideology crystallized as the Three People's Principles—nationalism (overthrow of the Manchus and international equality for China), democracy (a republic where the people enjoyed the same rights as in Western democracies), and livelihood (land to the tiller and industrialization)—that became the goal of his organization. The Tungmeng hui propagated its ideas in a paper called the *Min Bao* (Min Pao), or People's Report, and competed with Kang Youwei (K'ang Yu-wei) and members of his Emperor Protection Society, which advocated a constitutional monarchy for China.

Sun Yat-sen agreed to step down as provisional president; the following period was marred by warlords in China.

Sun's followers staged 10 failed uprisings against the Qing dynasty. Then on October 10, 1911, army officers who were secret members of the Tungmeng hui rose up in revolt in Wuchang, the capital of Hubei (Hupei) Province on the lower Yangzi (Yangtze) River. The revolution spread quickly through southern and central Chinese provinces. Sun was in Denver, Colorado, on a fundraising tour when the revolution happened, and he hastened homeward. He arrived in Shanghai on Christmas Day to hear that the provisional national assembly meeting in Nanjing (Nanking) had elected him provisional president of the Chinese Republic. He took his oath of office on January 1, 1912. Meanwhile, the Qing court had appointed Yuan Shikai (Yuan Shih-k'ai) commander of its best divisions to defeat the revolutionists. Yuan, however, negotiated with both sides to ensure the abdication of the Qing dynasty, on the condition that he would become president of the republic. Sun agreed to step down because the revolutionaries could not win militarily against Yuan.

Yuan, however, betrayed the republic because he wanted to be emperor. He outlawed the Kuomintang

(KMT, the name adopted by the Tungmeng hui in 1912), which opposed his ambitions, failed to win acceptance for himself as emperor, and was forced to resign. Warlords divided China after Yuan's death in 1916. Sun suffered frustration until 1923, when he made an agreement with Adolf Joffe, agent of the Comintern in China, whereby in return for Russian Communist assistance he would accept members of the infant Chinese Communist Party into the KMT. This agreement began the first United Front. Sun was able to establish an opposition government in Canton, where Russian advisers helped him to reorganize the KMT on the Soviet model. He died in 1925 during a trip to Beijing (Peking), where he made a failed attempt to negotiate with the warlords to unify China.

Sun was a revolutionary and a visionary. He succeeded in overthrowing the Qing dynasty but died before his other ideals could be realized. He is honored as the father of the Chinese Republic.

See also Hu Hanmin; May Fourth Movement/intellectual revolution.

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Jiu-Hwa Lo Upshur

Sykes-Picot Agreement (1916)

The Sykes-Picot Agreement was a secret agreement between the British and the French regarding the dispensation of Ottoman territory in the Middle East. François Georges-Picot represented the French and Mark Sykes represented the British. Formalized in May 1916 at the height of World War I, the agreement was based on the assumption that the Allies would win the war (by no means certain in 1916), and as a result, the Ottoman Empire that had sided with the Germans would be dismembered.

Under the Sykes-Picot Agreement, France was to gain spheres of influence, or direct control, over most of the Arab territories of present-day Syria and Lebanon as well as southeastern Turkey, including the area around Alexandretta. The British were to gain control over much of present-day Iraq and Jordan and areas in Palestine around the northern port of Haifa. The rest of Palestine, including the holy cities of Jerusalem and Bethlehem, was to fall under international control. At the time none of these areas existed as independent states but had been ruled as provinces of the Ottoman Empire since the 16th century.

Under later terms, Russia, an ally in the war at the time, was to receive Armenia and parts of Kurdistan. Russia also hoped that this would mean the realization of its long-held dream to control access into the Mediterranean from the Black Sea through the Strait of the Dardanelles. The Italians, also allies, were to expand in the Aegean and western Turkey around the major city of Izmir. The area of present-day Saudi Arabia was not included in the arrangement because in 1916 oil had not yet been discovered there and the territory was not considered of economic or political importance.

The portions of the agreement involving Russia were nullified when Russia dropped out of the war early through a separate treaty with Germany. Owing to Mustafa Kemal Atatürk's successful military defense of the Anatolian Peninsula, Turkey was not partitioned after the war, nor was it occupied for any length of time. As some British foreign office officials warned at the time, portions of the Sykes-Picot Agreement contradicted the secret agreements made with the Arabs in the Sherif Husayn–McMahon correspondence. The Balfour Declaration regarding Zionist, or Jewish national, aspirations in Palestine, issued publicly in 1917, further complicated the issue of control over that territory.

The terms of the Sykes-Picot Agreement involving Arab territories were formalized in the 1920 San Remo Treaty and in the League of Nations in 1922, whereby Syria and Lebanon became French mandates and Palestine, Jordan, and Iraq became British mandates. Consequently, in the post–World War I era, the Arabs not only failed to receive independence, but they were also divided into separate nations ruled by two different imperial powers. Nor did the Zionists realize their dreams of an independent Jewish state. The consequences of these decisions continued to cause conflict in the region into the 21st century.

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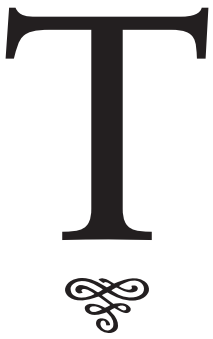
Janice J. Terry



Taisho

(1879–1926) *emperor of Japan*

Emperor Taisho, whose personal name was Yoshihito, was the emperor of Japan from 1912 to 1926, the 123rd ruler of the Japanese imperial line, and the son of the hero-emperor Meiji and an imperial lady-in-waiting, Yanagiwara Naruko. The Empress Shoken Haruko was appointed his official mother. In 1912, he became emperor and took the reign name Taisho.

Taisho's father, the emperor Meiji, was a hard act to follow. Meiji had brought Japan's economy into the modern world, and by the time of his death, Japan was an industrialized nation and a world power. His charisma and achievements transformed Meiji into a persona that was difficult to separate from the institution of the imperial system. His blend of humanity and heroism bolstered the belief in the emperor as a living deity.

On the other hand, Taisho was a sickly man whom many considered not of the same caliber as Meiji. He was expected to have strength and intellectual acumen, to make quick, strong decisions, and to put Japan above all else. Advisers, intellectuals, and officers of the state felt that Taisho bore none of these traits and considered him indolent and impulsive. Taisho lacked knowledge of military strategy and negotiation skills.

Taisho's reign marked the attainment of universal male suffrage, the decrease of monarchical power, and greater freedoms. Historians mark the post–Russo-Japanese War period and the 1912 imperial change as the beginning of the Taisho democracy, meaning universal male suffrage, cabinet governments, and politics based on parties rather than the older fief-based political cliques. After World War I, the Taisho democracy also came to mean the influx of Western lifestyles, individualism, and cultural products. This influx of Western culture challenged the idea that the state was responsible for defining and enforcing proper moral life.

As a child, Yoshihito had suffered from meningitis, said to have affected him throughout his entire life. When he was around 10 years old, his medical condition had worsened and his performance as a student had suffered miserably. Court attendants who had recognized his limitations eventually devised a program consisting of three parts learning to seven parts physical education. He withdrew from the school so as not to damage the carefully constructed image of an institution that did not allow for human failure.

Despite these failings, there were high hopes upon his assumption of the throne. The reign name *Taisho* means "great rectification and reform," and he was pledged to correctness, rectification, and adjustments.

In 1919, Japan attended the peace conference at Versailles that ended World War I as one of the great military and industrial powers of the world. It participated in the proceedings as one of the Big Five powers. Japan also earned a seat on the council of the League of Nations.

In 1921, Japan, the United States, Britain, and France signed the Four Power Treaty on Insular Possessions. They agreed to recognize the status quo in the Pacific region. Japan and Britain also agreed to terminate their

Under the reign of Emperor Taisho, Japan moved toward universal male suffrage and greater influence of political parties.

Treaty of Alliance. It signed the Five Power Naval Disarmament Treaty of 1922 that established an international ship ratio for the United States, Britain, Japan, France, and Italy. It also limited the size and armaments of capital ships already built or under construction. Although the ratio 5 : 5 : 3 : 1.75 : 1.75 allowed the U.S. and Britain larger fleets, it gave the Japanese navy superiority in the Pacific. The original five countries, along with Belgium, China, the Netherlands, and Portugal, signed the 1922 Nine Power Treaty to prevent war in the Pacific by agreeing to respect China's independence and not to interfere with China domestically. Japan also agreed to withdraw its troops from Shandong (Shantung) in China and evacuated troops from Siberia.

The most noteworthy change during the Taisho democracy was the rise of the political parties and the growth of universal male suffrage. Despite the rise of the political parties, the Taisho democracy remained highly elitist and shallowly rooted, resulting in the eventual downfall of the idea of democratic institutions. Emperor Taisho's mental incapacity led to his oldest son, Hirohito, being appointed regent in 1921. Taisho died in 1926.

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Melissa Benne

Tanganyika

Tanganyika is the name applied to a section of East Africa given over to British rule after World War I. The territory had been part of German East Africa, which was captured by Britain. After World War II the United Nations made Tanganyika a trust territory still under British authority. The Republic of Tanganyika gained its independence from Britain in 1961 and joined with Zanzibar in 1964 to form the country of Tanzania.

Tanganyika was bordered by Lake Tanganyika, from which it received its name, the Indian Ocean, Lake Victoria, and a number of African countries. Tanganyika was also home to Africa's highest peak, Mount Kilimanjaro.

The Indian Ocean along the eastern coast of Tanganyika provided ports that proved extremely valuable for the East Indian spice trade and the slave trade. One of the most important ports was that of Zanzibar, which received ships from many European nations. By the mid-1800s the coastal towns became important starting points for Arab trading caravans going to the interior. Recognizing its strategic importance and having taken part in the Berlin Conference of 1885 deciding

Mount Kilimanjaro in Tanzania, formerly Tanganyika

the rules by which Europe would colonize Africa, Germany annexed the territories of Tanganyika, Burundi, and Rwanda as German East Africa.

During World War I Britain invaded and occupied the German colony. In 1914 the Royal Navy took possession of the port of Mafia, and by 1916 the British had spread their presence throughout the colony. German opposition to the British during World War I was led by Commander Paul Emil von Lettow-Vorbeck. His tactics of guerrilla warfare and a scorched earth campaign left the territory in chaos.

The League of Nations gave Britain authority over the Territory of Tanganyika and Belgium authority over the Rwandan and Burundian sections of German East Africa. The Colonial Office in London appointed General Sir H. A. Byatt the first administrator-general in 1921. In 1922 Britain outlawed slavery in Tanganyika, a practice that had continued in spite of earlier attempts to stop it. Indirect rule, which placed native leaders in positions of authority but under the British governor, was Britain's policy in Africa. A legislative council was convened, but it was not until 1926 that it had significant African representation. Britain undertook considerable economic improvements in the area, building schools and hospitals and opening two major rail lines in 1928–29. The capital city was maintained in Dar-es-Salaam.

Economic stability for Tanganyika continued during British rule. The discovery of diamonds by Canadian John Williamson in 1940 and the importance of Tanganyika's rubber plantations during World War II helped the economy. Britain divested itself of many of its colonies and territories during the 1960s, and Tanganyika was given its independence in 1961.

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Jean Shepherd Hamm

Tenente rebellion (1924)

The Tenente rebellion took place in Brazil in 1924 and had the aim of overthrowing the oligarchy that was ruling the country at that time. The revolt rose out of "Tenentismo" politics—the name coming from lieutenants in the Brazilian army who wanted the country to have new leadership. These lieutenants and some others of higher rank took their inspiration from the overthrow of the Brazilian emperor in 1889 and the subsequent establishment of the republic. They viewed the Brazilian armed forces as needing to take on the social function of defending the constitution. To some extent, their beliefs resembled those of the Young Turks and other army reform movements of the 20th century.

During World War I the inability of European countries to supply Brazil with imported goods had led to the enlargement of many factories in Brazil catering to the home market. This led in turn to a large-scale increase in the industrial urban working class and a rise in trade union activism. At the end of the war, the increasingly powerful labor movement was anxious for social changes, and in 1919 a mass walkout by 150,000 textile workers led to rising tensions throughout the country. Three years later soldiers in the Copacabana barracks on the outskirts of Rio de Janeiro openly rebelled under Antonio Siqueira Campos and Eduardo Gomes. Although this rebellion was quickly suppressed, the junior officer corps was becoming increasingly sympathetic to the demands of the trade unions.

In July 1924 there was a mutiny among soldiers in São Paulo, Brazil's second city, instigated by Major Miguel Costa, the commander of the São Paulo state militia. The soldiers declared that they were acting to save the country from corrupt politicians. The actions rapidly turned into a rebellion and drew support from many army officers, including General Isidoro Dias Lopes and junior officers in São Paulo at the time, including Joaquim and Juarez Tavora, Cordeiro de Farias, João Alberto, and Eduardo Gomes. For a month these soldiers were able to hold São Paulo while forces loyal to the government surrounded the city. The government, desperate for a way to break the revolt, used the newly created Brazilian air force to bomb parts of São Paulo. The resulting casualties led to an increase in sympathy for the rebels. A second revolt then broke out at Rio Grande do Sul, the southernmost state in Brazil. There rebel soldiers under Captain Luís Carlos Prestes declared themselves in support of the soldiers in São Paulo. Again, the area sympathetic to the rebellion was surrounded by government troops.

Both the Costa forces in São Paulo and the Prestes forces from Rio Grande do Sul managed to break through the government lines, and they were able to join forces near Iguasu Falls, where Brazil, Paraguay, and Argentina have a common border. At a meeting there, the two forces were formally merged, Costa became the commander in chief, and Prestes was elected chief of the general staff. Soon the force had shrunk to only a few hundred men, with Prestes the acknowledged leader. The surviving rebels soon became known as the Prestes Column, and these men fought their way through Brazil for the next three years in a feat that would be compared to the later Long March of the Communists in China.

Not only were the members of the Prestes Column trying to evade their opponents, they were also eager to gain recruits and mobilize the people against the government. A few town militia groups were formed, but these were no match for the government. The Prestes Column was never able to attack a major city. The Tenente rebellion was a failure, and as the number of rebels dwindled, it began to be seen overseas as a romantic episode in Brazilian history. Prestes himself was to be important in Brazilian politics for years to come. Juarez Távora became governor of northeastern Brazil, and João Alberto went on to become chief of the federal police. Eduardo Gomes subsequently took over the Brazilian air force and contested the presidency in 1945 and again in 1950.

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Justin Corfield

Tojo Hideki

(1884–1948) *Japanese prime minister*

With his bald, bullet-shaped head and large eyeglasses, Hideki Tojo was a definitive image of Japanese militarism writ in human form. But to many of his colleagues in Japan Hideki Tojo was a detail-obsessed, jumped-up filing clerk who led Japan in its largest and bloodiest war without any strategic vision.

Hideki Tojo was born on December 30, 1884, the son of a career soldier who rose to the rank of gen-

eral. Short-sighted and short-built, young Tojo entered military school at age 15, showing no exceptional abilities except one for tackling hard work right away and with a driving purpose.

In 1904 newly commissioned 2d Lt. Tojo was sent to Manchuria, arriving just too late to see battle in the Sino-Japanese War. He spent two dull years on garrison duty in Manchuria. In 1909 he married Katsu Ito, a 19-year-old student at a Kyushu women's college, who was educated. They were a love match. They had seven children.

Tojo served in staff jobs, including with the Japanese intervention in Siberia, before being posted to Switzerland and then Germany as a military attaché, where he admired German toughness in the face of defeat. En route home in 1922, Tojo went through the United States and drew a different conclusion from this brief journey: Americans lacked the spiritual strength of the Japanese.

Hot tempered and with close-cropped hair, Tojo was known to his pals as Kamisori, or "Razor." He worked long hours on his paperwork. Ferocious in discipline, he showed a softer side by providing his men with money when they retired to civilian life.

Tojo rose steadily, if not spectacularly, through the Japanese army. In 1933 he was assigned to head the general affairs bureau of the war office, the army's public relations unit. His message repeated his own beliefs: With Russia, China, and the United States as enemies, Japan had to be on its guard. Tojo got his general's star in early 1935. In late 1935 he got his second star and was given command of the Kwantung Army's military police, or Kempei Tai, in charge of law and order in Japan's Manchurian puppet state, where he suppressed internal and Chinese opposition to Japanese rule with ruthlessness and efficiency. When Japanese officers attempted a coup d'état in Tokyo in February 1936, Tojo stayed loyal to the government and acted swiftly, jailing numerous dissident officers and civilians.

In 1937 Tojo was promoted to lieutenant general and appointed chief of staff of the Kwantung Army. When the Japanese invaded China, Tojo led Japanese troops on a drive that outflanked Beijing (Peking) and resulted in the seizure of Inner Mongolia. It was the only time he commanded troops in battle. He then returned to the Kwantung Army to build up Manchuria's defenses against the Soviet invasion that Japan feared. Tojo was appointed deuputy war minister. Japan was now on the warpath, driving bloody fists deep into China, blasting cities, massacring civilians, and attacking U.S. and British ships on the Yangzi (Yangtze) River.

MINISTER OF WAR

In 1940, when Prince Konoye became prime minister, Tojo was appointed minister of war. That September he ordered Japanese troops into French Indochina, then wrote new regulations for the army that stressed Bushido ferocity, and purged the army's pro-British and United States officers, replacing them with his own supporters.

As Japanese-U.S. negotiations over peace in the Pacific collapsed, so did the Konoye government. As the only man who had the all-important army's loyalty and the only one capable of leading Japan through the war he was planning to launch against the United States and Britain, Tojo was appointed prime minister on October 17, 1941. His contempt for the United States and Britain manifested itself in the attack on Pearl Harbor. As Japan's war leader, Tojo took everything on himself in the best clerkish style. He also appointed himself minister of the interior, foreign affairs, education, commerce, industry, and munitions and chief of the army general staff. He appointed his Kwantung Army cronies as deputies, assuring loyalty if not efficiency.

Tojo's management style stressed details, memoranda, and paperwork. He cleared his desk by the end of each day, worked late, slept only four hours, and worried over small details—even peering into garbage bins on Tokyo streets to see how food rationing was working out.

BANISHED RIVALS

Tojo also spent a lot of time battling his personal enemies. Many of those were of his own creation—officers and subordinates who brought him bad news. He banished potential rivals, like Lieutenant General Tomoyuki Yamashita, the conqueror of Malaya, dispatching him to Manchuria. As the war continued, Tojo concentrated power in his own hands, granting large contracts to cronies and relying on his secret police to maintain order and eliminate dissidents. Yet for all his power, Tojo was not the absolute dictator Adolf Hitler was. As Japan suffered defeat after defeat, his position became precarious. By early 1944 he was jailing right-wing opponents. His roof collapsed when the United States invaded the Marianas, conquered the islands, and defeated the Imperial Navy at the Battle of the Philippine Sea. Tojo kept this news from his citizens, but he could not keep it from his government colleagues. Saipan, coming after the first B-29 raids on Japan, and the British victory at Kohima in Burma, were the final straw. Tojo's opponents now included members of the general staff, admirals, and the imperial privy council.

General Hideki Tojo was instrumental in the rise of the militaristic policy in Japan that culminated in World War II.

They forced him to resign in July 1944, replacing him with General Koiso Kuniaki, who remained committed to the war.

Not invited to serve on the imperial privy council, Tojo returned to his home. He emerged from obscurity on February 28, 1945, at the request of the emperor, to assess the increasingly grim military situation. True to form, Tojo insisted that despite the numbers, Japan's chances were better than 50-50. Events proved him wrong. After a failed suicide attempt, Tojo became the only head of an Axis government to stand trial before the International Military Tribunal for the Far East in Tokyo. On May 3, 1946, Tojo stood before the tribunal, determined to protect the emperor from any blame in the war and refuting the accusations of waging aggressive war, torturing and mistreating POWs, and murdering civilians with a 250-page deposition, which blamed the United States and Britain for the war, claiming the attacks on China, French Indochina, and Pearl Harbor were all self-defense, and showing no remorse for the millions of dead and maimed—only for losing the war. That was his fault, not the emperor's. Tojo called no witnesses.

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David H. Lippman

Tokyo International Court

The Tokyo International Court was appointed by the supreme commander for the Allied powers, General Douglas MacArthur, to implement the terms of surrender for Japan in World War II. Also known as the International Military Tribunal for the Far East (IMTFE), it held proceedings from 1946 to 1948 at Ichigaya, the hilltop headquarters of the Japanese armed forces during the war.

The accused were divided into three categories: Class A included those accused of crimes against peace, that is, planning, initiating, and waging aggressive war; class B included those accused of violating the laws of war; and class C referred to those accused of committing, with orders from above, torture, enslavement, and other crimes against humanity. The IMTFE at Tokyo tried only class A war criminals. Indictments were served against 28 out of 80 suspects in this category. Among them were four former prime ministers, three former foreign ministers, four former war ministers, two former navy ministers, six former generals, two former ambassadors, and three former economic and financial leaders. Others included an ideologue, an imperial adviser, a colonel, and an admiral.

Trials of class B and class C suspects were held by military commissions of the Allied powers, individually and sometimes jointly, across Asia. From 1945 until 1951, about 2,000 trials were held by the United States, the Netherlands, France, China, Australia, and Britain.

In these trials, 920 Japanese were executed and 3,000 were sentenced. Thousands were released with the end of the occupation of Japan in 1952.

In Tokyo, the IMTFE sentenced 16 of the defendants to life imprisonment, seven to death by hanging, and two to varying lengths of time in prison. Of the remaining three, two had died of natural causes, and one was declared mentally unfit to stand trial. The prosecution proved that Japan's domestic politics had been controlled by militarists since the 1920s; that they had conspired, initiated, and waged aggressive war against China, the United States, Britain, and the Soviet Union; and that they had inflicted and condoned violence against prisoners of war and innocent civilians. An appendix to the indictment named 47 treaties, protocols, and international agreements that Japan had violated.

The defense comprised a team of U.S. attorneys and Japanese lawyers. Chief defense counsel captain Beverly Coleman resigned during the trial. Japanese-American lawyer George Yamaoka took on a leadership role thereafter. The defense challenged the legality of the tribunal, arguing that it imposed ex post facto law on the defendants in the form of crimes against peace and crimes against humanity, that judges drawn from Allied nations could not guarantee a fair trial for the defendants, and that Japan's war had been in self-defense after suffering from economic embargo.

The prosecution rebutted the arguments, and the bench dismissed these motions by the defense. The bench comprised 11 judges, one each from the United States, Canada, Britain, France, the Netherlands, the Soviet Union, Australia, New Zealand, China, the Philippines, and India. Sir William Webb, then chief justice of the supreme court of Queensland in Australia, was president of the tribunal. Over the course of the trial, there were 419 witnesses, 779 depositions and affidavits, and 4,336 exhibits. Both in its proceedings and in its judgment, the IMTFE was influenced by the precedent set by the international court at Nuremberg, which had tried war criminals of Nazi Germany in 1945–46.

The bench at the IMTFE arrived at its decisions on the basis of a majority vote. The majority decision on the judgment was signed by nine of the 11 judges. The defense appealed to General MacArthur, who upheld the sentences. The defense appealed again, this time to the U.S. Supreme Court, which voted to hear the case but on review decided it had no jurisdiction.

CONSEQUENCES

The Tokyo trial had important consequences. It served as a vital source of information to the Japanese people about the machinations of military cliques and financial interests within prewar and wartime governments. It formally acknowledged Japan's crimes in the war and laid the basis for vast changes in Japan's new constitution and foreign policy.

Though evidence of atrocities committed by Japanese soldiers in the RAPE OF NANJING, the Bataan death march, construction of the Burma-Siam railway, and the rape of Manila horrified observers, the trial humanized the nation, as it became clear that ordinary people had been ignorant of the atrocities.

The Tokyo trial has been subject to multiple criticisms. On the one hand, from the point of view of victims of Japan's wartime policies, particularly China and Korea, the IMTFE elided issues such as the emperor's responsibility for the war, Japan's suspected biological weapons program, and the sexual slavery of "comfort women" because the United States needed Japan as an ally in the rapidly emerging cold war. On the other hand, according to some scholars, the trial had no basis in existing law at that time.

For Japanese ultranationalists, it was punishment for Japan's challenge to "liberate" Asia from European imperialism. The Tokyo trial was seen as "victor's justice" because the United States was not brought to account for dropping atomic bombs on HIROSHIMA AND NAGASAKI in August 1945.

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ANURADHA CHAKRAVARTY

Trans-Siberian Railway

Construction on the Trans-Siberian Railway began in May 1891. The main part of the system connected Moscow with the port of Vladivostok on the Pacific. Today that system runs between the two cities and a web of other cities for 9,297 kilometers (5,578 miles).

This monumental achievement was undertaken under very difficult conditions. The climate in Siberia and the dense forests, rivers, lakes, and mountains all

presented obstacles to the builders. Materials often had to be transported for thousands of miles. In addition, most of Russia where the rails were being laid was sparsely populated. The railway required thousands of Russian workers, many of them peasants, convicts, and soldiers. During 1895 and 1896 it is estimated that 85,000 individuals were at work on the railway.

Initially, a section of the railway ran through Manchuria, avoiding the difficult construction that would have been faced if the system had been totally within Russian territory. However, after the Russo-Japanese War of 1904–05, officials decided that the route through China was too vulnerable to disruption. An alternate Russian route for this section was completed between 1908 and 1914. A connection between the Pacific coast and Chelyabinsk was opened in October 1916.

At the turn of the 20th century, as links of the railway were completed, the Russian people quickly accepted its usefulness. The number of passengers grew from 609,000 in 1897 to 3.2 million by 1912. World War I slowed the growth of the railway and damaged many of the connections. Transport of troops and supplies clogged the single rail line, which could run only 13 trains a day. A special commission was appointed to make recommendations concerning the rail line. The major recommendation of the commission was construction of a double line. By 1908 over 3,000 kilometers of the second line had been built, and the project was completed in 1918, but not before other events disrupted rail service.

The civil war within Russia did more damage to the railway system than foreign invaders might have. Up until the 1917 Russian Revolution, an international company had a contract with Czar Nicholas to manage the legendary Trans-Siberian Express between Moscow and Manchuria. The trip took nine days aboard a luxurious train equipped with sleeping cars, restaurant cars, a chapel, a music room, and a library. Staff aboard the train included nurses and a hairdresser. The fighting during the revolution not only stopped this train but also destroyed many other railcars and locomotives. Bridges were blown up, and miles of track were ruined. Even with the heavy rebuilding that was needed, the railway was able to reopen in March 1925 and was not seriously interrupted after that.

During the 1920s Soviet dictator Joseph Stalin was able to use the existing railway system to intensify his industrialization of the Soviet Union. However, this plan was carried out by exploiting the resources of rural areas, leading to a near collapse of agriculture and to mass starvation in some of the republics. During World War II, by transporting troops and supplies, the Trans-Siberian Railway and its connecting lines were again to prove essential in the Soviet resistance to German invasions.

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Jean Shepherd Hamm

Triangle Shirtwaist Fire (1911)

The Triangle Waist Company, which manufactured women's cotton and linen blouses (known in the early 20th century as shirtwaists) was the site of New York City's worst factory fire on Saturday, March 25, 1911. The company occupied the top three floors of the 10-story Asch Building on Washington Square in Greenwich Village; its workforce consisted of some 500 young seamstresses, mainly Jewish and Italian immigrants between the ages of 13 and 23, and fewer than 100 men. It had been the scene of a successful strike by the International Ladies Garment Workers Union (ILGWU) in 1909 and early 1910.

The fire began on the eighth floor at about 4:45 p.m. and soon became a conflagration. Because the doors and windows had been locked to keep the workers from sneaking out or stealing and because maintenance had been lax, the new, supposedly fireproof factory turned into a furnace. Most of the workers on the eighth and 10th floors escaped, but on the ninth floor the rear door, which had been bolted, could not be opened. When the rear fire escape collapsed there was no escape route. Many women remained in the building to burn or to suffocate; others jumped nine floors to their deaths with their clothing and hair on fire. The fire companies that responded to the five-alarm fire could do little since their ladders and hoses reached only to the sixth floor and their safety nets ripped under the weight of three or four women at a time. In fewer than 15 minutes 146 workers, almost all women, died.

The fire produced widespread revulsion and rage. The day after the fire over 100,000 people visited the morgue. The owners of the company, who were themselves Jewish immigrants, were brought to trial for manslaughter and acquitted, but in 1914 a judge ordered them to pay $75 in damages to each of the 23 families

who had brought a civil suit against them. The fire also provoked reform measures. New York City established the Bureau of Fire Investigation, which gave the fire department authority to improve factory safety. It also formed a Committee of Safety headed by former secretary of war Henry Stimson.

At Henry Morgenthau's urging, the state of New York empanelled a Factory Investigating Commission led by Robert F. Wagner and Alfred E. Smith; its secretary was Frances Perkins (later Franklin D. Roosevelt's secretary of labor), and it was assisted by investigators from the ILGWU. By the end of 1911, the commission had proposed new laws concerning fire safety, factory inspection, and woman and child labor, eight of which were enacted. In 1913 the commission's work prompted the legislature to pass 25 bills that mandated fire drills, unlocked and outward-opening doors, and building inspections. These laws also increased protection for women and children and limited the practice of piecework. The fire also accelerated efforts to organize factory and sweatshop workers, especially by the ILGWU.

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David Miller Parker

Trotsky, Leon

(1879–1940) *Russian revolutionary*

Leon Trotsky, born Lev Davidovich Bronstein, was a principal participant in the Russian Revolution of 1917, which brought the Bolsheviks to power. Trotsky was born in the Ukraine to Jewish parents. His father, although illiterate, became a successful farmer and landowner, which enabled Trotsky to attend a good school in Odessa. In 1896 he became a committed student of Marxism and joined the Social Democratic Party. Because of his political activities he was sent to Siberia in 1898, where he served four years before escaping. He assumed his jailor's name, Trotsky, secured a false passport under that name, and traveled abroad.

Trotsky joined Vladimir Lenin in London and contributed to the revolutionary journal *Iskra* (spark). After the 1903 split of the Social Democratic Party into Menshevik and Bolshevik factions, Trotsky initially joined the Mensheviks. Upon his return to Russia in 1905, he became active with the St. Petersburg Soviet but again was arrested and sent to Siberia. During that internal exile he developed his notion of permanent revolution, which argued that communist revolution would consume the world as it spread from nation to nation. He believed that since Russia lacked a developed capitalist bourgeois stage it could immediately advance to a proletarian revolutionary state without historical hindrance.

Siberia again failed to hold Trotsky, and he fled to Vienna. He worked as a journalist and between 1907 and 1914 was an editor of *Pravda* (truth). After the outbreak of World War I, he moved to Switzerland and later Paris, where he continued his agitation until expelled from France. He then went to New York City in early 1917 and along with Nikolai Bukharin and Aleksandra Kollontai worked on the journal *Novy Mir* (new world).

However, the overthrow of Nicholas II made real revolution seem a possibility. Trotsky returned to Russia in 1917 and joined Lenin and the Bolsheviks, becoming a critical component in the overthrow of the Menshevik-Kerensky government. What followed was the establishment of the Bolshevik October Revolution under Lenin's direction.

In November 1917 Lenin made Trotsky the people's commissar for foreign affairs, and he was responsible for negotiating with the Central Powers the humiliating peace treaty of Brest-Litovsk, which ended Russia's participation in World War I. He then assumed the position of commissar of war in 1918 and was charged with the creation of the Red Army to defend the revolution. The Bolsheviks faced an unfolding civil war that threatened to end their rule as an assortment of conservative forces attempted to overthrow the October Revolution. To resist, Trotsky built a formidable force of 3 million soldiers. His Red Army fought a brutal war on numerous fronts to a successful end and preserved the revolution so that Communist power could be consolidated.

It was during these years that Trotsky clashed over matters of policy with both Joseph Stalin and Lenin. Yet Trotsky was needed, and his harsh suppression of the antiparty Kronstadt Revolt of 1921 brought him back into Lenin's fold. However, Lenin's health was in permanent decline. Stalin assumed more party roles. He proved himself adept at political intrigue and manipulation, all assets that helped him become general party secretary in 1922. Lenin had reservations about Stalin, but his medical state left him too weak to intervene and save the Soviet Union from a painful dictatorship.

When Lenin died in 1924, power was transferred to a triumvirate of Stalin, Lev Kamenev (Trotsky's brother-in-law), and Gregori Zinoviev. Although Trotsky's Red Army had ensured Communist success, his lack of control of the party apparatus and his failure to gain support in the triumvirate allowed Stalin to isolate him. As part of this process, he was fired as commissar of war in 1925. Stalin moved to centralize authority in his own hands, and Trotsky and the other members of the triumvirate were a threat to him. Kamenev and Zinoviev realized the seriousness of the situation and now sought Trotsky's cooperation in an effort to stem Stalin's rise to total power. This effort failed, and Trotsky was removed from the Politburo in 1926 and eventually the party in 1927. Kamenev and Zinoviev were shot in 1936.

Trotsky's fall from grace was not complete, for Stalin still saw him as a major threat to his own authority and in 1928 had him internally exiled to Kazakhstan. He was then permanently exiled from the Soviet Union in 1929. Trotsky's reputation as a revolutionary made finding a refuge difficult. He initially went to Istanbul, then to France in 1933 and Norway in 1935. Stalin strove to purge the party of all real and imagined Trotsky influences, which led to the great treason trials and purges of 1936–38. In 1936, because of pressure from the government of the Soviet Union, Trotsky was again forced to flee Norway. He moved to Mexico City, where he had the support of some prominent Mexicans, including the artist Diego Rivera.

In Mexico Trotsky continued his attack on Stalin's perversion of the revolutionary dictatorship, and in 1938 he established with other left-wing followers the Fourth International as a socialist opposition to Stalinism. Because he remained a thorn in Stalin's side, he was viewed as a beacon for espionage. Trotsky's days were clearly numbered. On August 20, 1940, he was assassinated by Ramon Mercader, who mortally wounded Trotsky with a blow to the head with an ice pick. Mercader (1914–78), a Spanish communist, was a suspected Stalinist GPU agent who was given support by the Communist Party of Mexico.

He served 20 years for his crime and upon his release lived in Cuba before moving to the Soviet Union, where he became a hero. The Trotsky family, who remained in the Soviet Union, did not survive Stalin's paranoid revenge. Trotsky blamed Stalin for the deaths of his daughters and son. His brother Alexander, although he renounced Trotsky, was shot in 1938, and his sister Olga, the wife of Kamenev, saw her sons shot in 1936 and was herself murdered in 1941.

Trotsky became an influential 20th-century figure, and his intellectual standing and prolific writings made him a figure of importance in revolutionary circles. He remained a symbol for many extreme left-wing parties in the West who found themselves in opposition to both capitalism and the Soviet brand of communism.

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Theodore W. Eversole

Trujillo, Rafael

(1891–1961) *Dominican dictator*

One of the longest-serving Latin American dictators, Rafael Trujillo ran the Dominican Republic from 1930 until his assassination in 1961. For some of that period he was president of the country, and for the rest he was the effective dictator of the Caribbean nation, ruling through hand-picked presidential candidates. Rafael Leónidas Trujillo y Molina was born on October 24, 1891, the son of poor parents from San Cristóbal in the Dominican Republic. In 1918 he joined the country's national guard, which was trained by the U.S. Marines. The United States, having invaded two years earlier, remained in occupation of the country until 1924. Rising to the rank of major in 1924, Trujillo became chief of staff in 1928, ousting President Horacio Vásquez in a coup d'état in February 1930.

In the elections that followed the coup, Trujillo was the major candidate. Trujillo took office on August 16, 1930, establishing a ruthless dictatorial regime that utilized the severe repression of political opponents. After a hurricane destroyed the capital, Santo Domingo, in September 1930, Trujillo set about rebuilding it—it was then renamed Ciudad Trujillo (Trujillo City). In the 1930s, when many European Jews were desperate to leave Germany and other countries, Trujillo encouraged Jewish migration to the Dominican Republic. At the end of the Spanish civil war he also allowed many Republicans to migrate to the Dominican Republic. Although many people hailed this humanitarianism of

the regime, others saw it as an attempt to increase the "white" population of the country at the expense of the blacks. Certainly the black Haitian sugarcane workers were treated harshly. In 1937 Dominican troops were involved in massacring between 15,000 and 20,000 of them, following Trujillo's claims that Haiti—which occupied the other half of the island of Hispaniola—was supporting Dominican Republic exiles.

When Trujillo stepped down as president on August 16, 1938, a friend, Hacinto Peynado, became president, and the ex-president remained commander in chief of the army. In February 1940, Manuel de Jesús Troncoso took office, and on May 18, 1942, Trujillo returned as president. On December 8, 1941, the Dominican Republic, supporting the United States, declared war on Germany. Trujillo's strident anticommunism made him a useful ally for the United States after the war, and U.S. vice president Richard Nixon visited the country in 1955.

Although Trujillo was a brutal dictator and a corrupt administrator, the country prospered under his rule. The Dominican Republic's small middle class essentially arose during his rule. He tried to rule with a veneer of democracy, although his Partido Dominicano allowed very little room for opposition in the political arena. In elections, the Partido Dominicano was usually the only party to put forward candidates.

On May 16, 1952, Trujillo stepped down as president, and his younger brother, Hector Bienvenido Trujillo y Molina, succeeded him. Rafael Trujillo, however, continued to wield the real power in the Dominican Republic. Pressure on Trujillo over human rights abuses escalated.

On March 12, 1956, Dr. Jesús de Galíndez, a Basque who had moved to the Dominican Republic, where he had worked for the government, was kidnapped in New York and disappeared. He had written a book called *The Age of Trujillo*, which was about to be published. It was believed that Galíndez had been taken back to the Dominican Republic and executed there. Trujillo was blamed for this, and the Organization of American States imposed economic sanctions.

On May 30, 1961, Rafael Trujillo was assassinated when machine gun fire raked his car on a highway in the southwestern outskirts of the capital. He was hit five times and died in the street after having managed to get out of the car.

Rumors point to U.S. interests being involved in the assassination to get rid of an international pariah whose repression might have led to a communist revolution as in nearby Cuba. The plot was organized by Antonio de la Maza, brother of pilot Octavio de la Maza, who was murdered in 1957. Many of the family were killed in the wake of Trujillo's assassination, including General J. T. Díaz, who was said to have masterminded it. Trujillo's body was taken to France, where he was buried in the Père Lachaise Cemetery in Paris.

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Justin Corfield

Truman, Harry S.

(1884–1972) *U.S. president*

Harry S. Truman was the 33rd president (1945–53) of the United States at a time when momentous events were taking place around the globe. World War II was nearly over, and other wars loomed on the horizon, while the specter of Soviet communism haunted U.S. policy makers. It fell to Truman to take on these issues while attempting to guide the United States into its role as an emergent superpower.

Truman was born on May 8, 1884, in Lamar, Missouri, the eldest son of John and Martha Truman. Truman studied law at Kansas City Law School but did not earn a degree. His political career began in the year 1922, when he began his association with Thomas Pendergast, a leading Democrat of Kansas City. Truman was elected a judge in Jackson County in the same year. In 1934 he became the Democratic senator from Missouri and supported most of the policies of President Franklin D. Roosevelt (1882–1945). Truman became prominent due to his work on the Committee on Defense Expenditure, where he exposed corruption and profiteering. He was selected as the Democratic vice presidential nominee in 1944 and became president after the death of Roosevelt on April 12, 1945.

When Truman took office, World War II was not yet over. Germany capitulated on May 7, 1945, but the war against Japan in the Pacific continued with mounting casualties on both sides. Still, the Allied forces pressed on, sending strategic bombing runs against Japanese cities from forward Pacific bases. Truman met British premier Clement Attlee (1883–1967) and Joseph Stalin (1879–1953) at Potsdam,

As the 33rd president of the United States, Truman oversaw the end of World War II and the war in Korea.

Berlin, from July 17 to August 2, 1945, to map out the post–World War II world. To accelerate the end of the war, Truman authorized the use of the atomic bomb on Japan, and consequently, on August 6 and August 9, the cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki witnessed the devastating impact of nuclear weapons. On September 2 Japan surrendered formally on the USS *Missouri* in Tokyo harbor.

Immediately following the war, Truman was forced to take a hard-line approach against international communism, particularly with regard to events in Iran, Greece, and Turkey. In Iran the oil-rich province of Azerbaijan was a prize greatly desired by the Soviet Union; its moves were checked by Truman. At the same time, Truman sent U.S. ships to the Mediterranean to prevent Soviet advances in Turkey. Greece, on the verge of a communist takeover after the withdrawal of British troops, was the subject of the Truman Doctrine issued on March 12, 1947. With this, Truman proclaimed that the United States would continue to "support free peoples," a claim backed up with a $400-million aid package for both Turkey and Greece. The doctrine was further buttressed by U.S. diplomat George F. Kennan (1904–2005) with the Kennan Thesis, which called for the containment of Soviet designs. To further prevent Soviet expansion in Europe, the Marshall Plan, created by secretary of state George C. Marshall, provided $12 billion in aid to various European countries, with the thought that American assistance might help reduce Soviet influence. In response, the Soviet Union consolidated its hold on Eastern Europe and claimed that the U.S. was attempting to divide the world into two blocs, further intensifying the cold war rivalry between the two superpowers.

At home, Truman was faced with the massive reconstruction of the American economy following World War II. The transition to a peacetime economy was beset with many problems, including inflation, a shortage of consumer goods, and labor problems. The efforts to stem the earlier depression now came under harsh criticism as both Republicans and conservative Democrats no longer saw the need for the government's involvement in the American economy. In response, Truman presented the Fair Deal to Congress on September 6, 1945. This plan called for increased social security, full employment, public housing projects, the clearance of slums, a permanent Fair Employment Practices Act, and public works projects. It did not meet with congressional approval, and much of the plan was eliminated or reduced in scope.

Truman's agenda hit further snags when in the midterm elections, the Republican Party won control of both the House of Representatives and the Senate. The new Republican Congress failed to pass the proposal for education, social security, the minimum wage, and power projects. Instead, Congress passed the Labor-Management Relations Act of 1947 (also known as the Taft-Hartley Act), which restricted union activities and removed some restrictions on employers. Truman did not sign the bill.

It seemed that the president would not win a second term, but he curried favor with unions, African Americans, urban dwellers, and others. He initiated the civil rights bill in February 1948. Truman also racially integrated the armed forces by an executive order. The Democratic Party was divided, and Truman, with much difficulty, won the nomination to face the Republican Party candidate, Thomas E. Dewey (1902–71). Truman launched a blistering attack on the Republicans and led a vigorous campaign. Few expected him to win, but he proved the predictions of political pundits wrong.

SECOND TERM

In his second term, Truman faced serious crises in domestic and external affairs. The Fair Deal was presented once again. The 81st Congress was also not amenable to his reform agenda. However, the president scored victories in raising the minimum wage from 40 to 75 cents, passing the National Housing Act of 1949 to build low-income houses, and establishing the Civil Rights Commission of 1948. Truman could not

implement many of his preferred programs such as limiting discrimination in hiring due to opposition by some southern Democrats.

Truman's second term witnessed an anticommunist hysteria that swept the nation. The president was charged with being soft on communism. Persons from the movie industry, intellectuals, liberal Democrats, and scientists came under investigation for being suspected communists or communist sympathizers. The Republican-controlled House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) investigated persons with flimsy charges. Alger Hiss, a diplomat, was charged with espionage. Truman launched the Federal Loyalty Program to investigate the loyalty of federal employees. Congress passed the McCarran Internal Security Act in 1950, which barred communists from working in defense plants, and registration of communist organizations became mandatory. J. Edgar Hoover (1895–1972), the Federal Bureau of Investigations (FBI) director, and Republican senator Joseph McCarthy conducted the anticommunist crusade, initiating proceedings against alleged radicals and communist sympathizers.

FOREIGN POLICY

Truman recognized the state of Israel in 1948, and it remained an ally of the United States during the cold war period. Formation of military alliances was another means to shore up the defenses of Western Europe against any future Soviet invasion, and the United States initiated the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) in April 1949. Article 5 of the treaty stated that an attack against one would mean an attack against all.

Meanwhile, Mao Zedong (Mao Tse-tung) proclaimed the Peoples Republic of China on October 1, 1959. Truman's containment policy was of no avail there, and international communism had expanded with the inclusion of the most populous nation of the world. The Soviet Union and China signed a formal treaty on February 14, 1950, cementing their friendship. For Truman the task was to check the further onward march of communism. In Indochina a nationalist-communist battle was being waged against French colonialism in the first Indochina War (1946–54) under the guidance of Ho Chi Minh. It was the United States that supported 40 percent of France's military budget in the war and recognized the noncommunist associate state of South Vietnam in 1950.

During the Korean War, the world was on the brink of a global war. Truman faced a serious crisis when Communist North Korea crossed the 38th parallel and invaded South Korea. Truman ordered the Seventh Fleet to move into the straits between China and Taiwan. The United Nations army operation, which consisted of 90 percent U.S. and South Korean forces, was commanded by General Douglas MacArthur. In November the Chinese interfered, and MacArthur advocated invading mainland China. He was relieved of his command amid much public outcry, and General Matthew Ridgway (1895–1993) retook the South Korean capital of Seoul from Sino–North Korean forces. The war dragged on until July 1953. Truman's popularity diminished, and he decided not to seek reelection in 1952.

He spent his time in Missouri after leaving Washington, writing his memoirs and addressing meetings. He died on December 26, 1972, due to medical complications.

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Patit Paban Mishra

Tunisia

France controlled Tunisia from 1881 but, unlike in Algeria, maintained the local ruler, Bey Muhammad al-Sadiq, who officially continued to rule. By the end of the 19th century, wealthy, urban Tunisians were already seeking more equality under the French regime.

Abdul Aziz al-Tha'alibi became the leader of this group, many of whom were graduates of the elite Sadiqiyya College. Prior to World War I France declared martial law over Tunisia. After the war, al-Tha'alibi attended the Paris Peace Conference but failed to gather international support for Tunisian independence.

Although some French and Italians settled in Tunisia, their numbers were far smaller than in Algeria. Most colons lived in cities, not rural agricultural areas, so they had much less impact on the majority indigenous population than in Algeria, where many colons engaged in agriculture. Also, Tunisia, unlike Algeria,

was not considered an integral part of France. In Tunisia the French established a form of joint sovereignty, much as Britain had in Egypt.

Nationalism continued to rise during the interwar years, and in the 1920s, a Tunisian union of workers, the Confédération Générale des Travailleurs Tunisiens (CGTT), was established. A rival political party, the Neo-Destour, also emerged; its leader, Habib Bourguiba, a graduate of Sadiqiyya and French law school, had been a member of the older Destour Party. Bourguiba's Neo-Destour attracted a younger membership. Bourguiba recognized that the Tunisians would not be strong enough to oust the French by force of arms and advocated a gradual approach. However, the French imprisoned Bourguiba for his nationalist activities.

Tunisia was a major battleground during World War II. After mainland France fell to the German invasion, the pro-Axis Vichy French government continued to rule North Africa, and in 1942 both Allied and German troops landed in Tunisia. The bey and the Neo-Destour Party under Bourguiba both adopted pro-Allied stances in hopes of gaining independence after the war ended. When the Free French took over in the spring of 1943, they deported the bey. Bourguiba escaped to gather support for the nationalist cause. After the war France granted some reforms, to the dismay of the colons, but it did not grant Tunisia independence until 1956.

See also Atatürk, Mustafa Kemal.

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Janice J. Terry

Turkey

See Atatürk, Mustafa Kemal.

Twenty-one Demands (1915)

The Twenty-one Demands of 1915 were Japan's most comprehensive and aggressive plan to control China up to that date.

Immediately after Japan declared war against Germany in August 1914, it sent troops to the German sphere of influence in Shandong (Shantung) Province in China and conquered it. It was part of Japan's plan to take advantage of the preoccupation of Western powers in World War I to expand its control of China. On January 18, 1915, it delivered the Twenty-one Demands to Chinese president Yuan Shikai (Yuan Shih-k'ai). They were divided into six groups as follows:

1. China recognizes Japan's assumption of all of Germany's privileges in Shandong, including control of ports, railways, mines, and other interests.
2. China grants Japan a special position in Manchuria and Inner Mongolia including rights to develop mines and factories, an extension of the existing Japanese lease of Port Arthur and Dairen, and railways in the region from 25 to 99 years.
3. Joint operation of China's iron and steel industries.
4. Non-alienation of coastal areas to any other country.
5. Japan to control the Chinese police and military, and to provide advisers to other branches of the Chinese government.
6. China ordered to keep the demands a secret.

Yuan Shikai was in a quandary because he realized the seriousness of the demands but was at the same time trying to become emperor. He realized that he could not succeed without Japan's blessing. He thus tried to temporize while at the same time leaking the provisions to the press. Yuan was unsuccessful in his attempt to enlist Western support. Japan had already assured its allies Great Britain and Russia that it would not infringe on their rights in the Yangzi (Yangtze) valley and Mongolia, respectively, and the United States merely reiterated its commitment to the Open Door policy in China. Japan offered Yuan a carrot, expressing its willingness to restrict the activities of anti-Yuan Chinese in Japan if he cooperated, then sent him an ultimatum demanding acceptance of the first four groups of its demands while agreeing to postpone discussion of group five to a later date. Yuan capitulated, signing an agreement on May 25, 1915.

Japan's Twenty-one Demands inflamed the Chinese public and stirred Chinese nationalism. In protest, many Chinese students studying in Japan returned home, while merchants in China organized an anti-Japanese boycott. Yuan Shikai's ineffectual response contributed to his unpopularity and the defeat of his imperial ambitions. It also demonstrated the retreat of Western imperialism in China beginning with World War I and the rise of Japan as the imperialist power in Asia.

See also Lansing-Ishii Agreement; Shandong question (1919).

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Jiu-Hwa Lo Upshur

Tydings-McDuffie Act (1934)

With the Tydings-McDuffie Act of 1934 the U.S. Congress created the Philippine Commonwealth and promised self-rule for the Philippines within a decade. Propelled by economic self-interest and xenophobia, the act marked a new stage in U.S. control of the Philippines, a shift from a period of political training to a period of transition toward full independence. It came at a difficult moment—just as imperial Japan was flexing its muscles in the entire Far East—and thus even Filipino nationalists hesitated about independence.

The Philippines had been under colonial rule since 1571, when it first became a Spanish colony. Filipino nationalists, including the general Emilio Aguinaldo, fought and lost a war for independence with the Spanish in the mid-1890s. As part of a larger war against the Spanish, the United States intervened in the Philippines in May 1898 and, after defeating the Spanish, took official control of the country through the Treaty of Paris, signed in December 1898 and ratified by the U.S. Senate in February 1899.

Under William Howard Taft, the head of the first civil commission in charge of the Philippines, the United States retained ultimate control of the country but began a period of political tutelage for the Filipinos. Taft's goal was to develop the political institutions and leadership of the Philippines to allow for a modicum of self-government. Taft, however, favored not eventual independence but "indefinite retention," giving Filipinos control of the local government and an elected Philippine legislature that shared lawmaking duties with a governing body, the Philippine Commission, appointed by the U.S. president.

Philippine control was expanded under the Jones Act of 1916, but executive power remained in U.S. hands. Eventually, political parties coalesced. The Spanish-speaking planter elite, the *ilustrados*, formed the Federalista Party, later renamed the National Progressive Party. The Nacionalista Party was established in 1907. Two Nacionalista leaders—Sergio Osmeña and Manuel Quezon—would dominate Filipino politics for the entire colonial period.

During the early 1930s two factors spurred a reconsideration of U.S. relations with the Philippines, neither of which related to the best interests of the Filipinos. First, economic pressures within the United States during the Great Depression encouraged many economic competitors of Filipino business to push for Filipino independence. After the U.S. takeover of the Philippines in the late 1890s, Filipino businesses had enjoyed duty-free trading with the United States. As the U.S. economy slumped during the 1930s, however, U.S. businessmen began to push for measures that would curtail competition from Filipino businesses.

Second, a number of anti-Asian activists wanted to see the Philippines gain its independence in order to reduce Filipino immigration to the mainland United States. As part of a resurgence of U.S. racism and nativism, the Immigration Restriction Act of 1924 had closed the doors of the United States to immigrants from China, Japan, India, and the rest of Asia. Filipinos, however, could continue to move to the United States because they came from a possession of the United States, not an independent country. Opponents of Asian immigration to the United States thus supported Filipino independence because it would close this loophole.

In 1933 the U.S. Congress passed the Hawes-Cutting Act despite the veto of President Herbert Hoover. This act provided for Philippine independence following 12 years of commonwealth government. Despite its passage by the U.S. Congress, the act was denied by the Philippine legislature, which objected to the tariff provisions. These had been put in place to protect American farmers, who feared the tariff-free import of Philippine sugar and coconut oil. In response, the Philippine legislature advocated a new bill and secured the support of the recently elected Franklin Delano Roosevelt. This would become the Tydings-McDuffie Act.

Public Law 127, the Tydings-McDuffie Act, passed in 1934. The act promised full Philippine independence within 10 years and reorganized the Filipino political system into the Philippine Commonwealth. Under this system the United States administered Philippine foreign relations, defense, and major economic affairs but granted the Philippine legislature and the newly elected president the power to manage internal affairs. But Quezon won a concession: After independence

the United States would only retain control of military bases if the Philippines consented.

In 1935 Manuel Quezon was elected the first president of the Philippine Commonwealth. The autocratic Quezon dominated the commonwealth period, solidifying his hold on power and dealing ruthlessly with political opponents. During his tenure he did little for the rural poor, crushing their protest movements with force. He led the commonwealth until forced to flee the Japanese invasion in late 1941 and died in exile in 1944.

After World War II the United States fulfilled its commitment to grant the Philippines independence. The United States handed over full sovereignty to the Philippines on July 4, 1946, thereby fulfilling the promise made by the Tydings-McDuffie Act 12 years earlier.

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Thomas Robertson

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Ubico y Castañeda, Jorge

(1878–1946) *Guatemalan president*

The president of Guatemala from 1931 until 1944, Jorge Ubico y Castañeda was one of the major political figures in Central America, inheriting the caudillo, or "strongman," tradition from predecessors such as Manuel Estrada Cabrera. Jorge Ubico was born on November 10, 1878, the son of Arturo Ubico, a wealthy lawyer and an active member of the Guatemala Liberal Party. There is a tradition that his surname came from the English name Wykam, and the family originated in Dorsetshire. Jorge Ubico was educated in Guatemala and then studied in the United States and in Europe.

In 1897 Ubico was commissioned second lieutenant in the Guatemalan army; he was subsequently gazetted lieutenant colonel and then became a full colonel in 1916 at the age of 28. He had already gained a formidable reputation for rooting out banditry and smuggling over the Guatemalan-Mexican border. In 1920 he returned to Guatemala City to take part in the coup d'état that propelled General José Orellana into power. Orellana rewarded Ubico by making him a general two years later. However, in 1923, Ubico resigned from the army, disillusioned by what Orellana had been doing.

Deciding to enter politics, Ubico helped form the Political Progressive Party in 1926. A liberal, he campaigned to improve the lot of poor people in Guatemala. He worked in various parts of Guatemala and became the chief of staff of the armed forces and then minister of war before, on February 14, 1931, becoming president for a six-year term of office. His election was unopposed and unanimous. The Guatemalan constitution at the time had a clause forbidding reelection, and this would normally have meant that he would have had to step down in 1936. However, the constitution was amended, and Ubico remained in office until July 4, 1944. Essentially, he was the dictator of the country, presiding over an authoritarian regime.

Ubico's political allies became known as the "Ubiquatas," and they quickly took over the running of the country. To raise Guatemala's foreign revenue, Ubico concentrated on the production of coffee, but the worldwide Great Depression caused major financial problems. In spite of this Ubico was able to massively extend the network of roads throughout the country and improve health and educational facilities. He also passed decrees abolishing debt slavery and introduced strict vagrancy laws, which saw all Guatemalans given identity cards for the purpose of enforcing employment. Many were forced to work on banana plantations for very low wages, and the fact that they could leave did not mean that they could find another job.

As the depression eroded the income that Guatemala was earning, Ubico became more pro–United States. Under his presidency, the United Fruit Company became the major economic force in the country, coming to dominate many sectors of the economy, not just the growing and harvesting of bananas. It operated the telegraph system, the only railway in the country, its own electricity generators, and the port of Puerto Barrios on the Atlantic seaboard.

Throughout the period when Ubico ran Guatemala, he was determined to ensure that his government did not become corrupt and was said to have pored over the account books of government departments throughout the country. He also let it be known that anyone found guilty of corruption was to be instantly punished. His father had promised to shoot him if Ubico was ever involved in corruption himself. However, detractors pointed out that he did not need to be involved in graft. His salary as president was U.S. $120,000 a year—at that time the U.S. president was being paid $75,000 annually. The Guatemalan congress also once met and voted him $160,000 ex gratia payment for services to the country.

Ubico also ensured strong press censorship in the country. On a personal level he was interested in radios and broadcasting, and he regularly made speeches on the radio.

A strong ally of the United States, Ubico was a firm anticommunist. During World War II Ubico was a keen supporter of the Allies and was distrustful of the large German minority in the country. Guatemala did eventually declare war on Germany on December 9, 1941.

After 1939 his regime became more unpopular, with the president reacting harshly in paranoid fear of his political opponents. A general strike in June 1944 led to his resignation. He was replaced by General Jorge Ponce Vaides on July 4, and a military coup on October 20, 1944, swept away his entire regime. He fled to the United States and died on June 14, 1946, in New Orleans, Louisiana.

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Justin Corfield

Union of South Africa

The southern regions of Africa were colonized by the Dutch (Boers), who moved inland after the British capture of the area around the Cape of Good Hope in 1806. The discoveries of diamonds and gold in the region during the late 19th century prompted a wave of European immigration, especially by the British, and led to increased oppression of the indigenous people. The Boers resented the growing numbers of settlers and tried to drive them out. As a result, British troops were sent to fight the Boer War. In the end Britain gained control of several territories on the southern tip of Africa. Eight years after the Boer War, four of Britain's territories became the Union of South Africa, uniting through a constitution that allowed each state to maintain its current franchise qualifications and issuing in the apartheid that was to continue until the 1990s. The union comprised Cape Colony, Natal, Orange River Colony, and Transvaal.

It had taken almost a decade to reach a compromise on the constitution. The Dutch Afrikaners were still a powerful force in the area; in fact, Louis Botha and Jan Christiaan Smuts, generals from Kruger's army, were influential in the design of the new government. Each of the four territories wanted to maintain as much autonomy as possible, while Britain wanted a unified country that could be self-supporting and maintain its own defense. In addition, there were many, including a number of black and white liberal leaders, who felt that the racial separation embedded in the constitution was unacceptable.The constitution that was approved legally recognized apartheid by allowing each of the four states to establish its own policy and required the approval of a two-thirds majority of parliament to effect changes. The constitution also established a British style of government and designated both English and Dutch as official languages. Stipulations allowing for the future incorporation of other British territories into the union were also included. In 1915 South Africa captured Southwest Africa (Namibia) from the Germans. This territory was placed under union rule by the League of Nations after World War I.

In May 1910 Botha became the prime minister, and Smuts became his deputy. The racial mix of the population was approximately 68 percent African, 21 percent white, 8 percent colored, and 3 percent Indian. In spite of their minority in the general population, whites controlled the government and enacted a number of laws that further denied rights to the majority. In 1911 three significant acts contributed to the legalization of racial discrimination. The Native Labour Regulation Act made it a criminal offense for an African, but not for a white, to break a labor contract. The Mines and Work Act legalized the practice of employing Africans in only semiskilled and unskilled jobs. The Dutch Reformed Church Act of the same year prohibited Africans' becoming members, disallowing Africans full participation in the state-established church. The most devastating obstruction to racial equality, however, came in 1913 with the passage of the Natives Land Act. This law, which designated the land areas that could be

A scene from Maritzburg, South Africa, in the early 1900s. As the apartheid system continued, nonwhites received only the most basic education, could not socialize with whites, could live only in specifically designated areas, and had virtually no voice in government.

owned by separate races, gave over 92 percent of the land to the white population. In addition, the legislation made it illegal for blacks to live outside their own lands unless employed by whites as laborers.

Black South Africans had been organizing in opposition to discrimination and were not silent during these years. The African Political Organization was formed in 1902 in Cape Town, elected Abdullah Abdurahman its president in 1904, and had grown to 20,000 strong by 1910. The years immediately before the ratification of the constitution were filled with protests and demonstrations, and in March 1909 a massive South African Native Convention charged those writing the constitution to give all races equal rights.

In 1912 educated leaders of the African population gathered in Bloemfontein to discuss means of protesting discrimination and establishing civil rights for all citizens. Many of these leaders had been educated in England and the United States and believed that the continent had benefited from Western influences, especially Christianity. Although the congress did not call for an end to British authority, it was fully committed to bringing about an end to the systematic inequality in South Africa in a nonviolent manner. John Dube, the first president, believed that they could rely on the "sense of common justice" that was part of the British character. However, Britain was not willing to interfere. A delegation from the Native Congress traveled to England in 1914 to protest the Natives Land Act. They were told by the colonial secretary that there was nothing he could do. In 1919 another group of representatives met in London with Prime Minister David Lloyd George, who said that this was a problem that would have to be dealt with in South Africa.

As the apartheid system continued, nonwhites received only the most basic education, could not socialize with whites, and had virtually no voice in government. In addition, they were required to carry "pass books" that contained records of their movements outside their designated areas. In 1948 apartheid laws were enacted that created 10 "homelands," or Bantustans, where black ethnic groups could live under self-rule but were still under the authority of the central government. The Population Registration Act of 1950 further tightened the bands of discrimination by requiring that every person in South Africa register as a member of one of three racial groups: white, black (African), or colored (of mixed descent). The government assigned blacks and coloreds to one of the homelands. Political rights were restricted to the homeland. In this way the government of South Africa hoped to designate nonwhites as citizens of the homeland and not citizens of South Africa, keeping their control of the nation. In essence, nonwhites became aliens in their own country.

In 1931 the Union of South Africa was recognized as an independent nation within the commonwealth of nations, and in 1961 it gained full independence. In 1994 a black majority was finally elected to parliament, and apartheid was abolished.

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Jean Shepherd Hamm

United Auto Workers

Officially, the United Auto Workers Union (UAW) is called the United Automobile, Aerospace & Agricultural Implement Workers of America International Union. It is one of North America's largest unions, with 950 locals in the United States, Canada, and Puerto Rico and 700,000 members. It was founded in Detroit, Michigan, in May 1935 as an American Federation of Labor (AFL) union.

In 1935 the crafts-oriented American Federation of Labor succumbed to years of demands that it be more aggressive in organizing by industry, not by trade. A caucus of industrial unions under the leadership of John L. Lewis of the United Mine Workers formed the Committee of Industrial Organizations (CIO). Within a year the AFL suspended the CIO unions, leading them to form the Congress of Industrial Organizations.

The UAW was one of the first to organize black workers. Black and white UAW members staged the Flint sit-down strike that began on December 30, 1936, and ended in February 1937 after Michigan governor Frank Murphy mediated and won GM recognition of the UAW. In March Chrysler workers sat down and won recognition of the UAW.

Next to organize was Ford Motor Company, where Henry Ford had vowed that the UAW would organize his workers over his dead body. Harry Bennett got the job of repulsing the union. He set up the Ford Service Department to provide internal security, espionage, and intimidation of union organizers and sympathizers. The UAW fought Bennett and Ford until 1941, when Ford finally accepted collective bargaining with the UAW.

In December 1941, after Pearl Harbor, the UAW executive board enacted a no-strike pledge, and the membership later affirmed the pledge.

After nearly a decade of political infighting between conservatives and progressives in the UAW, the social democrat Walter Reuther became president and held the position for nearly 25 years. His presidency coincided with the peak years of U.S. unionism. Walter Reuther led the UAW as part of the liberal democratic alliance that brought significant improvement to millions of Americans in fulfillment of the promise of the United States. Reuther sought to establish labor as the equal of management and government. He fought to give UAW workers a say over working conditions. Reuther also made the UAW a bureaucratically efficient organization. He surrendered political independence and became a stalwart backer of Lyndon B. Johnson and liberal causes. His dreams fell short as the Democrats split over the Vietnam War and domestic issues and proved unable to complete the promises of the Great Society.

After Reuther died in 1970, the UAW had a series of presidents, none of whom matched his success or tenure. They included Leonard Woodcock, Douglas Fraser, Owen Bieber, Stephen Yokich, and Ron Gettelfinger.

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John H. Barnhill

United Front, first (1923–1927) and second (1937–1941)

The Bolshevik Revolution in Russia in 1917 had two major impacts on China: establishment of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) in 1921 and reorganization of the Nationalist Party, or Kuomintang (KMT), in 1923. The result was the formation of the first (in retrospect) United Front. The Japanese invasion of China in 1937 led to the second United Front.

Sun Yat-sen, father of the Chinese Republic, and his Nationalist Party were out of power as warlords carved up China after 1913. Sun was living in Shanghai in 1919 when patriotic students rose up to demand government reforms in the May Fourth Movement. To tap into student patriotism and learn the formula of Soviet success, Sun met Soviet representative to China Adolf Joffe. Their joint communiqué (January 23, 1923) became the basis for the first United Front. It provided for Soviet aid to reorganize the KMT, and in return Sun agreed to allow members of the CCP to join the KMT as individuals. It also declared that Sun's Three People's Principles, not Marxism, would be the ideology for China. A political change allowed Sun to form an opposition government (to the recognized one in Beijing) in Canton later in 1923. Soviet political and military advisers, headed by Michael Borodin and General Galen (Blucher), arrived in Canton.

Borodin dominated the first KMT Congress, held in Canton in 1924, where the platform mandated alliance with the Soviet Union and collaboration with the CCP that allowed CCP leaders to join the KMT's top councils. Sun sent his chief military aide, Chiang Kai-shek, to Russia to study Soviet military techniques. Chiang returned home to head the new Whampoa Military Academy, which trained officers in warfare and political ideology. The first United Front survived Sun's death in 1925 and the first phase of the successful Northern Expedition to unify China, led by Chiang. After capturing Shanghai and Nanjing (Nanking) in 1927 Chiang purged the Communists from the government and expelled the Soviet advisers, preempting Soviet leader Joseph Stalin's plans to eliminate the KMT and catapult the CCP to power. Thus ended the first United Front. Chiang went on to complete the Northern Expedition and unify China in 1928.

Negotiations for a second United Front began in 1937 as a result of rising public sentiment that all Chinese civil wars should end and that the KMT should lead a united China in resisting Japanese aggression. The movement was begun by students in 1935, picked up by the CCP, and then hard pressed by KMT forces at the end of the Long March. Japan attacked China on July 7, 1937 (the Marco Polo Bridge incident). The all-out war ensured the negotiations, which concluded in September 1937. The agreement provided for two separate Communist armies: the Eighth Route Army of 20,000 men in northern China under commander Zhu De (Chu Teh) and the 10,000-man New Fourth Army in Jiangxi (Kiangsi) under Ye Ting (Yeh T'ing). Both units would fight under overall Nationalist command. The CCP agreed to abolish their Soviet government, cease class struggle in areas they controlled, and obey the Nationalist central government. However, the CCP goal was to exploit the United Front for expansion, as its leader Mao Zedong (Tse-tung) announced: "Our fixed policy should be 70 percent expansion, 20 percent dealing with the Kuomintang, and 10 percent resisting Japan." The United Front collapsed in January 1941 when the New Fourth Army disobeyed orders, and a major clash with KMT forces resulted. Negotiations between the two sides ended in 1943, and the conflict between them remained unresolved at the end of World War II.

See also Mancurian incident and Manchukuo; Sino-Japanese War; Xi'an incident.

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Jiu-Hwa Lo Upshur

United Fruit Company

United Fruit was one of the largest multinational companies in the early 20th century. In 1954 it lobbied the U.S. government to overthrow the elected government of Guatemala. Formed in 1898 by the merger

Workers at the United Fruit Company. The company dominated the banana trade from Latin America to the United States.

of Boston Fruit Company and Tropical Trading and Transport Company, United Fruit dominated all aspects of the banana trade from Latin America to the United States. Because of this control the company was able to dictate terms and conditions regarding taxes and land purchases to the governments of Latin America. This began coming to an end after World War II. With the end of the war, workers unionized, and countries wanted more control of their resources. The harshest response to this trend was the coup that unseated the democratically elected government of Guatemala. United Fruit's share of the banana market slid from 80 percent in 1950 to 34 percent in 1973.

When United Fruit was founded in 1898, the two companies that merged brought mutually beneficial resources to the merger. The Boston Fruit Company controlled banana sales along the northeast coast of the United States, had a fleet of steamships, and owned land in the Caribbean. Tropical Trading and Transport Company owned land in South and Central America, had a railroad there, and controlled much of the sales of bananas along the southeast coast of the United States. The newly created company had control of the banana from growth to sale. The company used bribes and threats of U.S. government intervention in Latin American countries. The company also bought rival businesses to increase its control of the industry, and by the early 1900s, United Fruit controlled at least 8 percent of all banana imports in the United States.

With the end of World War II, United Fruit began to have problems. One of these was Guatemala. The first leftist government was elected by the people in 1951. The government, led by Jacobo Arbenz Guzmán, wanted to develop a broader base for the economy, which included land reform.

United Fruit and the U.S. government claimed that Arbenz was a communist. In 1953 the company supported a coup by a small part of the Guatemalan army, which the government was able to put down. Then, in 1954 the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) got involved. Fearing the spread of communism, a fear shared by United Fruit, the CIA supported a coup against the government, which succeeded. Arbenz resigned his position, and Guatemala returned to rule by a right-wing dictator.

The coup did not have the effect United Fruit had hoped for. President Dwight Eisenhower faced criticism from other nations over the CIA's involvement in the coup. Then the U.S. Justice Department took United Fruit to court under the Sherman Anti-Trust and Wilson Acts because of its monopoly on the banana market. Ultimately, the company was forced to divest itself of part of its banana business and was prohibited from buying any other banana production companies.

After the coup, United Fruit found that it was viewed with hostility by other Latin American countries. Workers' rights were now being supported by local governments, which increased the costs United Fruit incurred to grow and harvest the bananas. In an attempt to improve its position, United Fruit began selling off land and buying more bananas from local producers. The company continued to move away from controlling the entire process of bringing the bananas to market and moved to diversify its business.

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Dallace W. Unger, Jr.

urbanization

The term *urbanization* is commonly misused. Frequently and mistakenly, urbanization is employed to mean urban growth. When used correctly, however, urbanization refers to the increased degree of urban development within a region or a nation, that is, a defined geographical area, while urban growth, when used in its proper form, relates to the rate at which an urban area or urban population increases within a given timeframe relative to its size at the beginning of that time period. Furthermore, what makes urbanization different from urban growth is that urbanization has two marked urban features. The first characteristic is that urbanization can be used to describe the proportion of a total area or total population in urban situations such as towns and cities. Second, the term refers to an increased urban proportion during a given timeframe relative to its size at the start of the defined chronological era.

Irrespective of geographical location, the impact and effects of urbanization can be extremely troublesome. In Britain, for instance, although rapid urban growth and urbanization occurred beginning in the late 1800s and continued into the 1900s, its effects were still being felt in the 20th century. To illustrate this point, by as late as 1945 large parts of British cities contained poor-quality housing within which the laboring population resided, often in cramped conditions with few amenities. Furthermore, problems such as dirt, disease, and social deprivation can be exacerbated by urbanization, and such were the effects of urbanization that by as early as 1842 the British parliament debated its management due to its already perceived threat to national economic development. Consequently, the British embarked on a process of public health and new, privately built housing so as to make living conditions better. Importantly, by about 1900, this system had not only incorporated slum clearance but had expanded to such a degree as to include the arranging of the urban form, which in Britain became known as "town planning."

One of the largest influences on the increasing degree of urban development in a given place is industrialization, which has to some extent affected all the world's continents. The process of social and economic change that leads a society to shift from a largely agrarian to an industrial nature began in 1700s England and was closely associated with the development of new technologies and business practices, particularly the application of power-driven machinery within factory units. Although it is not necessary to describe in detail the history and evolution of industrialization, it is necessary to emphasize that it has led to many fundamental changes within societies, including:

- The rise of manufactured goods.
- A decline in the significance of the agricultural industrial sector.
- A rise (per capita) in income.
- Increased rates of urban growth.
- Increases in population sizes as a result of changing birth and death rates.
- Changes in social structures and the erosion of preindustrial social hierarchies.
- A growth in the influence of towns and cities over their hinterland, that is, the land that borders an urban settlement.
- The appearance of new lifestyles and attitudes, which may become apparent by influencing the composition of the political system. In many countries political systems have been reshaped as a result of urban development.
- Environmental degradation in and around urban places, such the hinterland. This can mean the destruction of flora and the death of animals such as fish or woodland creatures due to increased levels of water or air pollution and the clearing of animal habitats to provide new land for urban construction as part of the process of suburbanization.
- Marked levels of growth of preexisting urban problems, such as waterborne disease.
- The erection of often large-sized districts of poor-quality, overcrowded housing units in proximity to sources of employment. Regardless of the geographical location, a major effect of urbanization is lowering of the environmental quality. Even new housing can become subject to environmental degradation, which in time may in turn lead to its becoming a slum.

With regard to the effects of urbanization, it would be wrong to assume that although the 1900s was a time of much social, cultural, and economic development, the effects of urbanization were less than in prior historic times. Indeed, in spite of the actual time when urban problems occur, their nature can still be powerful and

can have major repercussions for not only the quality of the environment but also the quality of people's lives. Where problems affect large numbers of people throughout a region or a nation, the potential for social unrest is increased, and consequently those in positions of authority may have to respond to the threat by altering the nature of a nation's political system. However, it is also important to comprehend that urban difficulties arising from urban growth, especially rapid urban development, may influence the economic, social, and cultural values of a nation as well, and this can be expressed in many distinct ways.

By way of example, the shifting nature of a society due to urbanization may result in both the changing appearance and the urban morphology of existing towns and cities. Furthermore, it may also lead to the swamping of existing administrative structures used to protect the urban environment, as problems like poverty, poor sanitation, dirt, disease, and overcrowding show. As a consequence of these and other problems, governments at both the local and national levels may be required to quickly establish new means to deal with urban problems so as to help improve the public's quality of life. These effects have also been the source of academic research, and their study has led to the making of many urban study schools, such as the Chicago School of Urban Sociology in the 1930s.

In time, though, the broadening of policies by governments can begin to include wider social and environmental measures, including the protection of land surrounding urban settlements, the establishment of national parks, and the creation of rigid systems of regulation relating to new urban development so that not only can the local ecology be protected but also urban dwellers as a right can enjoy a clean, healthy, and safe living environment, something that was once a privilege of the urban rich only.

Global society has fundamentally changed since the rise of industrialization, which as noted previously first occurred in Britain. One such change has been the altering of patterns of urbanization to such a degree that many of the world's industrial societies are also predominantly urban societies. Urbanization has thus been a major global cultural change following the growth of the manufacturing industry in Europe. This urban development process has been fueled in many places by other changes, like the development of transportation technologies that have helped increase the distance between home and the workplace, and thus has led to significant increases in the amount of suburbanization occurring throughout the world. The growth of transportation means like the tram, train, and car have, since the early 1900s, broken traditional relationships that existed between urban space and time as people have over time become increasingly able to commute from one urban district to another. In addition, government policies relating to the lowering of ticket prices for public transport systems in the metropolitan context have allowed people with less disposable finance to still have the freedom to live and work in places often a great distance from each other. However, as public transport has become more widely available to all social classes, it has consequently increased the urban sprawl of settlements and therefore the impact of the local place upon its surrounding environments.

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Ian Morley

V

Valera, Éamon de

(1882–1975) *Irish nationalist and president*

Éamon de Valera was the dominant Irish nationalist leader for much of the 20th century. De Valera was born in New York City but was raised in Ireland by his mother's family. After attending a university he joined the Irish Volunteers. He participated in the Easter Rebellion of 1916. De Valera was captured and sentenced to death, but legal delays saved his life. He was released in a general amnesty in 1917.

He was elected to the British House of Commons and served as president of Sinn Féin. In 1918 he won election to the Irish parliament. The Irish conflict with the British broke out into the Irish War of Independence. Michael Collins was de Valera's main political rival during this era. De Valera became president of the republic in 1921. De Valera vigorously opposed the treaty with the British, particularly the oath of allegiance to the king of England. De Valera's inflamed rhetoric against the treaty contributed to the outbreak of civil war in 1922. The war lasted one year until the protreaty Free State forces defeated the antitreaty IRA.

In 1926 de Valera established the Fianna Fáil (Soldiers of Destiny) political party, which remained the dominant political force for the next 50 years. De Valera served as the first Taoiseach from 1937 to 1948. He lost the 1948 election but returned to power in the 1950s. He forced through a new constitution in 1937 whereby *Eire* became the new name for the nation, the president of Ireland was elected in a popular vote, and the "special position" of the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland was recognized. The Irish language, along with English, became the official national language. De Valera maintained Irish neutrality in World War II. His final term ended in 1973, when he was 91. De Valera died in Dublin in 1975.

See also Irish independence.

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Janice J. Terry

Vargas, Getúlio

(1883–1954) *Brazilian president*

Getúlio Vargas served as president of Brazil for almost 20 years. Between 1930 and 1945 he filled the role of provisional president, elected leader, and dictator. Between 1951 and 1954 he held the presidential office by means of a democratic election. During his tenure he worked to modernize Brazil, advancing social reform programs, extended suffrage, and organized labor. However, Vargas's government also gained a reputation as a repressive state as he disbanded congress, cancelled elections, gained state control over newspapers and labor unions, and even overthrew his own government to install himself as dictator.

Vargas was born in 1883 in rural Rio Grande do Sul to a wealthy cattle ranching family. As a young man he served briefly in the army before entering law school, where he distinguished himself as a student politician. He entered politics in 1909 and was elected to the state legislature. By 1922 he was a state representative in the Brazilian congress in Rio de Janeiro. By 1926 he found himself appointed finance minister of Brazil, and just two years later he became state governor of Rio Grande do Sul. Vargas became president of Brazil in 1930 as a result of a revolution that ousted President Washington Luís Pereira de Sousa in hopes of a new government devoted to national progress and social reform.

Vargas took office just one month after the revolution began. He set about a program of national reconstruction based upon a centralized government. He dissolved the national congress and state and city legislatures and suspended the federalist constitution of 1891. He replaced state governors with his own officials, called *interventores*, who reported directly to him. The centralized power of the Vargas government did not go unchallenged. In 1932 a constitutionalist revolt erupted in the coffee growing state of São Paulo. The rebellion ended after three months as São Paulo found itself isolated in its attempts to overthrow Vargas.

Despite a new constitution, the Vargas administration steadily moved toward authoritarianism. As the presidential elections of 1938 grew closer, Vargas was not ready to give up power. He consequently overthrew his own government on November 10, 1937, initiating the Estado Novo, or New State, dictatorship. This new period of Vargas's tenure as leader of Brazil did not translate into radical change, but rather denoted a culmination of the centralizing tendencies Vargas had demonstrated since 1930. The Estado Novo was a repressive dictatorship, and politicians, intellectuals, and leftists who challenged Vargas's power were harassed, detained, tortured, and exiled.

Vargas centralized not only the government but also education, labor, and the Brazilian economy. He felt that national progress could only be accomplished through the industrial modernization of Brazil. To achieve this goal, his administration implemented new education programs aimed at reforming secondary education and establishing vocational schools to train an industrial workforce. Vargas launched new labor policies that consolidated unions under state control, allowing only one union per category of workers. Vargas instituted minimum wage laws, pension plans, safety regulations, maternity leave, childcare, paid vacations, training programs, and job security. Vargas's labor initiatives resulted in enormous popular support for his presidency.

During World War II Vargas linked his country to the Allies, allowing Brazil to profit from exports to the United States. Vargas also suspended the country's payments on foreign debts in order to carry out public investments. With the defeat of authoritarian governments in Europe after World War II, growing pressure against the Vargas dictatorship emerged among citizens ranging from high-ranking army generals to student protesters. Vargas eventually bent to this pressure, and elections were held on May 6, 1946. He did not run as a candidate. But Vargas would once again be president of Brazil, elected democratically in 1950 due to his broad base of popular support. However, inflation, labor strikes, dissent in the military, and other problems made it difficult for Vargas to fulfill his campaign promises, especially in regard to labor programs. As political opposition grew and the threat of a military overthrow loomed, Vargas committed suicide in the presidential palace on August 24, 1954, by shooting himself in the heart. In a suicide letter left to the Brazilian people, he identified himself as a servant of the masses and lashed out at those who drove him to despair.

See also Latin Americam populism.

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Kathleen Legg

Vasconcelos, José

(1882–1959) *Mexican politician and writer*

José Vasconcelos was born on February 28, 1882, in Oaxaca, in the south of Mexico. His family later moved to the far north of Mexico. For his education Vasconcelos attended primary school at Eagle Pass, Texas, crossing the U.S.-Mexican border each day. After the U.S. invasion of Cuba in 1906–09, the Vasconcelos family feared a similar invasion of Mexico, and they moved to Campeche in eastern Mexico. Vasconcelos became worried about the seeming permanence of the Porfirio Díaz presidency. He ended up studying law, graduating in 1907, and in 1909 going to work for the Anti-Reelectionist Movement. Vasconcelos became the

editor of *El Antireeleccionista*, the movement's newspaper, and was forced to flee to the United States during the political climate of 1910. He returned to Mexico City when Fransisco Madero became president.

When Madero was assassinated in 1913, the United States took over the Mexican port city of Veracruz. Vasconcelos was involved in the subsequent Niagara Falls Conferences, at which the United States agreed to pull out its soldiers. In November 1914 Eulalio Martín Gutiérrez Ortiz became provisional president of Mexico and appointed Vasconcelos his minister of public instruction to oversee the education service. However, when Venustiano Carranza became president in October 1915, Vasconcelos was forced to return to the United States in exile. It was during this time that he wrote his first two books, *La intelectualidad mexicana* (1916) and *El monismo estético* (1919). He came back to Mexico City in May 1920 when Carranza was overthrown and replaced by Adolfo de La Huerta, who made Vasconcelos the rector of the National University of Mexico.

Vasconcelos urged for a federal ministry of education rather than allowing schools to be run by individual states. As a result, on October 12, 1921, President Álvaro Obregón appointed Vasconcelos the secretary for public education. This new department was quickly divided into schools, libraries, and fine arts. Although Vasconcelos started work on building more rural schools, his long-term aim was to develop the thinking of children so that they could enjoy philosophical concepts rather than just settling for learning how to read and write. This was further encouraged by the libraries department, which produced cheap editions of many major works of literature and provided them at low cost to schools and interested members of the public. The fine arts section was particularly central to promoting muralists, who were allowed to paint in schools and in other public buildings

On June 30, 1924, Vasconcelos resigned as secretary of public education and decided to enter opposition politics. He campaigned for the post of governor of Oaxaca but then had to go into exile in the United States. He then went to other parts of Latin America and to Europe, returning to Mexico after the overthrow of Obregón. The new president, Plutarco Calles, promised free elections, and Vasconcelos decided to contest the election in what became known popularly as the Campaign of 1929. He portrayed himself as an inheritor of the tradition of Francisco Madero. The official results showed that the government candidate, Pascual Ortiz Rubio, won 1,948,848 votes and Vasconcelos got only 110,979 votes. The supporters of Vasconcelos claimed that the election was fraudulent, and Vasconcelos himself fled to the United States, where he called for an armed rebellion. The beliefs and attitudes of Vasconcelos lurched heavily to the right.

In 1940 Vasconcelos, by now a strong anticommunist, returned to Mexico, where he ran a newspaper, *Timón*, that received support from the German government. His new stance was at odds with the radicalism he had espoused in the 1920s. His new philosophy was "aesthetic monism," which saw the world as a cosmic unity where the future lay with the mestizo rather than the whites. He set forth his ideas in two books, *La raza cósmica* (The cosmic race, 1925) and *Todología* (1952). Beginning in the 1930s José Vasconcelos wrote an extensive autobiography: *Ulises criollo* (A creole Ulysses, 1935), *La tormenta* (The torment, 1936), *El desastre* (The disaster, 1938), *El proconsulado* (The proconsulship, 1939), and *La flama* (The flame, 1959). Many have hailed these books as some of the greatest works of Mexican literature covering the period from the 1910 revolution through the tumultuous 1920s and 1930s. José Vasconcelos was appointed director of the Biblioteca Nacional (national library) in 1940 and from 1948 was in charge of the Mexican Institute of Hispanic Culture. Vasconcelos spent his last years in quiet retirement and died on June 30, 1959, in Mexico City.

See also Porfiriato.

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Justin Corfield

Vichy France

Vichy France is the name given to the right-wing, authoritarian government that succeeded the Third Republic after the fall of France to the Nazis in 1940. It was named for the French spa town to which many of its leaders fled after the occupation of Paris. The government immediately sought an armistice and an ill-defined "collaboration" with the Nazis. Under the leadership of Marshal Henri-Philippe Pétain and Pierre Laval, the regime attempted to bring about what it called a "national revolution" for France to cleanse the nation of the decadence of the Third Republic and the humiliation of military defeat. Vichy ruled more or less

autonomously over the southern, nonoccupied portion of France until late 1942, when the Nazis invaded this territory and brought it under the direct control of the Reich. Even then, the Vichy government retained some control over governmental affairs and did not finally capitulate until weeks before the liberation of Paris. Even today Vichy is inseparable from its collaboration with the Nazis, in particular its complicity in THE HOLOCAUST.

The Vichy "national revolution" was a direct result of the fall of France in 1940, but its spiritual roots lay in the instability and perceived decadence that wracked the Third Republic. Many intellectuals and politicians blamed the Third Republic—and parliamentarianism in general—for a variety of political and social problems in the interwar period.

The German Wehrmacht, fresh off their conquest of the Netherlands and Belgium, crossed the French border on May 13, 1940, and, despite the gallant resistance of some components of the French army, were in Paris a month later. The government of Premier Paul Reynaud, which had fled the city for Bordeaux on June 10, resigned and was replaced by a government headed by Marshal Pétain, a general and hero of WORLD WAR I.

FULL GOVERNMENTAL POWER

Before this point, certain elements of the Reynaud government, backed by British prime minister WINSTON CHURCHILL, had advocated withdrawing to either Brittany or French North Africa to continue the fighting. However, both Pétain and Pierre Laval were staunch proponents of an armistice and negotiated peace with the Germans. That peace recognized the German occupation of most of the north and west of France, leaving Pétain's government in control of the south. Fervent resisters like Brigadier General Charles de Gaulle escaped to Britain, but the lion's share of French politicians and military leaders seemed resigned to the defeat. On July 4 the national assembly voted overwhelmingly to give Marshal Pétain full governmental powers.

Pétain and his colleagues set about the task of remaking and regenerating France. Though its approach was corporatist and very conservative in nature, and though it articulated itself in racial and quasi-scientific terms, it is important to note that the Vichy "national revolution" was not fascist per se. Pétain was a devout Catholic who believed that France was being punished for a century and a half of corrupt republicanism and that the country needed to be saved. A full-fledged personality cult sprung up around Pétain, based primarily on his reputation as war hero, grandfather figure (he was 84 upon assuming full powers), and moral paragon. This cult served a double purpose in the context of the war. To the Allies Pétain was the gallant old French patriot, he and his government providing the shield that prevented ADOLF HITLER from occupying the rest of France and its empire. To the Nazis he was the stern moralist and antiparliamentarian, seeking to help build Hitler's "New World Order" by cleansing France and purging her of "undesirables." This double game prevented either side from fully knowing what to make of Vichy until quite late in the war.

"NATIONAL REVOLUTION"

It was also meant to achieve some breathing room for Pétain to bring off his "national revolution," whose motto was "Work, Family, Fatherland." Legislation was passed that forbade women from working outside the home and made divorces much more difficult to obtain. Compulsory military service was partially replaced by a youth work program that was meant to instill solid "peasant" values in France's young people. Further measures taken to reestablish an agrarian society included a system of subsidies allotted to small farmers, the organization of local agricultural syndicates, and a supposedly simplified scheme for dividing and distributing parcels of farmland.

Finally, the "national revolution" demanded that France be purified of the "disease" of "outsiders"—a term that applied to freemasons and communists, but primarily to Jews. Exclusionary measures were passed that barred Jews—defined by the ethnicity of the father—from being government ministers, civil servants, doctors, or teachers. Far more pernicious, however, was Vichy's collaboration with the Germans with regard to the Holocaust. Much has been made of the regime's eagerness to assist the Nazis by delivering France's Jews to the concentration camps on the eastern front. An additional 55,000 to 60,000 Jews were interned in the unoccupied zone and in ALGERIA; these internments were thus not technically part of the Final Solution but an independent outgrowth of Vichy policy.

The historiography on Vichy has been less than unanimous on whether collaboration was forced on the regime by the Nazis or was an independent choice. The armies under Vichy's control fought at times as though they were allied with the Germans. The most obvious example of this came during Operation Torch, the Allied invasion of North Africa in November 1942. The Allies had been led to believe by Vichy's commanders on the ground that Vichy's forces would allow the Allied landing. Instead, although Vichy did not actually open

fire on the Allies, Darlan delayed long enough in cooperating that word got to the Germans, who did resist the landings. The Allies eventually landed and signed an armistice with Darlan, but the Germans, enraged by Vichy's vacillation, invaded and occupied the unoccupied French zone shortly thereafter.

Historians have also disagreed on who was really the driving force behind Vichy—Pétain or Laval. It is a stated fact, however, that Laval was fired from the government several times from 1940 to 1944 (either by Pétain or later by the Nazis). By contrast, Pétain's stint as the head of the government continued uninterrupted until finally, in July 1944, in the wake of the Allied advance on Paris, the Nazis removed him to Sigmaringen Castle on the German border. There Pétain sat as head of a rump Vichy government until after the liberation, when the marshal gave himself up to Allied authorities after refusing asylum in Switzerland.

Pétain, Laval, and other Vichy leaders were placed on trial in August 1945 in a decidedly downmarket version of the Nuremberg trials. At this trial Pétain claimed that, as the Allies had thought, he had been the only thing keeping the Nazis from occupying the whole country, that the purpose of Vichy was to stall for time, and that his government had only collaborated because they were forced to. "If I could not be your sword," he said famously, "I tried to be your shield." These ministrations proved unsuccessful, however, and Pétain, Laval, and numerous other former Vichy leaders were condemned to death. Although Laval was executed, the marshal saw his sentence commuted to life imprisonment by General de Gaulle, who was now the head of the French provisional government.

The Vichy government's legacy for France has been murky at best. In the aftermath of the war, successive French governments propagated a myth created by de Gaulle himself, which asserted that Vichy was an aberration and that the vast majority of the French had been resistant from the start. This myth had its political purpose, to be sure, but it kept the French people from accurately coming to terms with what had happened from 1940 to 1944 until many years later. Above all, France's reluctance to fully address Vichy's complicity in the Holocaust was probably the most disturbing legacy of a government born of humiliation and defeat.

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Andrew Kellett

Villa, Francisco "Pancho"

(1878–1923) *Mexican general*

Francisco "Pancho" Villa was a general in the Mexican Revolution from 1911 until 1920; he commanded troops mostly in the northern part of Mexico. Villa joined an antigovernment group in 1910 and started recruiting fighters. Villa could be vicious and was willing to kill those who opposed him. He also made sure his men were taken care of, which inspired loyalty in them. He was also interested in education and learned to write as an adult.

Born Doroteo Arango in 1878 at Rancho de la Coyotada in the state of Durango, Villa's parents were sharecroppers on a hacienda. Villa worked at the El Gorgojito ranch for a while as a teen. Then at age 13 he shot someone for reasons unknown, fled into the countryside, and became a bandit. During the following 20 years Villa spent time as a bandit and a cattle butcher. There is no clear record of exactly what he did and when. It was during this period that he changed his name to Francisco "Pancho" Villa.

Villa met Abraham Gonzáles in 1910. Gonzáles was working to defeat the reelection of Mexican President José de la Cruz Porfirio Díaz in Chihuahua, who was running against Francisco Madero. When Díaz won the election, Madero fled the country and called on his followers to rise up and overthrow Díaz. Díaz was slow to react to events in northern Mexico, where Villa was, and in May 1911 his government collapsed. Madero was elected president. Madero soon had to fight his own revolution. Villa was unwilling to turn against Madero, who he respected. During the campaign in 1912, Villa ran afoul of General Victoriano Huerta, who had him arrested and almost executed for insubordination. Villa received a reprieve from Madero and instead was jailed. In December Villa escaped from the prison and made his way to the United States. In February 1913 Huerta, with support from the United States, turned against Madero. He had Madero arrested and shot and then made himself president.

Villa returned to Mexico to fight against Huerta. Throughout 1913 Villa won a number of battles with

Francisco "Pancho" Villa (center, right) operated throughout the northern territories of Mexico for many years. His actions nearly led to a war between the United States and Mexico as the United States sent troops into Mexican territory to apprehend him.

Huerta's forces and was chosen to command the Division of the North. In December Villa captured Chihuahua and made himself governor. During 1914 Villa's forces drove south and eventually opened the way for the rebels to march on Mexico City. The fighting had badly damaged the federal army, and seeing that his cause was lost, Huerta resigned on July 15. An interim president was appointed, but the power was really with the three most powerful chiefs, of whom Venustiano Carranza was named first chief. Villa hated Carranza and spent the remainder of 1914 trying to remove Carranza from power. In December Villa and Emiliano Zapata joined forces to take control of Mexico City.

Villa had Carranza on the run, but instead of finishing Carranza off, Villa chose to not attack directly; Carranza was able to rebuild his army. Villa would be defeated repeatedly in 1915 and pushed farther north by Carranza's rebuilt army. On July 10 Villa's Division of the North was soundly defeated and ceased to exist. Then, on October 19, with the continued decline of Villa's power, the United States recognized Carranza's government. On March 9, 1916, Villa led a raid against Columbus, New Mexico. Under pressure from the people of the United States, President Woodrow Wilson launched an expedition led by Brigadier General John Pershing to capture Villa. The expedition was never able to find Villa and nearly caused a war between Mexico and the United States. Having recovered from the wound he received while fighting Carranza's forces, Villa continued to raid northern Mexican cities controlled by Carranza. When Carranza did not follow through on promised reforms, a rebellion broke out against him. After Carranza was killed, an offer was made to Villa that if he would lay down his arms, he would be allowed to retire. The negotiations continued until Villa finally agreed to surrender on July 28, 1920. Villa spent the remaining years of his life working the hacienda and making improvements to it. He added a school, put in a road to the nearby town, and paid for the education of some of the sons of his bodyguards and employees. During his retirement a number of attempts were made to assassinate him, and finally, on July 20, 1923, one succeeded.

See also Porfiriato.

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Dallace W. Unger, Jr.

Wafd Party (Egypt)

The Wafd was the major political party in Egypt from its inception in 1918 to the military-led revolution in 1952. In the fall of 1918, shortly before the end of World War I, a delegation, or Wafd, of Egyptian nationalists, led by Sa'd Zaghlul, met with Reginald Wingate, the British high commissioner, to discuss the future of Egypt. In the course of the meeting, the delegates demanded complete independence (Istiqlal Tam). Wingate told the delegates that the matter would be referred to officials in London, and in his correspondence with the Foreign Office he recommended that negotiations should be held. However, the Foreign Office was occupied with more pressing matters involving Germany and what should be done in Europe after the war, nor was the government willing to give up its control over the Suez Canal.

Consequently, the demands of the Wafd were flatly rejected, and the delegates were denied permission to attend the Paris Peace Conference. When Zaghlul and others were arrested and deported in the spring of 1919, demonstrations broke out all around the country. A massive full-scale revolution resulted as Egyptians from all classes, both sexes, all religions, and all professions joined in strikes, boycotts, and demonstrations demanding independence and the release of the Wafd leaders. Hundreds were killed, and the British were forced to bring in troop reinforcements to put down the revolt.

Wingate was recalled and replaced by General Edmund Allenby, a hero of World War I. The Foreign Office anticipated that Allenby would take a hard line and crush the nationalist movement. Allenby recognized that it was impossible to quell nationalist demands and demanded that Zaghlul be allowed to meet with officials in London. The Wafd traveled to the Paris Peace Conference and to London, but negotiations failed. Upon their return, the demonstrations continued, and the Wafd retained the support of the majority of Egyptians.

The British granted nominal independence under a constitutional monarchy of King Fuad in 1922, but Britain retained widespread power, continued to station troops in Egypt, and interfered in Egyptian politics.

The interwar years were characterized by a tricorner struggle between the monarchy, the British, and the Wafd for political power. The Wafd won every honest election. In the 1924 elections it received a resounding victory, and Zaghlul became prime minister. However, he was forced to resign following the assassination of Lee Stack, British sirdar (ruler) of the Sudan, while he was visiting his close friend Allenby in Cairo in 1924. Furious, Allenby demanded, without direct permission from London, a public apology, a huge indemnity, the withdrawal of Egyptian troops from the Sudan, and prosecution of the killers. King Fuad, who disliked both the Wafd and the constitution, then appointed a more malleable cabinet.

Allenby was replaced by Lord George Lloyd, a hardline imperialist. Both Lloyd and the king worked to weaken the Wafd, encouraging the creation of a number of rival parties, but Lloyd's arrogance incited further Egyptian discontent. Zaghlul died in 1927, and Mustafa Nahhas became the Wafd president. Nahhas briefly became prime minister in 1929, and in 1934 the new

British high commissioner, Sir Miles Lampson (later Lord Killearn), recommended that the constitution be reinstated. In 1936 the Wafd, led by Nahhas, won the elections and entered negotiations with the British. The Anglo-Egyptian Treaty of 1936 provided for the withdrawal of British troops except along the Suez Canal and was hailed as a victory for the Wafd. In 1937 the Montreux Convention abolished the capitulations, extraterritorial rights and privileges enjoyed by foreigners living in Egypt, and gradually phased out mixed courts, which had given foreigners greater judicial privileges than Egyptian citizens received.

However, negotiations over the status of the Sudan, ruled by Britain with nominal Egyptian input, constantly deadlocked. Egypt had helped to pay for the conquest of the Sudan and had soldiers stationed there, but the British refused to link the issues of the Sudan and Egypt.

During the 1920s and 1930s more extreme political parties on the left and right emerged. A number of paramilitary groups such as the Green Shirts, patterned on Benito Mussolini's paramilitary Blackshirts in Italy, engaged in terrorism and assassinations of political leaders. The Wafd had its own Blue Shirts, who publicly fought rival groups. A growing gap between the rich and the poor contributed to the discontent. After Fuad's death in 1935, his son Faruk became king. Faruk was notably anti-British and also attempted to undercut the popularity of the Wafd.

When World War II broke out many Egyptians adopted a pro-German stance, not owing to any belief in Nazi ideology but on the basis of "an enemy of my enemy is my friend." Egyptians hoped that a British defeat would end the occupation. To counter palace opposition, the Wafd under Nahhas adopted a more flexible position vis-à-vis the British. With the German army led by General Erwin Rommel advancing toward Egypt and the Suez Canal from North Africa, Britain was determined to protect its interests in Egypt. In February 1942 the British ambassador, Sir Miles Lampson, surrounded Abdin Palace in central Cairo with British troops and tanks. He issued an ultimatum that the king either appoint Nahhas prime minister or abdicate. Faruk capitulated, Nahhas was appointed prime minister, but Faruk never recovered from the public humiliation. He became increasing, corpulent and earned a worldwide reputation for gamblingly, womanizing, and racing fast cars. The king gradually lost what public support he may have had among Egyptians.

However, having been put in power by the British, the Wafd was also discredited. Many young Egyptians turned to more radical movements, especially the Muslim Brotherhood. The wartime Wafdist government failed to keep prices down, while mounting inflation and shortages caused more unrest, just as they had in World War I. In 1944, amid charges of corruption and nepotism, Nahhas was forced to step down.

The postwar era was marked by assassinations of top Egyptian politicians and armed attacks on the British army along the Suez Canal. The Arab loss in the 1948 Arab-Israeli War further alienated Egyptians, who viewed both the Wafd and the palace as inept and as having failed to meet their demands for the complete withdrawal of British troops from Egyptian soil.

However, Nahhas kept his popular image with flamboyant oratory, and the Wafd won the 1950 elections. By this time many of the old guard Wafdists had left the party to form other parties, but Nahhas failed to bring in new cadres with dynamic programs. Negotiations with the British were reopened but stalled over the issue of the Sudan and the stationing of British troops along the Suez Canal. Demonstrations and attacks against the British escalated, and in 1952 the king was overthrown in a military-led revolution. The revolution also marked the end of the Wafd. Nahhas and Fuad Siraq ad-Din, another key Wafdist, both resigned, and all political parties were formally dissolved in January 1953. Wafdist leaders were tried on charges of corruption, and some were jailed. Nahhas died in 1965.

Under the presidency of Anwar el-Sadat in the 1970s, the Wafd reconstituted itself as the New Wafd with Siraq ad-Din as president. Although the party attracted members from the urban upper and middle class, it never regained the mass popular support it had enjoyed in the first half of the 20th century.

See also Egyptian revolution (1919); Sudan under British rule (1900–1950); Zaghlul, Sa'd.

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Janice J. Terry

Wang Jingwei (Wang Ching-wei)

(1883–1944) *Chinese politician*

Wang Jingwei's given name was Zhaoming (Chaoming), but he was better known by his revolutionary name, Jingwei. The son of a poor government official,

he was educated in traditional schools in China and then studied law in Japan, where he met Chinese revolutionary leader Dr. Sun Yat-sen and joined his cause to overthrow the Manchu Qing (Ch'ing) dynasty. Wang was sentenced to death for a failed assassination attempt on the prince regent in Beijing (Peking) in 1910, which was commuted to a life sentence, but he was freed at the outbreak of the revolution in 1911.

Wang initially opposed Sun's United Front with the Soviet Union but nevertheless joined the United Front government in Canton in 1923. In the power struggle after Sun's death in 1925, Wang and the left-wing Kuomintang (KMT) won leadership of the government. They collaborated with Soviet adviser Michael Borodin and the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) and ousted the right-wing KMT leaders led by Hu Hanmin (Hu Han-min) from Canton. Centrist KMT leader Chiang Kai-shek focused on training a modern army. In 1926 Chiang was appointed commander in chief of the National Revolutionary Army in the Northern Expedition against the warlords to unify China. In the wake of Chiang's victories, Wang moved the KMT government from Canton to Wuhan in the lower Yangzi (Yangtze) River valley. Early in 1927 Chiang allied with the right-wing KMT, purged the CCP in areas under his control, and expelled the Soviet advisers. Wang continued collaborating with the Soviets and the CCP until it became clear that the Soviets intended to eliminate his government and install the CCP in power. Thus, he was forced to dissolve the Wuhan government and go into exile.

Wang returned to China in 1930. He subsequently switched sides several times in a quest for power. He first joined a coalition of warlords (called the Reorganizationists) against the Chiang-led government in 1930; it quickly collapsed. Japan's invasion of Manchuria in 1931 forced the factions of the KMT to cooperate, and Wang headed the civilian government as president of the executive *yuan* (premier) and foreign minister between 1932 and 1935. However, he became the junior partner to Chiang, who led the military and had more support among KMT leaders. Wang became unpopular because he espoused appeasing Japan. A disgruntled army officer wounded him for his pro-Japanese stance in 1935, and while he convalesced abroad, Japan attacked China in 1937. Chiang's popularity soared as he led China to war as director-general of the KMT and commander in chief of the armed forces. Wang was dissatisfied with being number two man in the party and was defeatist over China's chances in the war. In 1938 he secretly left China's wartime capital, Chongqing (Chungking), surfaced in Hanoi in French Indochina claiming to lead a "peace movement," and then headed for Tokyo, where he gained Japanese support for his leading a puppet government. Although Japan installed him in 1940 as puppet leader in Nanjing (Nanking) for occupied southern China, it also established other puppets in areas it controlled in northern China and Inner Mongolia. Few Chinese of renown in or outside the KMT joined his quisling regime. Wang's physical and mental health deteriorated as Japan's war fortunes sank. He went to Japan for medical treatment in March 1944 and died there in October. His demoralized regime collapsed with Japan's defeat. His politically active widow and other supporters were tried and convicted of treason after the war.

See also Sino-Japanese War.

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Jiu-Hwa Lo Upshur

warlord era in China (1916–1927)

Although the warlord era in China officially lasted only a decade, its roots went back to the late Qing (Ch'ing) dynasty, and it persisted after 1927. A warlord, *junfa* (*chun-fa*) in Chinese, was a military leader with a personal army ruling autonomously over a region. Warlords were a diverse group; some were well educated, while others were not, for example, Zhang Zolin (Chang Tso-lin), who began as a bandit, and Feng Yuxiang (Feng Yu-hsiang), who enlisted as an illiterate boy. Some harbored national ambitions, while others were content to be "local emperors."

However, all warlords shared certain important characteristics: a personal army with close ties between the important officers; secure control over a territory and its revenues, which provided for independence; and alliances with other warlords to provide security or secure a balance of power.

Personal armies or militias can be traced to the mid-19th century, when large-scale rebellions raged and the Banner and Green Standard Armies of the Qing

government proved inadequate. Stalwart defenders of the dynasty such as Zeng Guofan (Tseng Kuo-fan) met the crisis by raising personal armies in their home provinces that defeated the rebels and restored order. After its resounding defeat in the Sino-Japanese War (1894–95), the Qing government commissioned a rising star, Yuan Shikai (Yuan Shih-k'ai), to train a New Army, also called the Beiyang (Pei-yang) Army.

The loyalty of this army to Yuan enabled him to secure the abdication of the Qing dynasty in 1912 and to force Sun Yat-sen, the father of the revolution, to concede to Yuan the presidency of the new Republic of China. This army retained its cohesiveness under Yuan but split apart after his death in 1916. Two factions emerged among Yuan's subordinates, the Chihli Clique under Feng Guozhang (Feng Kuo-chang) and the Anhui Clique under Duan Qirui (Tuan Chi-jui). Another powerful warlord clique was headed by Zhang Zolin of Manchuria. Other lesser warlord groups included those headed by Yen Xishan (Yen Hsi-shan) of Shanxi (Shansi) province, Feng Yuxiang of the Northwestern Provinces, and an uncle and nephew duo surnamed Liu who controlled Sichuan (Szechuan) province.

There were literally hundreds of wars fought singly and in coalition among the warlords, ranging from local to national in scale. While most warlords accepted the ultimate reunification of China as inevitable, each wanted to enjoy and expand his power during the interim, form coalitions to postpone the eventual unification, and perhaps emerge finally as the unifier.

Thus, they formed alliances, usually unstable, and sought foreign loans and sometimes protection for which they were willing to sell out Chinese interests. The central government in Beijing (Peking) was unstable and powerless during this era: seven men served as head of state who were either the dominant warlord who controlled the capital region at the time or their proxies. The constitution of the early republic and the parliament became the toys of the clique in power.

The warlord era brought extreme chaos to China. Military men replaced civilian officials, and fixed taxation was replaced by forced levies to satisfy the never-ending demands for revenue. Paradoxically, this bitter period in Chinese history provided for the intellectual diversity and experimentation that led to the intellectual revolution, the revitalization of the Kuomintang, or Nationalist Party, and the formation of the Chinese Communist Party. The era ended with the triumph of the Northern Expedition led by Chiang Kai-shek of the Kuomintang in 1928.

See also May Fourth Movement/intellectual revolution.

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Jiu-Hwa Lo Upshur

Washington Conference and Treaties (1921–1922)

In 1921 President Warren Harding of the United States called an international conference in Washington, D.C., and invited representatives of Great Britain, France, Italy, Japan, China, Belgium, the Netherlands, and Portugal to attend. The issues at hand were a looming naval race between the United States and Japan, the uneasiness felt by Great Britain and among some Commonwealth nations over the continuation of the Anglo-Japanese treaty, and failure to settle the Shandong (Shantung) Question between China and Japan at the Paris Peace Conference.

U.S. secretary of state Charles Evans Hughes and British foreign secretary Sir Arthur Balfour cooperated to achieve the following results:

1. The Four-Power Pact between the United States, Britain, France, and Japan, in which each pledged mutual respect of each others' interests and to consult and seek diplomatic solutions to problems that concerned them. This pact replaced the Anglo-Japanese treaty and would last 10 years.
2. The Five-Power Treaty (also called the Naval Limitations Treaty), in which the United States, Britain, Japan, France, and Italy pledged a 10-year naval holiday in capital ship building, to limit the tonnage of individual battleships, and other provisions. The five principal naval powers' respective naval strength would be based on the 5:5:3:1.75:1.75 ratio. Although this ratio gave the United States and Britain naval superiority, it made Japan supreme in the western Pacific. It was to last through December 31, 1936.
3. The Nine-Power Treaty (which included all nine countries represented at the conference), in which

all eight powers other than China pledged to respect the Open Door and territorial integrity of China and to refrain from seeking special privileges in China. This treaty took a historic principle of U.S. diplomacy (the Open Door policy) and made it international law. China failed to win an immediate end to the unequal treaties and to gain tariff autonomy but was permitted to raise its import tariffs from 3.5 percent to 5 percent. Britain, the United States, France, and Japan agreed to close down the independent postal systems they had established in China, and Britain agreed to return to China its naval base at the port of Weihaiwei.

In addition, Hughes and Balfour acted as intermediaries in bringing together the delegates of China and Japan to settle the Shandong Question, which had been unresolved at the Paris Peace Conference. The controversy was whether China should regain sovereignty over Shandong, which had been abridged since 1898 by Germany, or whether Japan should be allowed to maintain a sphere of influence over the province. British and U.S. diplomats served as observers in 36 meetings between Chinese and Japanese delegates that culminated in the Sino-Japanese treaty in February 1922.

Japan agreed to evacuate from Shandong, return the Jiaozhou (Kiaochow) naval base, and sell the Jinan-Qingdao (Chinan-Tsingtao) Railway to China over a 15-year period. Japan agreed to these concessions largely as a result of Anglo-American pressure, adverse world public opinion, and a moderate government under Prime Minister Hara Kei, who was, however, assassinated just as the conference opened. Taken together, the Washington Treaties forestalled a naval race and improved international relations in East Asia.

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Jiu-Hwa Lo Upshur

Weimar Republic

The term most commonly used for the government of Germany from 1919 until 1933, named after the town in central Germany where its constitution was drafted, the Weimar Republic was Germany's first experiment with a liberal democratic government. Throughout its existence the Weimar Republic faced almost constant attacks from the radical left and radical right and had to deal with unstable governments and severe economic crises. It ended in 1933 when Adolf Hitler assumed dictatorial power and effectively revoked the republic's constitution.

The origins of the republic can be traced to the final months of World War I. As it became increasingly clear that Germany was going to lose the war, its generals set in motion plans to negotiate an armistice with the Allied powers. In order to gain favor with the Allies as well as avoid associating the military with the defeat, the generals permitted the creation of a liberal civilian cabinet to carry out the talks. What began as an experiment in constitutional monarchy quickly collapsed as soldiers and workers rose up against the imperial government in November 1918. On November 9 Emperor William II was forced to abdicate. A republic was soon proclaimed. Friedrich Ebert of the Social Democratic Party (SPD) became chancellor and immediately set in motion the election of a constituent assembly. However, before the assembly could meet to draft a new constitution, Ebert was forced to put down the large number of socialist revolutions erupting throughout Germany.

As the parliament convened at Weimar to draft a new constitution, the Allies presented Germany with the terms of the Treaty of Versailles. The signing of the treaty dealt a severe blow to the new republic's legitimacy. Even moderate Germans considered the loss of territory, reparations, and the war guilt clause as unjust and unnecessarily punitive. With the German army apparently undefeated on the battlefield, many Germans, especially on the political right, came to believe the so-called Stab in the Back Legend, which blamed Germany's defeat and humiliation on the liberal civil government, socialists, and Jews.

The constitution of the Weimar Republic guaranteed civil liberties, granted universal suffrage, and strengthened the German parliament, the Reichstag. However, the political upheavals led those drafting the constitution to seek a strong executive authority. The office of the president was thus given the right to dissolve the Reichstag and, under the provisions of article 48, the ability to issue emergency decrees. The constitution also allowed for proportional representation, giving smaller parties representation in the Reichstag. The constitution was adopted on August 14, 1919, with Ebert as first president.

Upon ratification of the constitution, the republic's most pressing challenge was paying the reparations instituted by the Versailles Treaty. As a consequence of the German Empire's deficit spending during World War I and mismanagement of the economy after the war, the mark rapidly decreased in value to the point that it was effectively worthless by 1923. French and Belgian troops occupied the Ruhr Valley to force reparations payments. Mass political violence was common throughout German cities, as right- and left-wing paramilitary units clashed in the streets and attempted to seize power. On November 9, 1923, Adolf Hitler and the National Socialist (Nazi) Party made a failed attempt to overthrow the government of Bavaria in the Beer Hall Putsch. At the same time the mark had sunk to 4.2 trillion marks per dollar. A new government under Gustav Stresemann of the German People's Party (DVP) helped stabilize the situation with the creation of a new currency, called the Rentenmark. By 1924 the German currency and economy had stabilized. However, the shock to many Germans caused by the hyperinflation was severe and would not be forgotten when Germany faced another economic crisis in 1929.

STABLE PERIOD

Between 1924 and 1929 the Weimar Republic was relatively stable. However, it continued to face weak administrations, as a substantial number of Reichstag deputies were from parties that sought to either undermine or overthrow it. To the parties of the right, the republic was a weak, vacillating, treasonous government dominated by Jews and socialists. The most radical of these parties, Hitler's Nazis, was steeped in a racist, anti-Semitic ideology. It sought a right-wing anticommunist revolution that would end the republic and create a new authoritarian regime that would purge Germany of socialist and Jewish influence and redress the humiliation of the Versailles Treaty. To the radical left the parliamentary democracy was an unacceptable compromise with capitalism that inhibited the proletarian revolution sought by the German communists. In 1925 Friedrich Ebert died, robbing the republic of a strong supporter in the president's office. To replace him German voters elected the old general Paul von Hindenburg.

The republic was not without its supporters, however, and the period between 1924 and 1929 was one of consolidation and many diplomatic victories. The SPD, the German Democratic Party (DDP), and the Catholic Center Party remained the only parties consistently supportive of the republic, and they formed what was known as the Weimar Coalition. These parties, along with the right-of-center DVP, formed most of Weimar's governing cabinets. However, even the SPD, the republic's chief supporters, chose to serve as an opposition party during much of Weimar's existence.

In foreign affairs the republic achieved several diplomatic successes under the leadership of Stresemann, who served as foreign minister in all of Weimar's cabinets until his death in 1929. Stresemann pursued a policy of fulfillment, by which he publicly declared Germany's willingness to adhere to the Versailles Treaty while at the same time working to gradually revise most of its provisions. In 1925 Germany signed the Locarno agreements and the Treaty of Berlin, and in 1926 the country was admitted to the League of Nations.

The worldwide Great Depression, which erupted as a consequence of the New York stock market crash, caused irreparable damage to the republic's stability and legitimacy. Whatever gains it had made since 1924 were reversed as German voters, recalling the hyperinflation and facing an even worse crisis, became disillusioned with the current governing parties. The depression hit Germany particularly hard. Unemployment in many regions reached over 33 percent. A center-right coalition was assembled under Heinrich Brüning, whose orthodox economic policies failed to combat the depression. Lacking both economic imagination and a majority in parliament, Brüning relied on emergency decrees through the office of President Hindenburg. Brüning's support in parliament suffered a critical blow during the elections of 1930, which saw a marked increase in votes for antidemocratic parties. The Nazis, who before the depression had held just 12 seats in the Reichstag, saw their numbers rise to 107. In 1932 Adolf Hitler ran for the presidency but was defeated by Hindenburg; Hitler won 37 percent of the vote.

NAZI PLURALITY

In 1932 Brüning resigned and was replaced by the aristocratic, reactionary Franz von Papen. Von Papen was even less capable of maintaining support from the Reichstag than Brüning had been, and Hindenburg called for elections in July, which produced a stunning Nazi plurality of 37 percent.

When Hindenburg offered Hitler a position in the government, Hitler declined, insisting that as leader of the Reichstag's largest party he should be chancellor. Still unable to effectively govern without enlisting the aid of the SPD, Hindenburg and von Papen called for yet another round of elections in November. Von Papen

fell from office and was replaced by Reichswehr minister Kurt von Schleicher.

The decline in votes for the Nazis to 33 percent led to concerns within the ranks of the Nazi Party about sustaining their popularity, and Hitler became amenable to some type of deal with Hindenburg. On January 30, 1933, Hindenburg agreed to appoint Hitler chancellor and von Papen vice-chancellor. Intending to box Hitler in with a majority of non-Nazi ministers, von Papen hoped to be able to control the government.

However, the Nazis controlled several important posts, such as the Reich and Prussian ministries of the interior. Following the Reichstag building fire in February 1933, Hitler pressed the Reichstag to pass an Enabling Law, granting him full dictatorial powers. This act was followed by the dissolution of civil liberties, the banning of political parties, Nazi control of the press, and incarceration of political opponents in concentration camps. In August 1934, upon the death of President Hindenburg, Hitler combined the office of president and chancellor and became Führer. Although the republic had been effectively dead for over a year, this act finalized its dissolution.

See also Rosa Luxemburg.

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Nicholas J. Schlosser

Weizmann, Chaim

(1874–1952) *Zionist leader, first president of Israel*

Chaim Weizmann was one of the founders of the modern state of Israel. Born in Motol (now in Belarus) when it was under Russian rule, Weizmann studied chemistry in Switzerland, where he met his future wife, Vera Chatzman, a medical student. In 1904 they moved to England, where Weizmann taught at the University of Manchester. He became a British citizen in 1910.

During World War I Weizmann worked at the British Admiralty laboratories and was instrumental in using industrial fermentation for the production of acetone, used in explosive propellants. A leading figure in the World Zionist Organization (WZO), Weizmann advocated so-called practical Zionism, which encouraged Jewish settlement in Palestine coupled with an active diplomatic program to gain international support for the creation of a Jewish state. Weizmann's skills as a diplomat were as great or greater than his skills as a chemist. He became acquainted with many high-ranking British politicians, including Arthur Balfour, foreign secretary during World War I, and Winston Churchill. He was instrumental in the issuance of the Balfour Declaration in 1917, whereby Britain publicly expressed support for some form of Jewish state in Palestine.

After World War I Weizmann represented the Zionists at the Paris Peace Conference; he met with Emir Faysal, Sherif Husayn's son and future king of Iraq in 1918 and 1919. These meetings resulted in the Faysal-Weizmann agreement of January 1919 wherein Faysal recognized the Balfour Declaration and also agreed to Jewish immigration into Palestine.

Weizmann agreed to foster economic development for Arabs in Palestine. Faysal stressed in a written codicil at the end of the agreement that his commitments would be null and void if full Arab independence was not granted. When the Arabs failed to achieve national independence after the war, Faysal considered the agreement invalid.

Weizmann served as head of the World Zionist Organization from 1920 until 1931 and again from 1935 to 1946. However, his generally pro-British stance angered some Zionists in Palestine, who felt Weizmann was too conservative and not aggressive enough in pushing for the creation of a Jewish state. As a result, Jewish leaders in Palestine, especially David Ben-Gurion, emerged as the actual political powers of Israel after it was established in 1948.

However, Weizmann's diplomatic skills and his cordial relationships with Western leaders were highly prized, and he met with President Harry S. Truman in 1948 to urge U.S. recognition and support for the Jewish state of Israel. After Israel's independence Weizmann was elected to the largely ceremonial post of president; he held the position from 1949 until his death in 1952. After his death Weizmann was buried in his home of Rehovoth, where he had founded a research institute, now known as the Weizmann Institute of Science.

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Janice J. Terry

Wilson, Woodrow

(1856–1924) *U.S. president*

Thomas Woodrow Wilson was born in Staunton, Virginia, in 1856. Wilson's father, a Presbyterian minister, moved the family during the Civil War to Georgia, where his son witnessed the devastation wrought upon the South by Northern troops; this left a lifetime impression on him.

Wilson graduated from the College of New Jersey (Princeton) and the University of Virginia Law School before earning a doctorate at Johns Hopkins University. After teaching at Bryn Mawr and Wesleyan, he became the first lay president at Princeton in 1902. He implemented policies directed at restructuring and modernizing instructional techniques and discouraged student discrimination by eliminating elite eating clubs.

Entering politics, he became the Democratic governor of New Jersey, where he distinguished himself as a reformer while pursuing a progressive strategy that alienated the entrenched political machine of Boss James Smith, Jr. Wilson's support for finance reform, worker's compensation, a direct primary, and public service commissions elevated him to a national figure and a presidential hopeful.

In the presidential election of 1912, the Republican vote split between William Howard Taft and Bull Moose Party candidate Theodore Roosevelt, who also received support from the National Progressive Republican League. Wilson, having obtained the Democratic nomination on the 46th ballot, prevailed with an overwhelming majority of the electoral votes and implemented his New Freedom agenda. This innovative progressive program advanced women's suffrage, reduced tariffs, and instituted an income tax as well as creating the Federal Reserve Act of 1913 with a central bank in 12 reserves, the legality of unions under the Clayton Antitrust Act, a low rate of loans for farmers under the Federal Farm Loan Act of 1916, and the regulation of child labor under the Keating-Owen Act of 1916.

Although his administration had not hesitated on military interventions in Latin America, two years after World War I began in 1914 Wilson was reelected on the slogan "He Kept Us Out of War." At the beginning of World War I, isolationist sentiment in the United States was very strong, and Wilson was determined to follow a policy of neutrality. But as trade with Great Britain and the Allies increased almost fourfold and as Germany refused to discontinue submarine warfare, sentiment changed. When the inflammatory Zimmermann Note regarding Mexican intervention against the United States at the behest of Germany was intercepted, Wilson asked Congress for a declaration of war to "Make the World Safe for Democracy." His was to be a peace without victory.

Woodrow Wilson's vision of an enduring world peace was set forth in his Fourteen Points, presented before the peace conference at Versailles. They called for:

I. Open covenants of peace
II. Freedom of navigation
III. Equality of trade conditions
IV. Armament reductions
V. Impartial adjustment of colonial claims
VI. Evacuation of Russian territory
VII. Restoration of Belgium
VIII. Restoration of French territories, including Alsace-Lorraine
IX. Readjustment of Italy's borders
X. Autonomous development of Austria-Hungary
XI. Evacuation and restoration of Romania, Serbia, and Montenegro
XII. Sovereignty for Turkish portions of the Ottoman Empire and free passage through the Dardanelles
XIII. Creation of an independent Polish state
XIV. Formation of an association of nations to guarantee political independence

The Allies did not share Wilson's vision and only accepted the plan for a League of Nations. At home the "Irreconcilables," 16 senators and representatives who were led by Henry Cabot Lodge, refused to sign the Versailles Treaty and campaigned vigorously against the League of Nations.

Wilson embarked on a demanding national tour to take his message to the U.S. public, who responded with enthusiasm, but no congressional vote changed. Exhausted, the president suffered a stroke and served out his term as a virtual invalid before dying in 1924. The United States never signed the Versailles Treaty and never joined the League of Nations.

President of the United States during World War I, Woodrow Wilson fought for the adoption of his Fourteen Points to maintain international peace. He is seen here throwing the first ball on the opening day of the baseball season, a political ritual.

Despite his impressive efforts toward achieving and maintaining world peace, Wilson's legacy is tarnished by his views on race. He allowed his cabinet members to segregate their respective offices, leading to the first widespread segregation in Washington, D.C., since the American Civil War. In later years, as president of Princeton University, Wilson discouraged African Americans from even bothering to apply. Perhaps the greatest indictment of Wilson's racial views come in the movie *Birth of a Nation*, a flim that depicts the Ku Klux Klan in a postive light. Wilson's *History of the American People* endorses the southern version of Reconstruction, that is, the victimization of southern whites.

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Janice J. Terry

women's suffrage and rights

It took civil disobedience and a world war, but after 1900 new campaigns in the long struggle for woman suffrage finally succeeded. By 1950 most of the world's women could vote, although holdout nations remained. Legal restrictions and customs also discouraged women from seeking political office. Success made some important changes in women's lives. Yet many feminist leaders in the United States and elsewhere viewed these changes as inadequate and proposed additional reforms to achieve true gender equality.

Despite bruising internal struggles, a new generation of suffragists attracted thousands of supporters, including working women. Mass demonstrations became more confrontational. After she was advised by Britain's prime minister to "be patient," suffrage leader Emmeline Gould Pankhurst (1858–1928) became less so, leading her adult daughters and throngs of supporters into confrontations that included hunger strikes and vandalism. More peaceful rallies were mounted by Millicent Garrett Fawcett (1847–1929), Pankhurst's

Women in the United States received suffrage as a result of the Nineteenth Amendment to the Constitution.

movement rival. When World War I erupted in 1914, both organizations patriotically dropped their protests for the duration. In 1918 British women aged 30 could vote; men voted at age 21. The disparity ended 10 years later.

In the United States new leaders, including Carrie Chapman Catt (1859–1947), revived a splintered movement by reaching out to immigrant and working women. Stymied in many states, suffragists refocused their efforts on Washington, D.C., proposing what became in August 1920 the Nineteenth Amendment to the Constitution.

Their hard-fought battle included protests in which women dressed in white, chained themselves to the White House gates, and held hunger strikes. When the United States entered the war in 1917, most suffragists supported the war effort, but pacifist Jeannette Rankin of Montana, the first woman elected to Congress, voted against the war resolution.

Suffrage for Canadian women, enthusiastically promoted by temperance groups, first succeeded in Manitoba in 1916. All Canadian women could vote in federal elections after 1918; not until 1940 did Quebec drop its opposition to women voting on provincial issues.

In North America the 1920s were nominally the era of the "flapper," a brash young woman who scandalized with her seeming freedom of dress, speech, and behavior. Although U.S. women college graduates doubled in the decade and a quarter of women held paying jobs, it soon became clear that voting was no magical passport to equality.

By 1923 U.S. feminist Alice Paul (1885–1977), who had been jailed in both British and U.S. prewar suffrage protests, was calling for an Equal Rights Amendment. Paul was not alone. Charlotte Perkins Gilman (1860–1935), grandniece of Harriet Beecher Stowe, advocated women's economic independence free of female stereotypes. English writer Virginia Woolf in her 1929 *A Room of One's Own* argued that managing money made women freer than did voting.

The meaning of equality was contentious. Some hoped that women and men would eventually be treated exactly alike. Others believed that women still occupied a separate sphere in modern society. Many nations enacted special protections for working women. Newly elected Reichstag deputy Marie Juchacz told her Weimar Republic colleagues in 1919 that women's grievances should be considered resolved. Many women made their mark by continuing to bring femininity to bear on such issues as child welfare, education, healthful housing, and world peace. By the 20th century, birth control and abortion had become issues of intense public controversy. U.S. nurse Margaret Sanger (1870–1966), one of 11 children, was arrested for distributing information about contraception and opening a Brooklyn clinic in 1916. Her movement, later named Planned Parenthood, remained controversial even though Sanger took pains to target only married women. Inspired by Sanger, Scots botanist Marie Stopes (1880–1958) wrote *Wise Parenthood* in 1918 and became Britain's foremost birth control advocate. In Europe, where political parties and religions were closely tied, the movement struggled. The 1917 Bolshevik Revolution initially promised Soviet women reproductive choices, but by 1936 abortion was recriminalized.

The worldwide Great Depression of the 1930s and the subsequent outbreak of World War II had contradictory effects on women. Hard times prompted leaders in many countries to try to prevent married women from "stealing" work from men. The idea that women should refocus on "Kinder, Kirche, Kuchen" (children, church, cooking), attributed to the emerging regime of Adolf Hitler, was broadly accepted by many conservative political parties. Since women were paid less and their employments, like cleaning, teaching, and clerical chores, were not as endangered as "male" manufacturing jobs, depression-era women often became their families' main breadwinner.

In the United States Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal brought women into important govern-

ment positions. Frances Perkins, who had worked at Jane Addams's Hull-House and with Alfred E. Smith in the aftermath of New York's Triangle Shirtwaist Fire, became secretary of labor, the first woman to hold a cabinet post. Roosevelt's wife, Eleanor, held no paid position but reached out to depression victims, including African Americans, in her role as first lady. Nevertheless, most New Deal programs heavily favored male workers.

This changed dramatically as the United States entered the war. Women in Europe and North America had played important roles during World War I, but World War II offered even more opportunity. As more men went to war, it fell to women to maintain or even increase their homelands' agricultural and manufacturing production.

In the United States an elaborate propaganda effort persuaded women that they could become "Rosie the Riveter," a pert and muscular young woman who could wield a welding torch as effectively as she could type a letter. Women, including married women, became a third of the U.S. workforce. Although most female war workers continued to do "women's jobs," 350,000 joined the armed forces, and 3 million worked in defense industries. Despite problems with child care and other issues, most were proud of their work and pay. In 1945, as troops began mustering out to resume civilian lives, so did female defense workers. By 1950 Rosie seemed a distant memory as the United States (and most other nations) returned to gender "normalcy."

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Marsha E. Ackermann

World War I

In the spring of 1914 President Woodrow Wilson sent his chief adviser, Colonel E. M. House, on a fact-finding mission to Europe. Greatly disturbed by the obvious escalating tension generated by international rivalries House reported: "The situation is extraordinary.... It only needs a spark to set the whole thing off." The incident that triggered the explosion was the assassination of the heir apparent to the Austrian throne, Franz Ferdinand, and his wife on June 28, 1914, as they drove in an open car through the streets of Sarajevo, the sleepy capital of Bosnia.

The assassin was Gavrilo Princep, a young Bosnian Serb who belonged to a secret terrorist Serbian society pledged to the overthrow of Habsburg control in south Slav territories. Austrian statesmen assumed erroneously that the Serbian government was involved in the murderous deed. Here was an opportunity to settle accounts with the Serbs, who had long fanned political unrest among the Slavic population within the Austrian Empire. Assured of German support, Vienna fired off a harsh ultimatum to the Serbian government. Belgrade's reply was conciliatory; it accepted all but one of the demands. The Austrian government deemed the reply unsatisfactory, broke off diplomatic relations, and on July 28 declared war on Serbia.

Austria's hope that the conflict could be localized was dashed when the rival alliances, which had divided Europe since 1907, immediately came into play. Within a week Austria and Germany were pitted against Serbia, Russia, France, Belgium, and Britain. The former belligerents came to be known as the Central powers and the latter as the Allies. From the beginning both sides tried to enlist allies. In November 1914 the Ottoman Empire cast its lot with the Central powers, as did Bulgaria in October of the following year. The Allies enticed many more nations, with Italy, Romania, Greece, and the United States as the chief ones.

German strategy, devised by Count Alfred von Schlieffen in 1905, was intended to avoid a war on two fronts. It called for a holding action against the slowly mobilizing Russians in the east while striving for a quick knockout victory over France. Swinging through Belgium to outflank French border defenses, German forces would encircle Paris and destroy the French army by falling upon its rear. Once France was eliminated, the Germans would unite their troops and deal with the Russians at their leisure. In executing their plan the Germans had no compunctions about violating their pledge to respect Belgian neutrality, contemptuously referring to it as "a scrap of paper."

All went well for the Germans in the beginning. Their armies overran southern Belgium and by early September had reached the Marne River, 40 miles from Paris. The Allied forces rallied and counterattacked, forcing the Germans to retreat and dig in along the Aisne River. The opposing armies now tried to outflank one another in what came to be called "the race to the sea." By the end of 1914, the conflict had entered a new phase. The war of movement had become one of position as hundreds of thousands of men faced each other in two

long lines of trenches that stretched from the English Channel across northeastern France to the Swiss border. None of the commanders understood that modern weapons, particularly the machine gun and fast-firing artillery, gave the defenders a decided advantage over the attackers. Massive assaults by both sides resulted in terrible loss of life without shifting the trench lines more than a few miles.

EASTERN FRONT

The war on the eastern front was mobile, in contrast to its western counterpart, with considerable gain and loss of territory. The Russian army fought on two fronts in the early months of the conflict, one against Germany and the other against Austria. In responding to their French ally's plea for help, the Russians mobilized faster than German planners had thought possible and invaded East Prussia. Although the Russian army was the largest among all the combatants, it suffered from overhasty preparation, inadequate logistical support and war matériel, and poor leadership. The small German army, reinforced by divisions from the west, destroyed a Russian army at Tannenberg and routed another one two weeks later at the Masurian Lakes. Despite suffering horrendous losses, the Russians had upheld their end of the bargain, forcing the Germans to divert troops to the eastern front and thus easing the pressure on their allies in the west.

The Russian moves began auspiciously against the Austrians in the fall of 1914. They overran Galicia, inflicted heavy casualties, and threatened to break across the Carpathian Mountains into Hungary. Reeling, and with the Czechs and other Slavic conscripts deserting in droves, Austria seemed almost on the verge of collapse. But the Russians were unable to administer the coup de grâce because of overextended supply lines and because the Germans sent reinforcements to stiffen the demoralized Austrian armies. During the spring of 1915, a combined German-Austrian force launched a surprise attack against the Russian front and broke through between Tarnov and Gorlice. By the end of the summer, the Central powers had recaptured Galicia, conquered nearly all of Poland, and inflicted on the underequipped Russians severe losses from which they never fully recovered.

WESTERN FRONT

Heavily involved in operations in the east, the Germans were forced to remain on the defensive in the west throughout 1915. This gave the British and the French the opportunity to seize the initiative and mount a series of attacks in the spring and summer. Each operation began with a preliminary bombardment designed to break up wire entanglements and flatten the trenches. But German fortifications were solidly built and able to withstand the bombardment, so when it stopped, machine gunners returned to their posts and raked the attacking troops with an incessant deadly fire, cutting down wave after wave. For all their suicidal courage, the British and French armies had nothing to show except a massive casualty list.

In 1915 the British, with French assistance, sought to get around the deadlock in the west by attacking the Dardanelles. Successful action here would knock Turkey out of the war, open a southern sea route to Russia, and wreak havoc in Austria's backyard. An Anglo-French fleet was sent to force the strait, but the attempt in March was abandoned when six ships were sunk or disabled by undiscovered mines. Toward the end of April, French troops landed on the Asiatic side of the strait, while the main thrust was carried out by British and empire forces on Gallipoli. As the element of surprise had been compromised by the naval attack, the landing forces on the peninsula met fierce Turkish resistance and were pinned down on the beaches. A long, bloody, and inconclusive campaign developed and drew in more and more Allied troops with no end in sight. Finally, in December 1915 the Allies began the process of withdrawal after suffering a quarter of a million casualties. The operation had been poorly planned and executed, and Winston Churchill, the moving spirit behind it, was ousted as first lord of the admiralty.

Both sides turned back to the west in 1916. The Germans struck first. In February General Erich von Falkenhayn, chief of the German General Staff, picked Verdun for the site of a great offensive that he calculated would bleed the already weakened French army to death in a war of attrition. The fortress had no real strategic value, but the battle turned into a test of will, with great losses on both sides. After months of bitter fighting, the French line held. In July the British army, under the command of General Douglas Haig, opened its greatest offensive of the war along the Somme. The week-long bombardment that had preceded the assault had little effect on the German defenders, who were sheltered in meticulously constructed dugouts some 40 feet below the surface. As the British went "over the top" and raced across no man's land, the Germans scrambled from their dugouts, set up their machine guns, and cut them down as they approached.

On the first day alone the British sustained slightly over 57,000 casualties, of whom some 19,000 were

Australian infantry wear small box respirators for protection against gas attacks during World War I.

killed—the highest daily casualty rate of any battle in history. Despite mounting losses, Haig persisted in pushing his men in the face of murderous fire until the November rains compelled him to terminate the operation. The Battles of Verdun and the Somme had attained a level of horror and destructiveness that were matched the following year by the French failure in Champagne and especially the British defeat at Passchendaele. There was no science to these battles of attrition, the object of which was to exhaust the enemy's human and material resources. Commanders felt justified in feeding their men into the mincing machine as long as they were convinced they were inflicting greater casualties on the enemy.

While the Anglo-French armies continued to hammer away in vain at the enemy's impregnable position in the west, the Russians achieved a breakthrough in 1916. Although stunned and staggering after the blows of 1915, they pulled things together and had stabilized the line by the latter part of the year. Eager to profit from Russia's inexhaustible reservoir of manpower, the western Allies drove their high command to undertake an offensive to draw German troops away from the western front.

Unable to make progress against the Germans, the Russians turned against the Austrian army. Beginning in 1916 four Russian armies under the newly appointed commander of the southwest sector, General Alexei Brusilov, achieved instant and spectacular success. The Austrian army, caught by surprise, dispirited, and weakened by withdrawals for operations against Italy in the Trentino, "broke like a piecrust" along a 200-mile front. Throughout July and August and into September, Brusilov's offensive rolled forward with little resistance, bagging 450,000 Austrian prisoners and inflicting losses of 600,000. It was the greatest victory scored by any of the Allied armies since the onset of trench warfare two years earlier. Had Brusilov possessed the means to bring up reinforcements and supplies at top speed to exploit his gains, he might have driven Austria from the war. As it was, the enforced delay allowed the Germans, with their superior communications, to come to the rescue of their beleaguered ally. Transferring massive reinforcements from France to the east, they halted Brusilov and restored the Austrian front by October. The Brusilov offensive had the effect of compelling both the Germans to abandon the siege of Verdun and the Austrians to divert troops from the Italian front. But the cost had been heavy. Brusilov's forces had sustained an estimated 1 million casualties. It was the last great Russian effort in the war. The following year the Russian army began to disintegrate, opening the way for the Bolsheviks to seize control of the government in the Russian Revolution and carry out their promise to make peace. By the end of 1917, Russia was out of the war.

If victory eluded the Allies on land, their control of the seas would prove decisive in the long run. At the outset Britain's Royal Navy drove German shipping from the ocean, making it possible to isolate and later occupy its overseas colonies. Sea power, moreover, allowed the Allies to stop and search neutral ships and confiscate any goods that they judged to be of value to the enemy. It may have violated the principles of international law in naval warfare, but it was highly effective. The Allied naval blockade shut off Germany from badly needed overseas resources, not just military supplies for its armies but also food for its civilian population.

The most surprising element in the naval war during the first two years was the absence of a major confrontation between the British and German fleets. Admiral Sir John Jellicoe, commander of the Royal Navy, was content to maintain a blockade from afar and pursue a cautious policy, unwilling to risk a defeat that could

endanger Britain's security. As Churchill once remarked, "Jellicoe was the only man on either side who could lose the war in an afternoon." On the other hand, the German High Seas Fleet remained stationed in home ports, although occasionally conducting night raids on British ports. Single-minded and aggressive, Admiral Reinhard Scheer, who replaced Admiral Alfred von Tirpitz as the naval commander early in 1916, was no more anxious than his predecessor to provoke the larger Royal Navy in an all-out battle.

Instead, Scheer hoped to weaken the British blockade by luring a portion of the Royal Navy into the main body of the High Seas Fleet, where it could be destroyed. But owing to poor scouting, the greater part of the Royal Navy was at sea when the Germans tried one such sortie at the end of May 1916. What followed was the one great naval battle of the war, fought in the North Sea off Jutland. When it was all over after a day and night of furious action, the British had suffered somewhat heavier losses in terms of tonnage and casualties, but the relative strength of the two navies remained much the same. From the point of view of gunnery and seamanship, the Germans had shown themselves to be superior, but their ships were outclassed by the heavier guns of and inferior in numbers to the British dreadnoughts. Sensing impending disaster, Scheer turned and made for home, escaping practically unscathed under the cover of darkness. The German High Seas Fleet would not venture out of its home ports again for the rest of the war.

THE *LUSITANIA*

The Germans next pinned their hopes on the submarine to evade Britain's control of the sea's surface. Early in the war German submarines, cruising undetected, had attacked unarmed ships carrying cargoes vital to Britain's war effort. In May 1915 a British liner, *Lusitania,* was sunk off the coast of Ireland with the loss of 1,200 lives, many of them Americans. Although the ship was carrying munitions and other contraband goods, the shocking toll of lives among women and children caused a storm of indignation in the United States. Further sinkings of unarmed ships led to stronger protests by President Wilson, who threatened to rupture relations with Berlin.

To mollify the Americans, the Germans agreed to suspend attacks against liners and neutral merchant ships. But by the end of 1916, the effect of the Allied blockade was beginning to cause serious food shortages in Germany and Austria. The new military leaders in Germany, General Paul von Hindenburg and his brilliant chief of staff, General Erich Ludendorff, were convinced that defeat was inevitable if the war lasted much longer. Their solution was to resume unrestricted submarine warfare, even though they knew that such a policy was likely to bring the United States into the war on the side of the Allies. They reasoned, however, that it would take the United States many months to train and transport its military forces to the battlefront, by which time they expected to have starved the British into submission.

On February 1, 1917, a new phase of unrestricted submarine warfare went into effect after Berlin announced that all ships, including those of neutral nations, sighted within a specified zone around Great Britain or in the Mediterranean would be sunk without warning. Since the U.S. government could not stand idly by and accept the wanton destruction of U.S. property, it declared war on Germany on April 6. At first the submarine campaign met and exceeded the expectations of its planners. In February U-boats sank 540,000 tons of Allied shipping; in March 594,000 tons; and in April a whopping 881,000 tons. Thereafter the toll of tonnage began to subside but remained sufficiently high in the summer to cause British statesmen considerable anxiety. Faced with a new and destructive offensive weapon, the British gradually developed countermeasures in the form of detection devices, depth charges, mines, and especially the convoy system. Collectively, they brought the submarine menace under control by the end of 1917.

Since the submarine had failed to break the blockade, the Germans were confronted with the necessity of forcing a decision on the western front. By then Germany's population was war weary and starving, and its allies were dispirited and largely spent. Ludendorff, who was really in full charge of the German war effort, decided to stake everything on a final drive for victory before the United States could reach the front in large numbers. Russia's withdrawal from the war the preceding winter had enabled the Germans to transfer large forces from the eastern to the western front. Between March 21 and July 15 Ludendorff delivered five massive blows, which brought the war to a climax. The first (March 21–April 5) fell upon the British in the Somme sector, close to where their lines joined the French army. Ludendorff aimed to isolate the British army from the French and then drive it into the sea.

GENERAL FOCH

Using effective tactics pioneered by General Oskar von Hutier, the Germans overwhelmed the badly outnumbered British forces, inflicting an estimated 178,000 casualties and advancing up to 40 miles. The British line bent ominously but did not break. In the midst of the

crisis British and French political leaders met and decided to entrust at once control of all forces in the west to General Ferdinand Foch, the most able of the French generals. At the same time, the British government strained every nerve to reinforce its badly depleted forces. By diverting units from other theaters, sending boys 18½ instead of 19 into combat, and returning 88,000 men on leave to their units, a total of 170,000 men were sent immediately to France with others to follow.

Having narrowly failed to capture Amiens and divide the two allies, Ludendorff again struck at the British, this time at Lys, south of Ypres (April 9–April 29), where there seemed a possibility of breaking through to the channel ports to cut off their evacuation route. Although the British were driven back 15 to 20 miles in places, the Germans lacked the reserves to convert their initial success into a major victory. Ludendorff's next attack was directed at the French between Soissons and Reims and, like the other two, got off to a fast start (May 27–June 3).

The Germans sent the French reeling back and advanced a record 12 miles in a day. By May 31 they had fought their way to the Marne and were less than 40 miles from Paris. But the offensive stalled because of the exhaustion of the German troops and the timely arrival of U.S. forces, who proved their mettle in their baptism of fire. Ludendorff's fourth drive (June 9–June 14) on a 22-mile front between Montdidier and Noyon was intended to convert the two German salients threatening Paris into one. Foch had anticipated the strategy, and the French army, ready and reinforced, resisted firmly and limited the advance to only six miles. Time was running out for Ludendorff. His final drive (July 15–July 18), more a measure of desperation than a bid for victory, succeeded in crossing the Marne but soon bogged down. Ludendorff's gamble had failed, and in the process he had broken the morale and exhausted the manpower of the German army. The initiative now passed to the Allies.

Thanks to the ever-increasing number of U.S. divisions, Foch was in a position to undertake a counteroffensive. Beginning on July 18, Foch allowed the Germans no respite, hitting different parts of their line in succession and forcing them back on a broad front. On August 8, which Ludendorff called "the black day of the German army," the British Fourth Army, backed by 430 tanks, pierced the line east of Amiens. What troubled Ludendorff was not the ground lost but the large number of German soldiers who offered only token resistance before surrendering. As the fighting ability of the German army had clearly collapsed, Ludendorff recognized that the war could no longer be won. His only option was to continue to fight a defensive action to keep Allied soldiers off German soil until an armistice could be arranged. Germany's allies were in an even worse predicament. Bulgaria capitulated on September 30, Turkey on October 30, and Austria on November 3. After some negotiation an Allied commission presented German leaders armistice terms that fell little short of unconditional surrender.

The Germans were in no position to hold out for better terms. Their army was rapidly disintegrating; many citizens were suffering from malnutrition, and the death rate among children and the elderly was soaring; a full-fledged revolution had broken out in Munich; and the kaiser had abdicated and sought refuge in the Netherlands. The armistice was signed at 5:00 A.M. on November 11 and went into effect at 11:00 A.M. After four years and three months the guns fell silent in Europe.

The effects of the war on the political, economic, and social fabric of Europe were devastating. Not since the Black Death in the 14th century had so many people perished in such a brief period of time. About 10 million of the most able-bodied people of the belligerent nations died in battle, and at least twice that number were wounded, many maimed permanently. Moreover, the loss of civilian life due directly to the war equaled or may even have surpassed the number of soldiers who died in the field. The direct cost of the war, when added to the indirect cost of property damage, diverted production, and trade interruption was incalculable, not only dissipating the national wealth of the European belligerents but leaving them deeply in debt.

The war led to the overthrow of the German, Austrian, and Russian Empires, where the substitution of Bolshevism for the rotting czarist regime would have profound consequences, affecting the world for the next 75 years. The conflict deprived Europe of the primacy it had enjoyed in the 19th century. Never again would it be able to decide the fate of distant countries or, for that matter, be master of its own destiny. Finally, from the tensions and economic dislocation caused by the events of 1914–18 emerged the Nazi state, which provoked the outbreak of World War II in 1939.

See also Kitchener, Horatio Herbert; Schlieffen Plan.

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GEORGE H. CASSAR

World War II

The eventful years between September 1, 1939, and September 2, 1945, form a landmark in world history. From the march of the German war machine into Poland to the Japanese surrender, the world witnessed the most destructive war in human history, fought on land, in the air, and on the sea worldwide. The causes of the war were to be found partially in the provisions of the PARIS PEACE CONFERENCE of January 1919, which was convened after the end of WORLD WAR I. In spite of the pious declarations of ideas like self-determination and international cooperation by U.S. president WOODROW WILSON (1856–1924), the world system that emerged witnessed social unrest, proliferation of revolutionary activities, and a sense of anger in the vanquished powers. National self-interest, the arms race, the failure of collective security, a dismal performance by the LEAGUE OF NATIONS, economic upheavals, and the rise of aggressive nationalism in some countries made the interwar period from 1919 to 1939 one of disillusionment and foreboding.

PREWAR YEARS

The rise of authoritarianism in Italy, Germany, and Japan, along with the Anglo-French policy of APPEASEMENT, took the world on an ominous course toward instability and conflict. The stock market crash in New York resulted in the worldwide GREAT DEPRESSION. The isolation of the United States from European affairs tilted the balance in favor of fascist states. The rise of fascism in Italy and the aggressive foreign policy of BENITO MUSSOLINI (1883–1945) started a series of crises leading to World War II. Mussolini exploited the social and economic chaos of post-1919 Italy. The doctrine of fascism was *credere, combattere, obbedire* (believe, fight, obey). League of Nations sanctions failed when Italy invaded Abyssinia and occupied the capital, Addis Ababa, in May 1936. He annexed Albania in April 1939. Mussolini had an ally, ADOLF HITLER (1889–1945), in his ventures, and the two formed the Rome-Berlin Axis in October 1936. The Versailles Treaty contained the seeds of future conflict, and after becoming chancellor in January 1933, Hitler abrogated the provisions of the treaty with impunity. He and his NAZI PARTY (NSDAP, Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei) spelled out a program of abrogation of the Treaty of Versailles, lebensraum (living space), a greater German Reich, and anti-Semitism.

The collapse of the New York stock market on October 23, 1929, brought about worldwide depression, massive unemployment, inflation, and poverty. It struck the German economy severely. Conscription was introduced, and three wings of armed forces underwent expansion. In March 1936 the Nazi army occupied the Rhineland. Italy was brought into the anti-COMINTERN pact of Germany and Japan. The policy of lebensraum led to the forcible occupation of Austria in March 1938. The republic of Czechoslovakia, with its minority population of 3.25 million Sudetan Germans, was the next to come under the control of the Third Reich. The Sudetan area was given to Germany at the Munich conference of September 29, 1938. Hitler annexed the whole of Czechoslovakia in March 1939. Neville Chamberlain (1869–1940) and Edouard Daladier (1884–1970) of France believed that Hitler would remain satisfied with chunks of territory in his neighborhood and that peace would be maintained in Europe.

Germany and Japan left the League of Nations in 1933, and Italy did so four years afterward. Hitler signed the "Pact of Steel" with Mussolini in May 1939. Great Britain and France were aghast when Hitler and JOSEPH STALIN signed a nonaggression pact on August 23, 1939, that included a secret clause for the division of Poland. Germany was now secured against an impending attack from the east. Moscow gladly concluded an alliance with Berlin and awaited an opportunity to invade Poland. Britain realized belatedly that appeasement had failed, began to build up its armed forces, and signed a mutual assistance pact with Poland on August 25, 1939. It had introduced conscription on April 27 under the Military Training Act.

When the German war machine marched into Poland in a blitzkrieg (lightning attack) on September 1, 1939, World War II began. Hitler did not care for an Anglo-French ultimatum that he withdraw within two days. Great Britain and France declared war on Germany on September 3. The Soviet Union invaded Poland from the east on September 17. In October Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania fell to the Red Army. On November 30, Finland was attacked, and the Soviet Union was expelled from the League of Nations a month later.

THE *SITZKREIG*

There was a lull during the first few months on the western front. This period, known as the *Sitzkrieg* (phony war), lasted until April 1940. Hitler's Wehrmacht (armed force) overran Denmark and Norway in

April 1940, and the following month the army and the Luftwaffe (air force) invaded and took control of the Netherlands, Belgium, and Luxembourg. The French had depended on the impregnable line of fortifications known as the MAGINOT LINE for protection against a German attack, but the latter avoided it and advanced into France through Ardennes in June. The triumphant Nazi army entered Paris on June 14. An armistice was signed on June 22, and Marshal Henri-Philippe Pétain (1856–1951) became the premier of the puppet VICHY government. General Charles de Gaulle (1890–1970) organized the Free French government in exile, and Britain recognized it on June 28. A resistance movement against the Nazis also developed among exiles from Poland, Norway, the Netherlands, Yugoslavia, Belgium, and other countries. The German air force began to attack military installations in the south of Great Britain and in September began to bomb London and other cities. In the Battle of Britain, from August to October, the Royal Air Force held against the Luftwaffe. The Tripartite, or Axis, pact was signed between Germany, Italy, and Japan.

JAPAN MOVES FORWARD

Japan, like its Axis partners, had followed an aggressive foreign policy. Militarism was in ascendancy in the country. The era of acquiescence of the Paris conference and the Washington agreements was coming to an end. The extension of naval disarmament to cruisers, destroyers, and submarines at the London conference of 1930 was disliked by the army and the extreme rightists. An agenda of military expansion and territorial acquisition was in the offing. From the 1930s the military acted as a force above the law, and there were a series of political assassinations of Japanese politicians by army officers. The issue between Japan and China that began over the MANCHURIAN INCIDENT propelled Japan toward the war. Manchuria would be a prized possession because its abundance of iron and coal could provide raw materials to the Japanese heavy industries. The vast land area could also solve to an extent the problem of overpopulation. In September 1931 the Japanese KWANTUNG ARMY marched unilaterally to occupy Manchuria. The client state of Manchukuo (1932–45) was established.

The League of Nations had not done anything substantial to check the Japanese aggression. Japan withdrew from the league in 1933. The second SINO-JAPANESE WAR began in July 1937 after a Japanese attack on five northern provinces in China. The Nationalist capital, Nanjing (Nanking), was sacked with brutality. Anti-Comintern alliance and Japanese endorsement of German and Italian policies changed the situation. Japan received full support from the two countries. The Rome-Berlin-Tokyo Axis was formed after the Tripartite Pact, with the provision of political, economic, and military assistance in case of attack against a signatory by a country not involved in the present European or Sino-Japanese wars. The provision obviously referred to the United States. With the support of Germany and Italy, the Japanese war machine moved into Southeast Asia, incorporating it with the GREATER EAST ASIA CO-PROSPERITY SPHERE.

Balkan countries like Hungary, Romania, and Bulgaria joined with the Axis powers on March 25, 1941. Greece and Yugoslavia capitulated to Axis control in April. The Nazi plan of lebensraum had looked toward the east, and Operation Barbarossa against the Soviet Union began on June 22, with Hungary, Romania, Finland, and Bulgaria joining in. Hitler was confident of a victory before the winter, and the Nazi blitzkrieg almost worked. Troops reached Leningrad within three months, overrunning the Ukraine region and nearing Moscow. But the Red Army fought back, and national spirit was high. The winter set in, and the Soviet Union regained much ground.

Meanwhile, relations between Japan and the United States were taking a nosedive, which would result in a change in the course of the war. The Allied powers would gain an upper hand. The attack on Manchuria in 1931 and the second Sino-Japanese War, beginning in 1937, convinced the Unites States that Japan was on a mission to dominate the Far East. The Japanese were ready to invade the Dutch East Indies. The United States demanded the withdrawal of Japanese troops from China and Southeast Asia.

Japan countered with a proposal that the United States should not interfere with the government set up in Nanjing. After the beginning of World War II, Washington had followed a policy of pro-Allied neutrality and was involved in the war through the Lend-Lease program. It was also fully prepared in case it was forced to join the war. U.S. president FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT (1882–1945) had called a special session of Congress in September 1939 and revised the neutrality laws.

British premier WINSTON CHURCHILL (1874–1965) met Roosevelt on August 14, 1941, and both signed the Atlantic Charter, which called for international peace. Negotiations between the Japanese government, headed by TOJO HIDEKI (1884–1948), and Roosevelt were not successful. The Japanese attack was imminent, but the United States was in the dark about where the Japanese would strike. The assumption was that it would be in

Hitler accepts the ovation of the Reichstag in Berlin after announcing the "peaceful" acquisition of Austria in March 1938. This set the stage to annex the Czechoslovakian Sudetenland, largely inhabited by a German-speaking population.

Southeast Asia. Admiral Isoroku Yamamoto (1884–1943) made the strategic decision to attack the U.S. naval base in Hawaii, Pearl Harbor, where the damage would be greatest in a minimum amount of time. The imperial conference of December 1, 1941, ratified the decision to go to war. The mission aimed at inflicting maximum damage and surprised the United States by attacking in their home base.

The Japanese move made the decision to enter the war easier for the United States. The whole of the United States directed all its might against Japan. If the attack would have come either on the British Malay or in the Netherlands Indies, the United States might not have found it a sufficient reason to go to war with Japan. On December 6 President Roosevelt made a final appeal to the Japanese emperor, but it produced no result. At 7:55 the next morning (3:25 a.m. Japan Standard Time, December 8), Japanese warplanes struck the military and naval installation of Pearl Harbor. The air strike leader of the Japanese carrier force, Commander Mitsuo Fuchida (1902–76), spearheaded the 183 planes of the first attack. The well-executed and surprise Japanese attack resulted in a dramatic tactical victory, stunning the United States and the Allies. Simultaneously, there were Japanese attacks on Hong Kong, the Philippines, and Guam. On December 8 Roosevelt declared war on Japan. Germany and Italy declared war on the United States three days later. The United States went ahead with a massive mobilization plan. It became "an arsenal of democracy," as Roosevelt had commented.

THE WAR HEATS UP

Within six months Japan expanded over a large area in Southeast Asia. Singapore fell to the Japanese in

February 1942 with the surrender of British troops there, and three months afterward U.S. and Filipino troops surrendered in Manila Bay. The Japanese reached the borders of India after occupying British Burma (Myanmar). Subhas Chandra Bose (1897–1945) had taken the freedom movement against British colonial rule beyond India's border and formed the Indian National Army (INA) in Singapore. The INA collaborated with the Japanese in the latter's battles in Singapore and Burma. In March 1942 the Nazi army began a drive toward Caucasia to capture oil fields.

The German Sixth Army was bogged down on the outskirts of Stalingrad in terrible urban warfare. The German army faced Soviet counterattacks throughout the winter of 1942 and surrendered to the Red Army in February 1943. The Germans were driven out of Caucasia. By the end of the year, the Red Army had occupied portions of Ukraine. The Red Army was in Poland by 1944. In 1942 and 1943 the Axis armies were on retreat on many fronts of the war. The Japanese navy suffered a crushing defeat by the U.S. Navy in June 1942 in the Battle of Midway. The Allies had been victorious over the Germans and the Italians in the Battle of El Alamein in North Africa.

Unlike World War I, when the powers met for the Paris Peace Conference after the war was over, the leaders of the Grand Alliance met frequently to formulate plans and devise strategies while the war was still going on. After the Atlantic Charter Roosevelt and Churchill met in Casablanca between January 14 and 24, 1943, to discuss the surrender of the Axis countries and plan the Italian campaign. At the 1943 Cairo Conference, from November 22 to 26, both leaders, along with Kuomintang leader Chiang Kai-shek (1887–1975), pledged to defeat the Japanese, stripping Japan of its acquisitions in the war and gaining independence for Korea. The Tehran Conference, held between November 28 and December 1, was the first meeting of the "Big 3." Roosevelt, Churchill, and Stalin decided to open a second front in western Europe, Operation Overlord. There were heated debates regarding the date and place of attack.

ALLIED VICTORY

The Allied invasion of Sicily took place in May 1943, and Italy surrendered in September. Mussolini set up a puppet government in northern Italy with Nazi help, but it was short lived because the advancing Allied army occupied Rome on June 4, 1944. Mussolini was captured and executed by communist partisans while fleeing in April 1945. The D-day invasion began on June 6, 1944, with the Allied landing in Normandy, France. Thus, the second front was opened against Germany. Paris fell to the Allied army on August 25, after the surrender of German forces.

In the latter half of 1945, the Japanese were defeated several times. General Douglas MacArthur, commander of the Allied forces in the southwest Pacific area, invaded the Solomon Islands, New Guinea, and the Philippines. By May 1945 the Japanese imperial army had lost Iwo Jima, Okinawa, the Philippines, Borneo, and Myanmar. Pressure on Germany continued with carpet bombing and Allied advances. Romania and Bulgaria had surrendered in August and September 1944, respectively.

The Red Army was advancing from Poland. Hungary fell in February 1945, and after two months the city of Berlin was surrounded by Russian troops. In April Leipzig and Munich fell to U.S. troops. Hitler committed suicide on April 30, and on May 7 the Germans signed surrender terms at Rheims, France. The next day (V-E day) the German commanders surrendered to the Red Army in Berlin.

On July 26 the Japanese were asked to surrender and refused. On August 6 and 9 atomic bombs were dropped on the cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, with devastating effects. Japan surrendered after signing the instrument of surrender on the USS *Missouri* in Tokyo Harbor on September 2, 1945. Japan was placed under international control by the Allies and lost all its overseas possessions. For the first time in its history, Japan was under occupation by a foreign power.

THE AFTERMATH

In the wartime conferences of Yalta (February 1945) and Potsdam (July 1945), differences were emerging between the Soviet Union on the one hand and the United States and Great Britain on the other. Once the war was over and the common enemy was defeated the cold war began. A process of decolonization began, and the postwar period witnessed the emergence of new nations in Asia, Africa, and Latin America as well as the strengthening of anticolonial movements. There was also a need for new international peacekeeping machinery, and the idea for the United Nations was born during the war. The charter of the United Nations was drafted at the San Francisco Conference of April 25, 1945. It was officially born on October 24, 1945.

World War II left a legacy of homeless persons, casualties, maimed soldiers, damaged monuments and cities, political instability, economic chaos, and a sense of gloom. About 20 million military personnel and 30

million civilian had perished in the war. The death toll for the Soviet Union was the largest, with 20 to 28 million soldiers and civilians having died. The loss of property amounted to a billion dollars. The United States launched the aid package called the Marshall Plan to help with economic recovery in Europe.

The saga of the war will hold a place in the history of the world as a story of savagery, violence, and the cruelty of human beings to their fellow men, women, and children. Hitler stands out as villain number one with his Jewish ghettos, concentration camps, gas chambers, and scientific experiments on the Jews, Gypsies, and Slavs. The Holocaust remains a dark chapter, with the death of about 6 million Jews and 4 million Poles, communists, dissidents, gays, Afro-Germans, Soviet prisoners, and others. War crime tribunals like the Nuremberg trials and the Tokyo war crimes trial brought the guilty to justice.

General Douglas MacArthur signs the documents of Japanese surrender aboard the USS Missouri *on September 2, 1945.*

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Patit Paban Mishra

X

Xi'an (Sian) incident (1936)

The LONG MARCH (1934–35) severely damaged the Chinese Communists, who continued to fight from their new base in northern Sha'anxi (Shensi) province in northwestern China. Pursuing his policy of "first domestic pacification, then resisting Japan," CHIANG KAI-SHEK, leader of the Nationalist government, appointed Zhang Xueliang (Chang Hsueh-liang), the ousted warlord of Manchuria, and his Manchurian army units to complete the task of finishing off the Communists. But Zhang and his troops had been persuaded by rising popular sentiment that all Chinese should unite against Japan, and the campaign ground to a halt.

In December 1936, Chiang convened a military conference at Xi'an, a city in northern China, where he planned to fire Zhang and send in fresh troops willing to fight. Fearful that his plan to form an anti-Japanese united front would be thwarted, Zhang, a recently recovered heroin addict, seized Chiang and his aides on the night of December 12. This was the Xi'an incident that shocked China and the world.

Zhang presented Chiang with eight demands that included immediate cessation of the anti-Communist campaign and reforming of the Nationalist government to form a united front against Japan. Chiang refused to comply, choosing death if necessary. He also allowed Zhang to read his diary, which revealed his plans to resist Japan. Zhang was completely at a loss on what to do next. Across China popular support rallied around Chiang as the only leader capable of leading the nation against Japan. At their headquarters at YAN'AN (Yenan) one faction of Communist leaders advocated killing their enemy Chiang. Another led by Zhou Enlai (Chou En-lai) pushed for a peaceful settlement. The Soviet Union had also concluded that Chiang was the only Chinese leader capable of uniting China against Japan. Under NAZI German pressure in Europe, JOSEPH STALIN supported a Chinese leader capable of resisting Japan. Zhou flew to Xi'an, as did Madame Chiang and a number of leaders from Nanjing (Nanking), and the parties negotiated and came to an unwritten agreement.

On December 25, Chiang and his party were released, flying back to Nanjing in triumph accompanied by Zhang. Chiang submitted his resignation, which was rejected. Zhang was tried for mutiny by a military court, received a 10-year sentence, was pardoned, but was put under house arrest; his Manchurian army was reorganized. Importantly, a session of the Nationalist Party leadership convened in the spring of 1937 agreed to stop the anti-Communist campaign, reform and reorganize the government, and negotiate with the CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY to form a united front against Japan. Zhou Enlai arrived in Nanjing to conduct talks on behalf of the Chinese Communist Party. Chinese moves toward unity propelled Japan's militarists to speed up their agenda of aggression, resulting in the MARCO POLO BRIDGE INCIDENT on July 7, 1937. This attack developed into an all-out war, which pushed the two parties in China to conclude a second UNITED FRONT against their

common enemy. Thus, the Xi'an incident changed the course of Chinese history.

See also Mao Zedong; Sino-Japanese War; warlord era in China (1916–1927).

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Jiu-Hwa Lo Upshur

Y

Yalta Conference (1945)

The Yalta Conference, also called the Crimea Conference or the Argonaut Conference, was a meeting of the leaders of the Grand Alliance in World War II. The meeting took place from February 4 until February 11, 1945, in Yalta in the Soviet Union. The Grand Alliance included the countries of the United States, the United Kingdom, and the Soviet Union. The delegations consisted of over 700 people in total and were headed by President Franklin D. Roosevelt, Prime Minister Winston Churchill, and the first secretary of the Soviet Communist Party, Joseph Stalin. The Yalta Conference is considered to be one of the three most important wartime meetings of the Grand Alliance (the other two being the Teheran Conference, which took place from November 28 until December 1, 1943, and the Potsdam Conference, which took place from July 17 until August 2, 1945). The main purpose of the Yalta Conference was to discuss further strategies for military operations against the Axis powers, the establishment of occupation zones in defeated Germany and Austria, the postwar border settlement of Poland, the creation of the United Nations, and the Soviet Union's military entry in the war in the Far East. The agreements reached at the conference were included in the Protocol of Proceedings of the Crimea Conference.

A major goal of the U.S. delegation at the Yalta Conference was to ensure the Soviet Union's participation in the establishment of the United Nations (UN). Stalin declared the Soviet commitment to take part in the founding conference of the UN in San Francisco in April 1945. He received guarantees that the Security Council of the UN would include five permanent members equipped with veto powers. Also, he received guarantees that Ukraine and Belarus, which at that time were Soviet republics, would be included as separate members of the General Assembly, giving the Soviet Union three votes instead of one.

Roosevelt proposed that the Protocol of Proceedings of the Yalta Conference should include the Declaration of Liberated Europe, which asserted the principles of democratic governance and self-determination of European nations freed from the Nazi occupation. In the declaration the participants obliged themselves to facilitate the postwar process of European liberation through supporting conditions of internal peace, providing relief measures, and assisting in the organization of free, democratic, and secret national elections.

The participants at the Yalta Conference reconfirmed their demands for the unconditional surrender of the Axis powers. They also agreed that subsequent to their surrender Germany and Austria would be subject to strict demilitarization and de-Nazification policies. The issue of war criminals was to be subject to further inquiry by the foreign ministers of the United States, the United Kingdom, and the Soviet Union. The members of the Grand Alliance agreed also on the division of Germany. This meant that the German territory would be divided into four zones of military occupation controlled by the United States, the United Kingdom, the Soviet Union, and France. The postwar

Winston Churchill (left), Franklin Roosevelt (center), and Joseph Stalin (right) at the Yalta Conference in 1945. The three powerful leaders discussed plans for the creation of new boundaries throughout Europe following the conclusion of World War II.

occupation would be governed by the Allied Control Council, consisting of the three states of the Grand Alliance and France. Stalin was initially opposed to Churchill's demands for the inclusion of France into the Allied Control Council and consented only under the condition that the French zone would not be carved out of the Soviet one. The Soviet Union also became entitled to half of all the postwar reparation payments, which were approximated at US $20 billion. In order to work out specific reparation policies, a commission was established in Moscow, which included representatives of the United States, the United Kingdom, and the Soviet Union. At the Yalta Conference it was also confirmed that after the war all individuals accused of desertion or treason would be made to return to their countries of national origin.

The issue of the Polish borders and the Polish government received a great deal of attention at the Yalta Conference. By then, the United States and the United Kingdom had officially recognized the Polish government-in-exile, which had moved to London after the German invasion of Poland in 1939. The Soviet leaders recognized the provisional Polish government established by the Polish Committee of National Liberation, which was created in

1944 in the city of Lublin in the territory controlled by the Soviet Army. The provisional Polish government mostly included members of the former Polish socialist political organizations. Another controversy during the Yalta Conference was the issue of the revision of the Polish borders. Stalin insisted that in this respect the Western allies should recognize the Soviet-German Boundary Treaty from 1939 (also known as the Ribbentrop-Molotov Pact). The treaty had pushed the border approximately 200 kilometers to the west, thus giving the Soviet Union the western territories of Ukraine and Belarus. Roosevelt and Churchill agreed to recognize the legitimacy of the Polish Committee of National Liberation, even though they also insisted that after the war the Polish government should be reorganized on a more democratic basis. Stalin promised to facilitate democratic elections in Poland and to include in the government members of the London government-in-exile. Also, Roosevelt and Churchill consented to the proposed revision of the Polish eastern border. The participants of the Yalta Conference decided to compensate Poland's territorial loss at the expense of Germany. Thus, the prewar Polish-German border was pushed west to lines formed by the Rivers Oder and Neisse. The result of the revisionist border policies was the creation of a much more ethnically and religiously homogenous Poland than before the war, as the areas inhabited by the Ukrainian or Belarusian Orthodox minorities were assigned to the Soviet Union and as over 7 million German residents were forcefully expelled westward.

An important goal of the U.S. delegation was to obtain Soviet agreement to join the war with Japan in the Far East. Stalin made a commitment that the Soviet Union would enter the war two or three months after the German surrender had been obtained. In return for its involvement, the Soviet Union demanded (1) the recognition of the independence of the Mongolian's Peoples Republic from China, while China would regain sovereignty over the territory of Manchuria; (2) the return to the Soviet Union of the territories of southern Sakhalin and the neighboring islands that Russia had lost to Japan in the 1904–05 war; and (3) the surrender of the Kurile Islands to the Soviet Union. In return, Stalin made a commitment to start negotiations with the National government of China of Chiang Kai-shek in order to facilitate the Chinese war of resistance against Japan. The Western allies expected Stalin to expedite the peace agreement between Chiang Kai-Shek and Mao Zedong. Controversially, all these agreements were kept secret from China.

The importance of the Yalta Conference was that it sealed the future of postwar Europe as divided between two spheres of influence. Among the most controversial decisions made in Yalta was the acceptance by the United States and the United Kingdom of Soviet dominance over the countries of Eastern Europe, which legitimized the expansion of the Communist ideology. It paved the path for the establishment of Soviet-style authoritarian regimes in East Germany, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Romania, and Bulgaria. It also meant that the Baltic states of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania, which had lost their state sovereignty in 1940, became republics of the Soviet Union.

Although the conference in Yalta was characterized by an atmosphere of agreement and cooperation among the three allies, it also marked the initial stages of the cold war. With the demise of the Axis powers, conflicts arose among the former allies due to their divergent political interests, irreconcilable ideological differences, and the escalating economic and military competition between the United States and the Soviet Union.

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Magdalena Zolkos

Yamagata Aritomo

(1838–1922) *Japanese political leader*

Yamagata Aritomo was a Japanese politician who was prime minister on two occasions (1889–91 and 1898–1900) and an elder statesman during the first decades of the 20th century, when he played an important role as an adviser to other politicians.

Born in Hagi in the town of Choshu, he was the son of a low-ranking samurai. He started working as an errand boy for the treasury and also for the police. As a youth he was influenced by the Sonno Joi movement, which operated under the slogans "Revere the Emperor"

and "Expel the Barbarians." At the age of 30 he played a minor role in the Meiji Restoration.

In 1869, Yamagata was sent to Europe to study the system of military training in the West. On his return in 1870, he was appointed the assistant vice minister of military affairs. Two years later the army ministry subsumed the ministry of military affairs, and in the following year Yamagata was put in charge of the new ministry. As a result, he was involved in the Conscription Ordinance of 1873 but did not take part in the decisions over whether Japan should send a punitive expedition to Taiwan, a province of China. In 1878, he reorganized the Japanese army along the model of the Prussian armed forces and led it in the defeat of the Satsuma Rebellion four years later. One of the important units that Yamagata established was the Goshimpei ("Imperial Force"), which later became the Konoe ("Imperial Guard").

In December 1878, Yamagata resigned as minister of the army and became the first chief of the Japanese general staff. This was part of his move to separate the military from politics, which he confirmed in 1882 in the Imperial Rescript to Soldiers and Sailors that urged soldiers to follow the orders of the emperor and not the politicians. However, it was not until 18 years later that Yamagata was able to get a law passed that allowed only active generals and admirals to serve as cabinet ministers of war and the navy. Although this was aimed at ensuring separation, it did not prevent the military governments of the 1930s and early 1940s, where rapid promotion ensured that newly created generals could become ministers.

Made a count in 1884, Yamagata resigned as chief of the general staff later in the same year to become minister for home affairs, a post he held from 1883 until 1889. During this time he remodeled his department, changing the system of running the police force. He also ensured that the police came under the direct control of the minister. In 1888, Yamagata, still a minister, went to Europe and after a year there returned with new ideas. He became the first prime minister of Japan on December 4, 1889, under a newly established Japanese diet. Political infighting led to Yamagata's resignation on May 6, 1891. He became minister of justice from 1892 until 1893, and then president of the privy council for two more years.

With the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War in 1894, Yamagata returned to the army as commander of the First Army, which was deployed to Korea.

On November 8, 1898, Yamagata became prime minister again. He had just been promoted to field marshal and appointed many generals and admirals to the cabinet, emphasizing his view that Japan should take a far more aggressive foreign policy. He also issued a government regulation that only officers in active service could become the army or navy minister. This coincided with the outbreak of the Boxer Rebellion in China; Yamagata immediately sent over a large military force, which was to play a role in the allied attack on Beijing (Peking) and ensured Japan's role in subsequent negotiations.

However, Yamagata was worried about Russia's territorial ambitions. As a result, he drew up a contingency plan in which Japan would be prepared to fight both Russia and the United States simultaneously. Part of the plan was implemented in World War II. By this time, Yamagata's service was recognized, and he was raised to the dignity of a prince.

When Ito Hirobumi was assassinated in 1909, Yamagata, as the "elder statesman," became the most powerful politician of Japan, and cabinet ministers sought advice from him. During the Chinese Revolution of 1911, Yamagata was keen on preserving the Qing (Ch'ing) dynasty. Three years later he led Japan into World War I as an Allied power. Yamagata overplayed his influence in 1921 and was publicly censured for his criticism of the marriage of the crown prince (later Emperor Hirohito). He had wanted the prince to take a bride from the Satsuma family. He was still in disgrace when he died on February 1, 1922.

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Justin Corfield

Yan'an (Yenan) period of the Chinese Communist Party

Yan'an is a small town in northern Sha'anxi (Shensi) province that became the headquarters of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) from 1936 after the Long March until 1949. The Yan'an period referred to the years between 1937 and 1945; it was crucial in preparing the CCP for power.

Japan's total war against China in July 1937 propelled the Nationalist, or Kuomintang (KMT), government to stop its campaign against the CCP. The two sides formed a second United Front on September 12, 1937. In a manifesto titled "Together We Confront the National Crisis," the CCP agreed to obey

Dr. Sun Yat-sen's Three People's Principles (the ideology of the KMT), cease all anti-KMT activities, abolish the Soviet-style government in areas it controlled, and reorganize the Red Army to integrate it into the National Army. In reality, the CCP retained control of areas where it was already established, only changing the name of its government, and also control of its military units, renaming the Red Army the Eighth Route Army in the northwest and the New Fourth Army in Jiangxi (Kiangsi).

With the Nationalist government bearing the brunt of Japan's assault, the CCP was freed from KMT attacks and used the unprecedented opportunity to grow. The CCP priority, as Communist leader Mao Zedong (Mao Tse-tung) ordered his cadres, was "70 percent expansion, 20 percent dealing with the Kuomintang, and 10 percent resisting Japan." His goal was to expand the CCP forces from 30,000 men to 1 million by the end of the war. He also mapped out a three-step strategy: first to manage the compromise with the KMT, next to attempt to achieve parity with it, and third to infiltrate to new areas and establish new guerrilla bases. The United Front had broken down completely by 1941 with a major clash in the New Fourth Army incident. Negotiations during the remainder of the war never resolved the conflicting goals of the two sides. A war within the war enmeshed the two Chinese parties, with the CCP continuing to expand its bases and the KMT blockading the Yan'an area.

The Yan'an period was also important for laying down the principles of Chinese communism. Mao spent much time thinking and writing, as did his second in command, Liu Shaoqi (Liu Shao-ch'i). Mao's essays included "On the Protracted War," "Problems of Strategy in Guerrilla War against Japan," "On New Democracy," and "On Liberalism." Liu's works included "How to be a Good Communist" and "On Inner-Party Struggle." Mao's works formed the basis of his later claim to be an original contributor in the development of Marxist-Leninist ideology.

The Yan'an period was also marked by the training and education of workers and peasants to be active supporters of the CCP, moderate land reform policies, and improvements to the rural economy. As a result the few Westerners (mostly reporters and not trained specialists on China) who were able to avoid the KMT blockade or were permitted to make brief chaperoned visits reported glowingly of their Yan'an experience. From journalist Edgar Snow's book *Red Star Over China*, the result of his visit in 1936 and his interviews with Mao and other leaders, and from the accounts of shorter visits by other journalists, Westerners learned that the CCP leaders were not like the Soviet Communists but were agrarian reformers. They compared Yan'an favorably with the Nationalist capital, Chongqing (Chungking), which they described as corrupt. Moscow also fostered this view when Joseph Stalin called the CCP "margarine" or "radish" Communists.

See also Sino-Japanese War.

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Jiu-Hwa Lo Upshur

Young Turks

Young Turks is the name given to Ottoman dissidents who from the end of the 19th century through World War I sought to reform the Ottoman Empire; the Young Turks were strongly influenced by the earlier Young Ottoman movement of the 1870s. Turkish exiles in Paris were first known as Young Turks until various other dissident factions throughout the Ottoman Empire, Europe, and North Africa united under the banner of the Ittihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti, or Committee of Union and Progress (CUP) in 1907.

Although the groups were varied and widespread, they were all opposed to the autocratic rule of the sultan and sought to restore parliament and the constitution. Sultan Abdul Hamid II (1842–1918) originally introduced the constitution and parliament in 1876, among other reforms initiated by his predecessors during the Tanzimat period, but suspended them in 1878 and moved toward a severely autocratic and repressive regime. In 1908 CUP-led troops marched to the capital city, Istanbul, and demanded the restoration of parliament and the constitution. The sultan acquiesced, and elections were held for the first time in 30 years. Exiled Young Turks, notably men from Salonica who primarily led the organization and formed the leadership base, returned as prominent members of the CUP. The CUP allowed Sultan Abdul Hamid to remain in

control of politics while they acted as a watchdog over the government. This changed when a counterrevolution, staged by Islamists, conservatives, and those loyal to the sultan, occurred in 1909. The counterrevolutionaries drove the CUP out of Istanbul, but the CUP reorganized in Macedonia and recaptured Istanbul by force. After quelling the counterrevolution, the Young Turks deposed Sultan Abdul Hamid II and replaced him with his brother Murad V, officially changing the government to a constitutional and parliamentary regime. The Young Turks did not (nor did they wish to) abolish the sultanate but instead viewed their roles as guardians of the constitution and reformers of the empire and not as leaders of the country (until World War I). The sultan maintained his powers as caliph (leader of the Muslim world), along with the right to appoint a grand vizier and Sheik al-Islam.

International events strongly affected the policies of the Young Turks and the CUP. The Balkan provinces of the Ottoman Empire and the Great Powers of Europe took advantage of the weakened state of the empire caused by the revolution and the counterrevolution. Austria-Hungary, Greece, and Italy made significant claims on Ottoman territories, and the CUP-led government was unable to offer much resistance. Montenegro, Serbia, and Bulgaria declared war on the Ottoman Empire, resulting in the loss of most of the European provinces, notably the city of Edirne. The loss of Edirne stunned the Ottomans (it was the former capital) and inadvertently brought about a coup d'état from within the CUP inner circle (known as the Bab-I Ali coup) in 1913. The loss of Edirne exposed the weakness of the CUP, prompting the leading faction to take control of the party. Three figures emerged at the forefront, Enver Pasha, Talat Pasha, and Cemal Pasha. After Enver (who controlled the military) led the successful recapture of Edirne (and became a hero), he was promoted to the position of minister of war. Talat Pasha, a former postman, became minister of the interior, and Cemal Pasha became the military governor of Istanbul. They were informally known as the leading triumvirate. After the coup the CUP took on a more dominant role in domestic and international government policies.

The start of World War I changed the role of the CUP. The Young Turks entered into an alliance with Germany and joined the conflict in 1914. The Germans used the empire as a buffer against Russia, while the Ottomans needed German protection from Russian encroachment. The fear of Russian (and later Greek) advancement led to terrible atrocities committed against the Armenian and Christian communities of Anatolia, inspired by the CUP and still controversial to this day. The German alliance proved disastrous for the CUP, whose leaders were forced to flee after signing the armistice in 1918.

Despite their failures, the Young Turks contributed significantly to reforms within the Ottoman Empire that directly inspired the independence movement and the formation of modern Turkey. The CUP was able to consolidate power, free the economy from the control of minority groups, abolish the centuries-old system of capitulations, and set the stage for economic independence. They initiated basic rights for women, which were expanded and enhanced in the later Republic of Turkey. The Young Turks sought a synthesis of Western and Eastern ideals, fanned the flames of nationalism, and introduced the idea of pan-Turkism, later expanded upon by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk (the founder of modern Turkey) and his supporters. The CUP laid the groundwork for a successful resistance movement. Due to this foresight the Turkish army and the Turkish people were able to fight off the occupying forces of the Great Powers and the Greeks, who after World War II attempted to annex the western coast of Turkey. They were soundly defeated in 1922. The present-day Republic of Turkey continued many of the reforms and the ideology propagated by the Young Turks and enhanced these ideals in the formation of a state with a democratic emphasis.

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Katie Belliel

Yuan Shikai (Yuan Shih-k'ai)

(1857–1916) *Chinese general and politician*

Yuan Shikai was a skilled general and unprincipled politician who rose to be president of China but failed to become emperor. He is remembered among Chinese as the triple traitor for his treachery toward the reforming emperor in 1898 and for betraying the Qing (Ch'ing) dynasty in the revolution of 1911 and the republic after he became president.

Yuan first gained recognition as China's representative to Korea in 1882. He remained in Korea until

1894, where he trained the Korean army and upheld China's suzerainty against Japanese aggression. When war over Korea with Japan became inevitable and realizing Japan's military strength, Yuan resigned from his post and fled home. China's catastrophic defeat in the Sino-Japanese War of 1894–95 led the Qing court to establish a modern army (called the New Army) under Yuan. It also led the young emperor Guangxu (Kuang-hsu) to embark on fundamental reforms in 1898. The emperor's policies went against the reactionary faction at court headed by his aunt the dowager empress Cixi (Tz'u-hsi), who had ostensibly retired but continued to dominate the government.

The showdown focused on Yuan, who controlled the troops in the capital, Beijing (Peking), and he betrayed the emperor to Cixi who imprisoned the emperor and rescinded all reforms. The reformers were either captured and executed or fled abroad. Yuan's reward was appointment as acting governor of Shandong (Shantung) province, where in 1899 ignorant and xenophobic people popularly known as the Boxers began to harass foreigners.

Yuan realized the folly of the Boxer movement and suppressed them in Shandong in defiance of Cixi's orders. Both Guangxu and Cixi died in 1908, and the childless Guangxu was succeeded by his brother's three-year-old son, Pu-i (P'u-yi), as Emperor Xuantong (Hsuan-tung). Yuan was forced to retire but kept in touch with the New Army that he had helped to organize and train.

On October 10, 1911, on his 11th attempt, Dr. Sun Yat-sen's followers instigated a revolution in Wuhan that spread rapidly in southern China. Since Yuan held the loyalty of the New Army, the panicked Qing court begged him to lead it against the rebels, acceding to his demands for money and total control. Yuan defeated the revolutionaries but did not destroy them, proceeding to bargain with both sides to ensure the abdication of the Qing emperor and agreement by Sun Yat-sen to step down as provisional president of the Chinese Republic in his favor.

Once president, his next goals were to wield absolute power, then to become emperor. When parliamentary elections in 1912 resulted in Dr. Sun's Nationalist party winning a majority in both houses, Yuan had the incoming Nationalist party's designated premier assassinated. When anti-Yuan governors in southern provinces revolted to protect the constitution in 1913, his superior forces defeated them. He then ruled as a ruthless dictator, dismissing all elected local assemblies and using censorship and the army to enforce obedience. Yuan's ultimate goal was to become emperor.

With the European powers engaged in World War I, he only needed to secure Japan's support, which he hoped to do by agreeing to its infamous Twenty-one Demands in 1915. However, his proclamation to become emperor on January 1, 1916, met with widespread opposition. The governors of southern provinces not under his direct control rose in revolt, and his own lieutenants refused to come to his aid, perhaps because they feared that the realization of his ambitions was detrimental to their own. On March 22, 1916, he canceled his imperial plans and announced that he would resume his presidency, which was widely resisted. The issue was solved when he died suddenly in May. Yuan's dictatorial rule destroyed China's chance of establishing a constitutional republic after 1912. His death left a legacy of political fragmentation that led to a decade of civil wars and warlordism.

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Jiu-Hwa Lo Upshur

Z

Zaghlul, Sa'd

(1860–1927) and Safia Zaghlul (d. 1946)
Egyptian nationalist leaders

Sa'd Zaghlul was the founder and leader of the Wafd Party, the leading nationalist party in Egypt after World War I. Zaghlul was born in the Delta area and was a scholarship student at al-Azhar University. He was influenced by the reformers Jamal al-Din al-Afghani and Muhammad Abdu, with whom he worked on the *Egyptian Gazette*. He became a lawyer and worked as a judge before being appointed minister of education in 1906. Zaghlul's abilities and hard work earned the praise of Lord Cromer, the British de facto governor of Egypt. Zaghlul was elected to the legislative assembly and served as vice president of the assembly from 1913 to its closure by the British at the outbreak of World War I in 1914. A gifted orator, Zaghlul was an outspoken critic of the government and an ardent nationalist.

In 1896 he married Safia Fehmy, the daughter of Mustafa Fehmy, a wealthy aristocrat and former prime minister. The marriage was childless, but Safia became a close confidante and a supporter of her husband's political work. Their large villa in Cairo became known as Beit al-Umma, or House of the People. Sa'd Zaghlul was also politically close to Makram Ebeid, a Coptic Christian, whom he called his "adopted son."

Encouraged by Allied statements regarding self-determination and freedom, Zaghlul gathered together a group of like-minded Egyptian nationalists to form a delegation, or Wafd, shortly before the end of World War I. The Wafd presented its demands for complete independence to Reginald Wingate, the British high commissioner, who forwarded their request to London. However, the British, who had no intentions of relinquishing control over Egypt, refused to meet or negotiate with Zaghlul.

As national unrest increased throughout Egypt, Zaghlul and several other Wafdists were arrested and deported to Malta in 1919. The arrests led to a full-scale revolution that the British put down by force. In her husband's absence Safia Zaghlul became a leading spokesperson for the Wafd and was called Um Misr (mother of Egypt). She addressed striking students from the balcony of her home and in 1919 led the first political demonstration of women in the Middle East.

In the face of unending demonstrations and strikes, the British were forced to release Sa'd Zaghlul, who then traveled to the Paris Peace Conference and London but failed to secure Egyptian independence. Zaghlul was a national hero in Egypt, and the Wafd was the dominant political party. In 1922 Britain ended the protectorate over Egypt and declared it independent, but it was symbolic rather than actual independence. When nationalist discontent continued, Zaghlul was deported to the Seychelles via Aden. More demonstrations predictably ensued, and he was freed after more than a year in captivity. Zaghlul won the open and free 1924 elections with a large majority, but he was forced to resign following the assassination of Sir Lee Stack, the British sirdar (ruler) of Sudan, in Cairo several months later.

Sa'd Zaghlul died in 1927 after a short illness. Safia assumed a more important role in the Wafd. As Wafdists met to discuss who should replace Sa'd Zaghlul, Safia Zaghlul announced that she intended to withdraw from the political arena but supported Mustafa Nahhas to assume leadership of the party. With Safia Zaghlul's support, Nahhas became the Wafd's second president.

See also Egyptian Revolution (1919).

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Janice J. Terry

Zapata, Emiliano

(1879–1919) *Mexican revolutionary leader*

Ranking high in the pantheon of Latin American heroes, the Mexican revolutionary Emiliano Zapata gained widespread popular acclaim for his uncompromising demand for "Land and Liberty" (Tierra y Libertad) and for his courageous, principled, and shrewd leadership of his Zapatista army during the Mexican Revolution (1910-1920). During the revolution and after, Zapata came to symbolize the hopes and aspirations of Mexico's poor and downtrodden in their struggle for land, dignity, and social justice. Zapata embodied the agrarian and Indian impulses of the revolution.

Born in the Indian village of Anenecuilco, Morelos, to smallholding parents Gabriel and Cleofas Salazar Zapata, in 1909 he was elected president of the village council, a rare honor for a man only 30 years old. These were troubled times in Morelos. In the previous decades under the presidency of Porfirio Díaz, the process of capitalist transformation had led to growing landlessness and poverty among the village's nearly 400 residents, as it had across Morelos and much of the rest of Mexico. When wealthy liberal reformer Francisco Madero announced his Plan of San Luis Potosí on November 20, 1910, calling for "no-reelection" of the dictator Díaz, Zapata did not immediately endorse the plan. Within a few months, however, he allied with the Maderistas, achieving several victories against federalist troops in Morelos.

Mexican revolutionary Emiliano Zapata fought against the corrupt leaders of his government.

After Madero's forces toppled the Díaz regime, Zapata insisted that lands stolen in previous decades be restored to their rightful owners. Madero balked, requiring demobilization of the Zapatista forces. When one of Madero's generals, Victoriano Huerta, launched a campaign against the Zapatistas in Morelos in August 1911, Zapata was infuriated. He soon withdrew support for Madero. Henceforth, Zapata pursued an independent course, fighting for what he understood to be the revolution's core issues: land and liberty for the poor, landless, and oppressed.

In November 1911 the Zapatistas issued their famous Plan of Ayala, which guided Zapata's army for the remainder of the revolution. Excoriating Madero

as a tyrant and traitor, the plan declared that "the fields, timber, and water which the landlords, *científicos*, or bosses have usurped, the *pueblos* or citizens who have the title corresponding to those properties will immediately enter into possession of that real estate of which they have been despoiled by the bad faith of our oppressors. . . ." The Plan of Ayala met fierce resistance from both Madero and the Huerta regime that followed Madero's overthrow in February 1913.

The Zapatistas became the most powerful revolutionary force in southern Mexico after 1911, at one point dominating not only Morelos but Puebla, Oaxaca, and Guerrero states. When "Constitutionalist" leader Venustiano Carranza seized power in August 1914, Zapata and Francisco "Pancho" Villa allied against him. Three times Zapata's forces occupied Mexico City. After most of the fighting had subsided, Zapata returned to his home state, where he was assassinated by Carranza's emissaries at the Chinameca hacienda on April 10, 1919. His name and legacy remain popularly revered throughout Mexico, as seen most recently in the Zapatista National Liberation Army in the mostly Maya Indian state of Chiapas, whose rebellion against the Mexican government, launched in 1994, still simmered more than 13 years later.

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Michael J. Schroeder

Zelaya, José Santos

(1853–1919) *Nicaraguan leader*

The president of Nicaragua from 1893 to 1909, José Santos Zelaya was leader of the Liberal Party in Nicaragua for many years and a critic of U.S. foreign policy in the region.

Zelaya was born on November 1, 1853, and on May 20, 1893, he became one of the three members of the junta, with Joaquín Zavala and Eduardo Montiel, that took power in Nicaragua, ending the presidency of Roberto Sacasa. The conservatives had taken over after the defeat of William Walker, and prominent families had rotated the presidency around a small oligarchy largely occupied with plans for a canal through Nicaragua, at the time thought of as easier than the route running through Panama. The overthrow of the government in Nicaragua in May 1893 was also ammunition for people supporting the Panama route.

On June 1 Salvador Machado became the acting president, followed on July 16 by Joaquín Zavala. On July 31 Zelaya became president, and, inspired by the Mexican revolutionary Benito Juárez, he tried to carry out some of the measures introduced by Juárez in Mexico in the 1860s and 1870s. This led to a new constitution for the country on December 10, 1893. This for the first time unequivocally separated church and state. The supporters of Zelaya quickly became the Zelayistas, the name of his political movement. In Washington, D.C., lobbyists supporting the canal through Panama painted Zelaya as an extremist radical bent on ending contact with the United States.

In fact, Zelaya was a keen social reformer and anxious to make up for the previous decades, when little money had been spent on the infrastructure of the country. Zelaya immediately increased spending on public education and on erecting government buildings, roads, and bridges. Political rights were also extended to all citizens of the country, including women, who were allowed to vote. Civil marriages and divorce were both made legal, and strong moves to end bonded servitude were enacted. Zelaya oversaw the paving of the streets of Managua, Nicaragua's capital, and the erection of street lights. In January 1903 Zelaya was the first living Nicaraguan to appear on one of that country's postage stamps, commemorating the 10th anniversary of the revolt against Sacaza.

Zelaya encouraged foreign trade but sought relations with more countries than just the United States and Mexico. An early foreign policy problem for Zelaya was not dealing with Britain. For the previous 300 years, British settlers, descendants of Britons, and former British-owned slaves had been settling on the Mosquito Coast—Nicaragua's Caribbean coast. Britain had ceded sovereignty in 1860, but the area was an autonomous part of Nicaragua. Zelaya managed to get the area formally incorporated into the Republic of Nicaragua in 1894, but until 1912 the area continued to use a different currency. Good relations with Britain resulted, and Zelaya even brought over British businessmen to survey for a canal through Nicaragua.

In February 1896 the first coup attempt to overthrow Zelaya failed. It ensured that he was more careful about personal security. Another coup attempt

by soldiers in 1904 failed, and in 1905 the Rebellion of the Great Lake was also unsuccessful. In 1906 Zelaya decided not to send delegates to the San José Conference, which was being held in Costa Rica to discuss ways of maintaining peace in Central America. Instead, Zelaya was keen on pushing forward with his plans for a united Central America. Zelaya's idea did not include Costa Rica and was to be a merging of Nicaragua, El Salvador, and Honduras. The only concrete results were the establishment of a Central American Bureau in Guatemala City and a teacher training institute in San José, Costa Rica—both places outside Zelaya's planned country. Nicaraguan soldiers invaded Honduras, overthrowing its president, Policarpo Bonilla, and then were involved in plans to start a revolution in El Salvador. The United States and Mexico intervened, and at the Washington Conference of 1907 Zelaya and the presidents of Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, and Honduras all signed an agreement whereby they pledged themselves to the maintenance of peace in their region.

Zelaya, still worried about the potential domination of Nicaragua's economy by U.S. interests, believed that the U.S. government was encouraging a revolt in the east of the country. By this time U.S. cartoonists were caricaturing him; he was an easy target with his penetrating eyes and elegantly twirled moustache. Zelaya moved against some U.S. lumber and mining companies, either canceling their concessions or reducing the scope of their activities. The U.S. chargé d'affaires in Managua was recalled in 1909, when Zelaya made moves to end a lumber concession that had been granted to a Massachusetts-based company, G. D. Emory.

Some Nicaraguan conservatives did try to stage a putsch to get rid of Zelaya, hiring U.S. mercenaries. These forces were led by one of Zelaya's former allies, Juan José Estrada. Zelaya managed to overcome the rebels, but he made the tactical mistake of executing the U.S. mercenaries. As a result, the United States broke off diplomatic relations with Nicaragua, which led to the collapse of Zelaya's government. On December 1, 1909, U.S. secretary of state Philander Knox sent a letter to the Nicaraguan ambassador in Washington pledging U.S. government action against the Nicaraguan government. Zelaya offered to compromise and in a telegram to Taft on December 4 said he was prepared to resign and go into exile if that would solve the problem. He resigned on December 21, and in the following year he escaped to Mexico. In Nicaragua his supporters opposed the U.S. marines who were sent into the country, some under Benjamin F. Zeledon, and in 1912 waged a small-scale guerrilla war inspired by the Mexican Revolution. In exile Zelaya wrote *The Revolution in Nicaragua and the United States*. The largest province in the country, along the east coast of Nicaragua (formerly the Mosquito Coast), was named Zelaya after the president, who died on May 17, 1919, in New York City.

See also Panama Canal.

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Justin Corfield

Zhu De (Chu Teh)

(1886–1976) *Chinese Communist military leader*

Zhu De was the founder of the Red Army (later, People's Liberation Army) and its de facto leader in the resistance against Japan and in the Chinese civil war against the Nationalists during the 1930s and 1940s. He played an important role in the development of a theory of guerrilla warfare. In the People's Republic of China after 1949 he served as vice chair and later chair of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress.

Zhu De was born the son of a wealthy landlord in Sichuan (Szechwan) Province. He received a classical Chinese education and obtained a degree in 1904. After studies in Chengdu (Chengtu) and practice as a sports teacher, he visited the military academy in Kunming from 1908 to 1911. Influenced by revolutionaries, he joined the army of General Cai E (Tsai Ao) shortly before the 1911 revolution and participated in the overthrow of the Qing (Chi'ng) government in Yunnan province. In 1916 he reached the rank of general, commanded a brigade of the Yunnan army, and took up the habit of opium smoking.

In 1919 Zhu changed his life radically. Probably he was influenced by the May Fourth Movement, when Chinese students demonstrated against the Treaty of Versailles. Zhu then managed to get rid of his opium addiction in a French hospital in Shanghai. In addition, he started to study socialist theory and traveled to Europe in 1922. After a short stay in France he went to

Germany and studied at Göttingen University in 1924–25. In Germany he also met Zhou Enlai (Chou En-lai) and joined the Chinese Communist Party (CCP). Soon the German authorities became suspicious about his political activities. He was arrested twice and expelled in 1925.

Zhu went to Moscow and after some studies returned to China. After Chiang Kai-shek ended the alliance with the Communists in April 1927, Zhu took part in the Nanchang Uprising. After its failure he joined Mao Zedong and his partisans in the Jinggang Mountains in Jiangxi (Kiangsi) province. In the following years the Communist guerrillas were able to hold and even expand their areas until they were forced on the Long March in 1934.

During the Long March Zhu separated from Mao's troops and joined the western wing of the Red Army under Zhang Guotao (Chang Kuo-tao). Zhu arrived with his remaining soldiers at Mao's newly established base of operations in Sha'anxi (Shensi) province in late 1936, where he again became supreme commander of the Communist forces. After the United Front of the Communists with the Kuomintang against Japanese aggression was concluded in August 1937, Zhu formally became a commander in the Nationalist army. In reality, the Red Army led a very independent war of resistance against the Japanese occupation until August 1945. Zhu made good use of his experience in guerrilla warfare, and it is likely that Mao's writings on the theory of guerrilla war were partially developed by Zhu. Changing to a more conventional style of warfare after the Japanese surrender—equipped mostly with Japanese matériel—Zhu's army was victorious in the following civil war against the Kuomintang armies.

In addition to his military position, Zhu also served on the CCP's central committee in 1930 and as a member of the Politburo in 1934. In 1945 he was made vice chair of the CCP. Zhu stepped down as commander in chief in 1954 and became vice chairman of the state council. He became chair of the standing committee of the National People's Congress in 1959. Like so many prominent leaders of the CCP, Zhu was denounced by Red Guards during the Cultural Revolution in 1966. He had to step down and was only restored to his positions in 1971. Zhu De died in 1976.

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Cord Eberspaecher

Zionism

From the beginning of the 20th century to the establishment of Israel in 1948, the World Zionist Organization (WZO) struggled to create a Jewish state in Palestine.

After Theodor Herzl, the father of modern Zionism, died in 1904, Chaim Weizmann assumed leadership of the WZO for most of the following three decades. A moderate, Weizmann had excellent connections among ranking politicians and diplomats in Britain as well as continental Europe. The WZO sought to gain support among Jews in the diaspora (Jews scattered throughout the world), to increase Jewish immigration to Palestine, to obtain funding for the purchase of land in Palestine, and to provide assistance for new Jewish settlers.

The Right of Return, whereby all Jews in the diaspora could, if they wished, become automatic citizens of the Jewish state, was a cornerstone of the Zionist movement. Jews were encouraged to make aliyah (immigration) to Palestine and to settle there permanently. The ingathering of Jews attracted mostly Jews from eastern Europe and Russia, where anti-Semitism was often the most virulent. There were several waves of Jewish immigration into Palestine. The first, from 1881 to 1903, was composed mostly of Russian Jews; the second, from 1903 to 1914, attracted mostly eastern European Jews who sought to create a socialist state along Marxist lines. Another major wave of immigration occurred in the aftermath of the Holocaust and World War II.

Not all Jews supported the WZO. Orthodox Jews opposed Zionism as a political movement counter to divine will. Some Zionists in Palestine also disliked the movement because they saw it as dominated by socialists and liberals who wanted to use only Jewish labor in businesses and farms in Palestine, whereas they employed Arab labor.

In 1929 Weizmann led the creation of the Jewish Agency, based in Palestine, as an adjunct to the WZO. By virtue of his leadership of the WZO, Weizmann also became head of the Jewish Agency. However, he gradually lost control of the Jewish Agency as Zionists in Palestine secured key leadership positions. Gradually,

Jewish immigrants on their way to a settlement in Palestine in 1946. The World Zionist Organization sought to gain support among Jews in the diaspora to increase legal and illegal Jewish immigration to Palestine.

David Ben-Gurion and the Labor Party became the dominant forces in Palestine, while Weizmann continued to represent the international Zionist movement.

The 1917 Balfour Declaration, providing public support by Britain for a Jewish homeland, was a major step toward the creation of a Jewish state. After the war the British incorporated the Balfour Declaration into their new mandate over Palestine. During the mandate, from the 1920s to the 1940s, the Jewish population in Palestine increased from less than 20 percent to approximately one-third of the total population. By the end of the war, Jews owned about 17 to 22 percent of the total arable land in Palestine.

Zionists aimed to create a renaissance of pioneering Jews who would work their own land. Moshavim (cooperatives) were established, and the Jewish National Fund, which was responsible for land purchases, gave plots of land to settlers who paid rent for a hereditary lease. Land could not be sold, and by the 1930s settlers had to work the land themselves. The policy of Jewish-only workers further separated the Jewish and Palestinian Arab populations. On collective farms, or kibbutzim, property was owned communally, decisions were made in democratic "town meetings," and work and resources were shared equally. Many kibbutzim were established along egalitarian lines between men and women, although women often worked primarily in the traditional jobs of childcare and cooking.

Although the Zionist movement sought to increase the amount of land owned and worked by Jews, the majority of new immigrants settled in the urban coastal areas, the Tiberias region, Hebron/Safed, and Jerusalem. In 1909 Tel Aviv was founded as the first Jewish city. A Hebrew school system was established, and Hebrew was to be the language of the new state. The Israel Institute of Technology in Haifa (Technion) was created in 1912, and the Hebrew University in Jerusalem was begun in 1918. A Women's Zionist Organization

supported the Hadassah Medical Organization, which provided health services. In 1920 the Histadrut was established in an attempt to unify workers into a single labor organization; David Ben-Gurion became its primary spokesperson. Although more conservative workers' movements evolved, the Histadrut became the major Zionist force in Palestine. In 1919 the Haganah was established to defend Jewish settlements against Palestinian Arab attacks. It evolved into the Israel Defense Force (IDF) after Israeli independence. The Labor Party under David Ben-Gurion became the major political party.

However, the Zionist movement was not a monolith, and other more radical parties also evolved. Ze'ev Vladimir Jabotinsky (1880–1940) founded the Revisionist Movement, which had a maximalist position regarding the future borders of the Jewish state. The Revisionists claimed all of historic Israel including land on both sides of the Jordan River. In contrast, Ben-Gurion and the majority of Zionists were willing to accept the territory west of the Jordan River for the Jewish state. Jabotinsky split from the mainstream Zionist movement in 1935 to establish the New Zionist Organization. Jabotinsky argued that Zionists would have to use violence to establish a Jewish state because the Palestinian Arabs would not willingly cede their national rights over territory they considered theirs. The Revisionist youth movement, Betar, attracted young Jews, especially in eastern Europe. Political differences over tactics and goals also resulted in several groups breaking away from Jabotinsky.

A Revisionist underground military group, the Irgun Zvei Leumi (Etzel), was founded by David Raziel and, in retaliation for attacks on Jewish settlements, used terrorist tactics (attacks on civilians) against Palestinian Arabs as early as 1937. Members of the Irgun also opposed the liberal economic programs espoused by Labor Zionists and most members of the Haganah. After Raziel was killed assisting the British in crushing a revolt in Iraq in 1941, Menachem Begin became the Irgun's leader.

In spite of their opposition to the mandate and British policies limiting endeavors to create a Jewish state in Palestine, the Haganah and mainstream Zionists led by David Ben-Gurion supported Britain in the struggle against the Nazis during World War II. Britain somewhat reluctantly accepted some Jewish volunteers from Palestine into its fighting forces.

More radical Zionists argued that Britain was also the enemy. Avraham Stern led a splinter group that adopted an extremely anti-British position in 1940. This group, known as the Stern Gang after its founder or as Freedom Fighters for Israel (LEHI), assassinated Lord Moyne, the deputy British minister of state for the Middle East, while he visited Cairo in 1944. The assassins were caught, tried, and, after considerable pressure from Britain, executed by the Egyptian government. LEHI also killed some Jewish opponents in Palestine. The Haganah condemned the Stern Gang, and many of its members, including Stern, were killed or imprisoned by the British.

In the midst of World War II, the WZO met at the Biltmore Hotel in New York City in the fall of 1941 to decide on the future direction for the Zionist movement. In the so-called Biltmore Program Zionists wisely agreed to shift the focus of their political propaganda and recruitment from Great Britain and the rest of Europe to the United States. Zionist leaders worked throughout the war to publicize the need for a Jewish state and to gather political and popular support in the United States for the creation of a Jewish state in Palestine. During the war leading Zionists visited both President Franklin Roosevelt and Vice President Harry S. Truman to brief them on the need for a Jewish state and to secure their support.

By the time the British withdrew from Palestine in 1948, Jews had created the infrastructure for an independent state complete with political parties, economic institutions including labor unions, schools, hospitals, cultural centers, and a military force. The Zionist dream for a Jewish state came to fruition with the establishment of Israel in 1948.

See also British mandate in Palestine.

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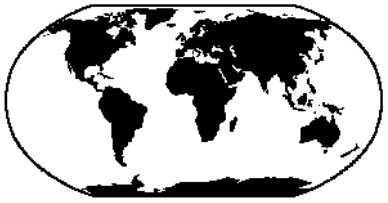
Janice J. Terry



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Journal of Latin American Studies
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Marxist Internet Archive — www.marxists.org
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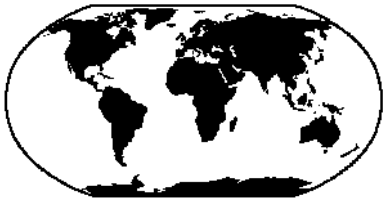

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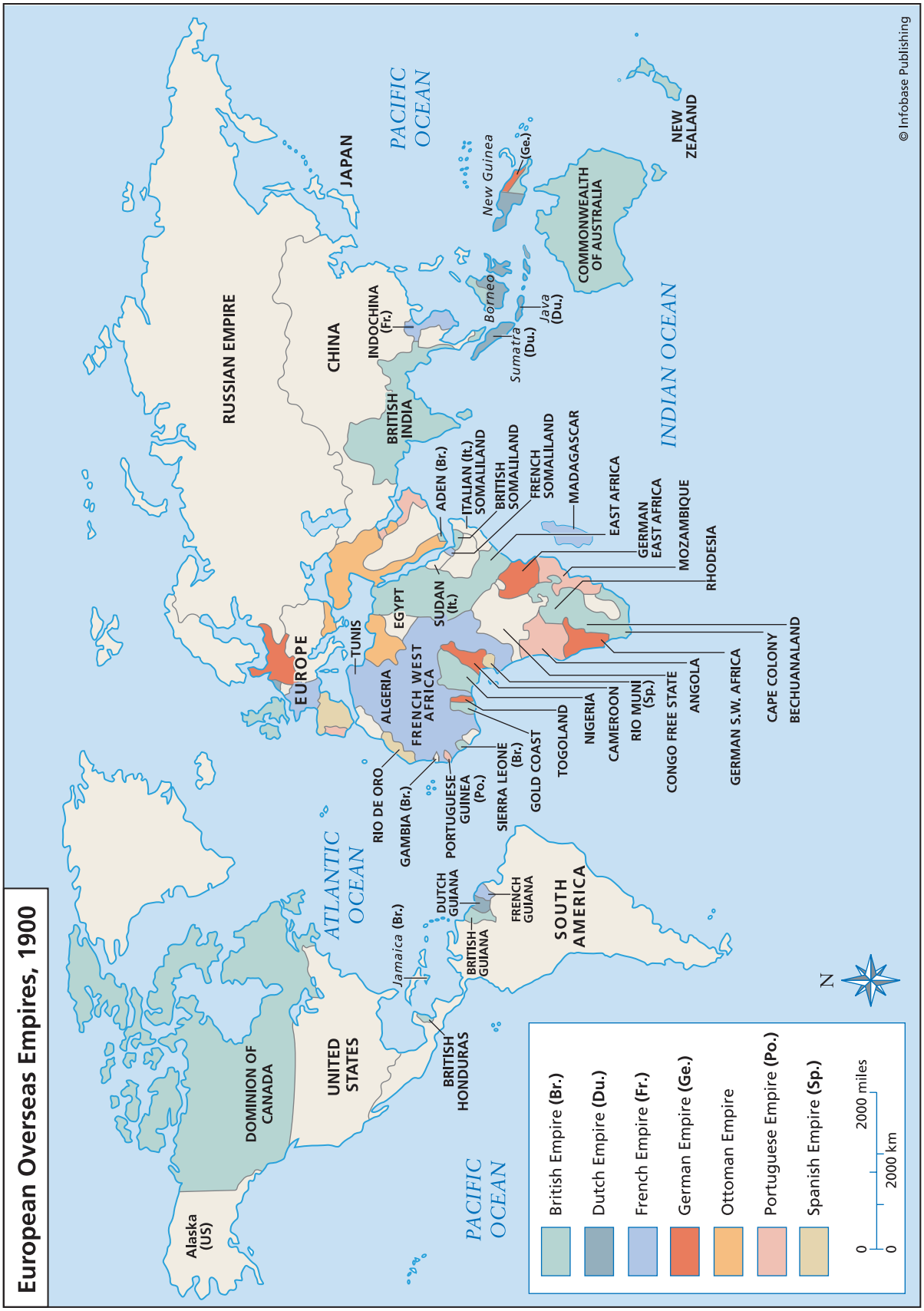
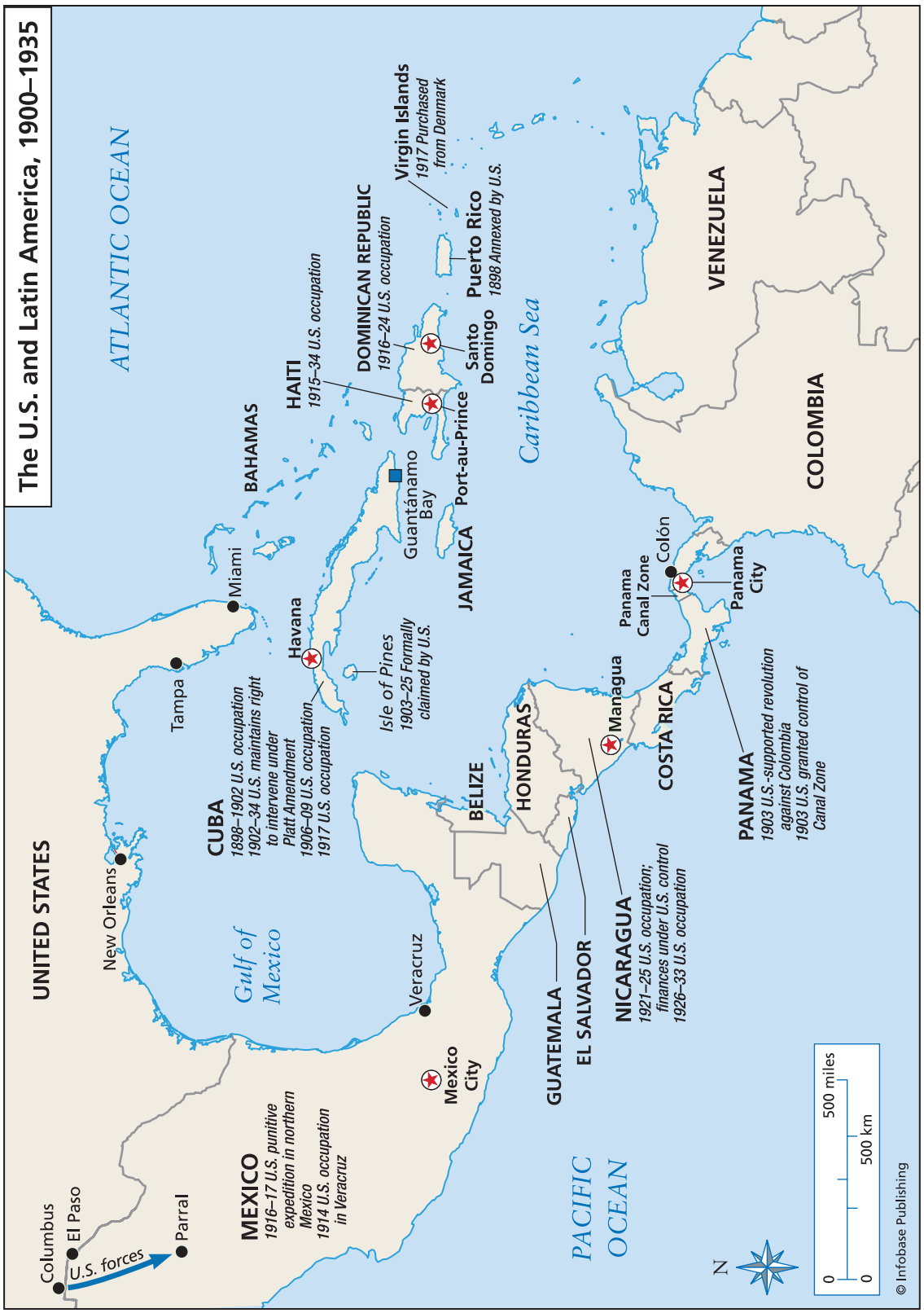

European Overseas Empires, 1900
Alaska (US)
DOMINION OF CANADA
UNITED STATES
BRITISH HONDURAS
Jamaica (Br.)
DUTCH GUIANA
BRITISH GUIANA
FRENCH GUIANA
SOUTH AMERICA
ATLANTIC OCEAN
PACIFIC OCEAN
RIO DE ORO
GAMBIA (Br.)
PORTUGUESE GUINEA (Po.)
SIERRA LEONE (Br.)
GOLD COAST
TOGOLAND
NIGERIA
CAMEROON
RIO MUNI (Sp.)
CONGO FREE STATE
ANGOLA
GERMAN S.W. AFRICA
CAPE COLONY
BECHUANALAND
RHODESIA
MOZAMBIQUE
GERMAN EAST AFRICA
EAST AFRICA
MADAGASCAR
FRENCH SOMALILAND
BRITISH SOMALILAND
ITALIAN (It.) SOMALILAND
ADEN (Br.)
SUDAN (It.)
EGYPT
TUNIS
ALGERIA
FRENCH WEST AFRICA
EUROPE
RUSSIAN EMPIRE
CHINA
JAPAN
INDOCHINA (Fr.)
BRITISH INDIA
Borneo
Sumatra (Du.)
Java (Du.)
New Guinea
(Ge.)
PACIFIC OCEAN
INDIAN OCEAN
COMMONWEALTH OF AUSTRALIA
NEW ZEALAND
British Empire (Br.)
Dutch Empire (Du.)
French Empire (Fr.)
German Empire (Ge.)
Ottoman Empire
Portuguese Empire (Po.)
Spanish Empire (Sp.)
0
0
2000 miles
2000 km
N
© Infobase Publishing

The British in South Asia, c. 1900
QING CHINA
North West Frontier Province
Afghanistan
1880–1919
Kashmir
Tibet
1912: autonomous under British influence
Punjab
Indus R.
Patiala and East Punjab States
Hill States
Brahmaputra R.
Bhutan
from 1866
Nepal
1817–1923
Sikkim
from1890
Baluchistan
Bahawalpur
United Provinces
Rajputana
Assam
Ganges R.
Bengal
Manipur
Sind
Bundelkhand
Chandernagore
Cutch
Sindhia
BURMA
Orissa
Central Provinces And Berar
Diu
Damao
Arabian Sea
Godavari R.
Bombay
Nizam of Hyderabad's Dominions
Yanaon
N
Krishna R.
Bay of Bengal
Goa
Madras
Mysore
Madras
Pondicherry
Mahé
Karikal
Travancore
Ceylon
Independent from India,1798
INDIAN OCEAN
Bombay Province or state of British Indian Empire (Raj)
British Crown Colony
Provinces governed by British officials
Dependent Indian states
British Protectorate, with dates
French colony
Portuguese colony
0
500 miles
0
500 km
© Infobase Publishing


The U.S. and Latin America, 1900–1935
ATLANTIC OCEAN
Caribbean Sea
PACIFIC OCEAN
Gulf of Mexico
UNITED STATES
Columbus
El Paso
U.S. forces
Parral
MEXICO
1916–17 U.S. punitive expedition in northern Mexico
1914 U.S. occupation in Veracruz
New Orleans
Tampa
Miami
BAHAMAS
CUBA
1898–1902 U.S. occupation
1902–34 U.S. maintains right to intervene under Platt Amendment
1906–09 U.S. occupation
1917 U.S. occupation
Havana
Isle of Pines
1903–25 Formally claimed by U.S.
Guantánamo Bay
HAITI
1915–34 U.S. occupation
DOMINICAN REPUBLIC
1916–24 U.S. occupation
Port-au-Prince
Santo Domingo
Virgin Islands
1917 Purchased from Denmark
Puerto Rico
1898 Annexed by U.S.
JAMAICA
VENEZUELA
COLOMBIA
Panama Canal Zone
Colón
Panama City
PANAMA
1903 U.S.-supported revolution against Colombia
1903 U.S. granted control of Canal Zone
COSTA RICA
NICARAGUA
1921–25 U.S. occupation; finances under U.S. control
1926–33 U.S. occupation
Managua
HONDURAS
EL SALVADOR
GUATEMALA
BELIZE
Veracruz
Mexico City
N
0
500 miles
0
500 km
© Infobase Publishing

Partition of China, 1895–1914
Russian sphere of interest
British sphere of interest
French sphere of interest
Japanese sphere of interest
German sphere of interest
0 400 miles
0 400 km
N
RUSSIA
Sakhalin
Manchuria
Hokkaido
MONGOLIA
Sea of Japan
Mukden
Honshu
Beijing (Peking)
KOREA
Tokyo
Port Arthur (Rus.1898/Jap.1905)
Seoul
JAPAN
Weihaiwei (Gr. Britain)
Huang He
Yellow R.
Tsingtao (Ger.)
CHINA
Shanghai
East China Sea
Szechwan
Ryuku Is.
Yangtze R.
Fukien
BHUTAN
Canton (Guangzhou)
Formosa
Assam
Kowloon (Gr. Britain)
Macao (Portugal)
Hong Kong (Gr. Britain)
PACIFIC OCEAN
Burma
Hanoi
Kwangchow (France)
South China Sea
Philippines
Pegu
FRENCH
Bay of Bengal
Rangoon
SIAM
INDO-
Bangkok
CHINA
Andaman Is.
Gulf of Siam
Nicobar Is.
Borneo
Sulawesi
Sumatra
INDIAN OCEAN
Java
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Russo-Japanese War, 1904–1905
Sea of Okhotsk
Chita
Nerchinsk
RUSSIA
Amur R.
Argun R.
Nikolaevsk
Amur R.
Hailar
Sakhalin
Manchuria
Tsitsihar
Khabarovsk
Harbin
Kuril Is.
CHINA
Mukden 1905
Battle of Liaoyang 1904
Vladivostok
Hokkaido
Sapporo
Beijing
Battle of the Yalu 1904
Port Arthur 1904
Sea of Japan
Akita
PACIFIC OCEAN
Seoul
Russian surrender May 28, 1905
Honshu
Yellow Sea
Fukushima
Tokyo
JAPAN
Battle of Tsushima 1905
Tsushima Strait
Osaka
Shikoku
Nagasaki
Kyushu
East China Sea
N
Japanese naval and military attacks, 1904–1905
Russian campaign, 1904–1905
The Trans–Siberian Railroad, 1895
Area controlled by Russia after 1895
Area of Japanese influence, 1904
Annexed by Japan, 1905
Japanese victory with date
0 250 miles
0 250 km
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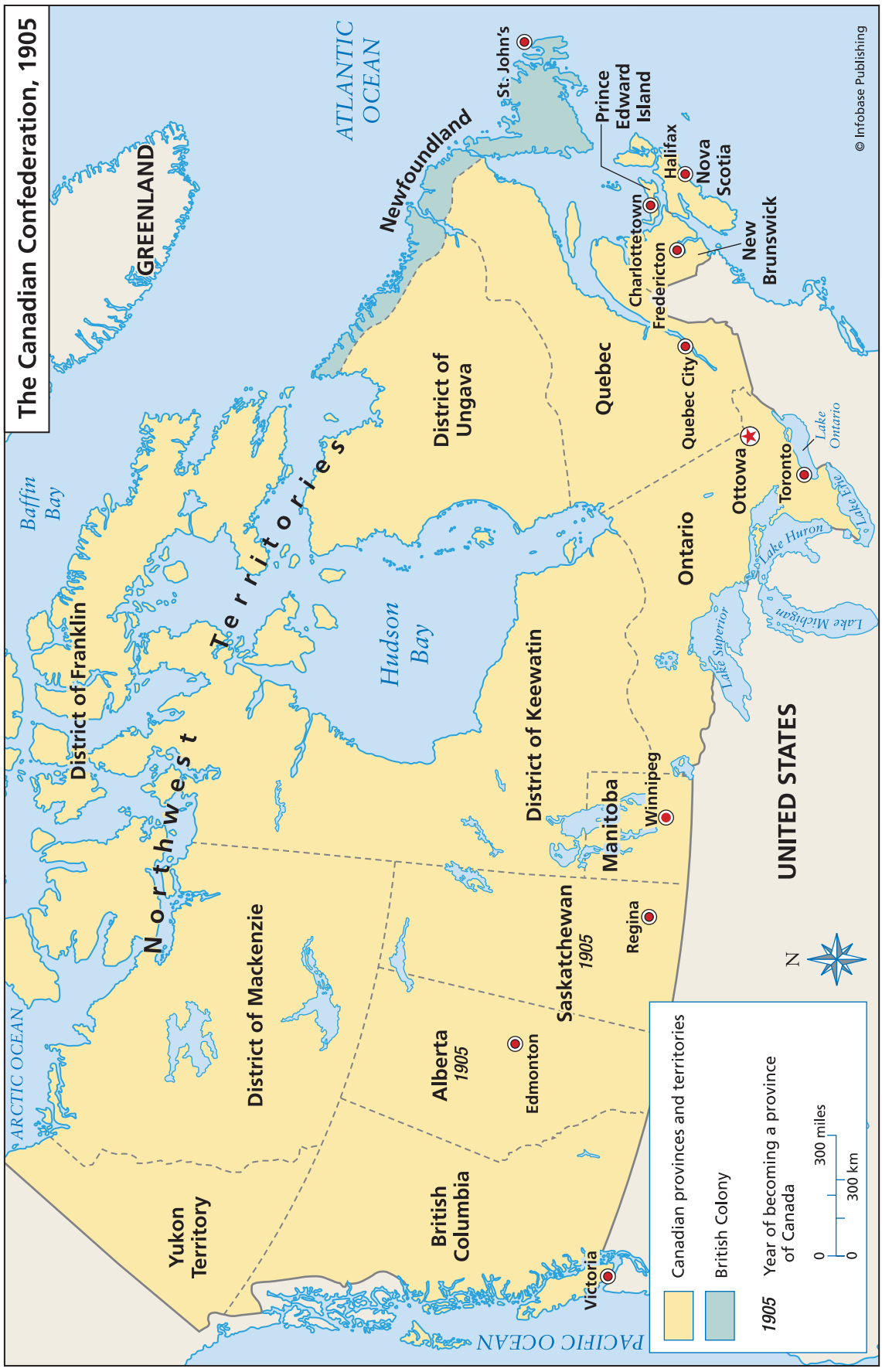
The Canadian Confederation, 1905
ATLANTIC OCEAN
GREENLAND
Newfoundland
St. John's
Prince Edward Island
Halifax
Nova Scotia
New Brunswick
Charlottetown
Fredericton
Quebec City
Quebec
District of Ungava
Baffin Bay
Hudson Bay
Northwest Territories
District of Franklin
District of Keewatin
Ontario
Ottowa
Toronto
Lake Ontario
Lake Erie
Lake Huron
Lake Michigan
Lake Superior
Manitoba
Winnipeg
Saskatchewan 1905
Regina
Alberta 1905
Edmonton
District of Mackenzie
Yukon Territory
British Columbia
Victoria
ARCTIC OCEAN
PACIFIC OCEAN
UNITED STATES
N
Canadian provinces and territories
British Colony
1905 Year of becoming a province of Canada
0 300 miles
0 300 km
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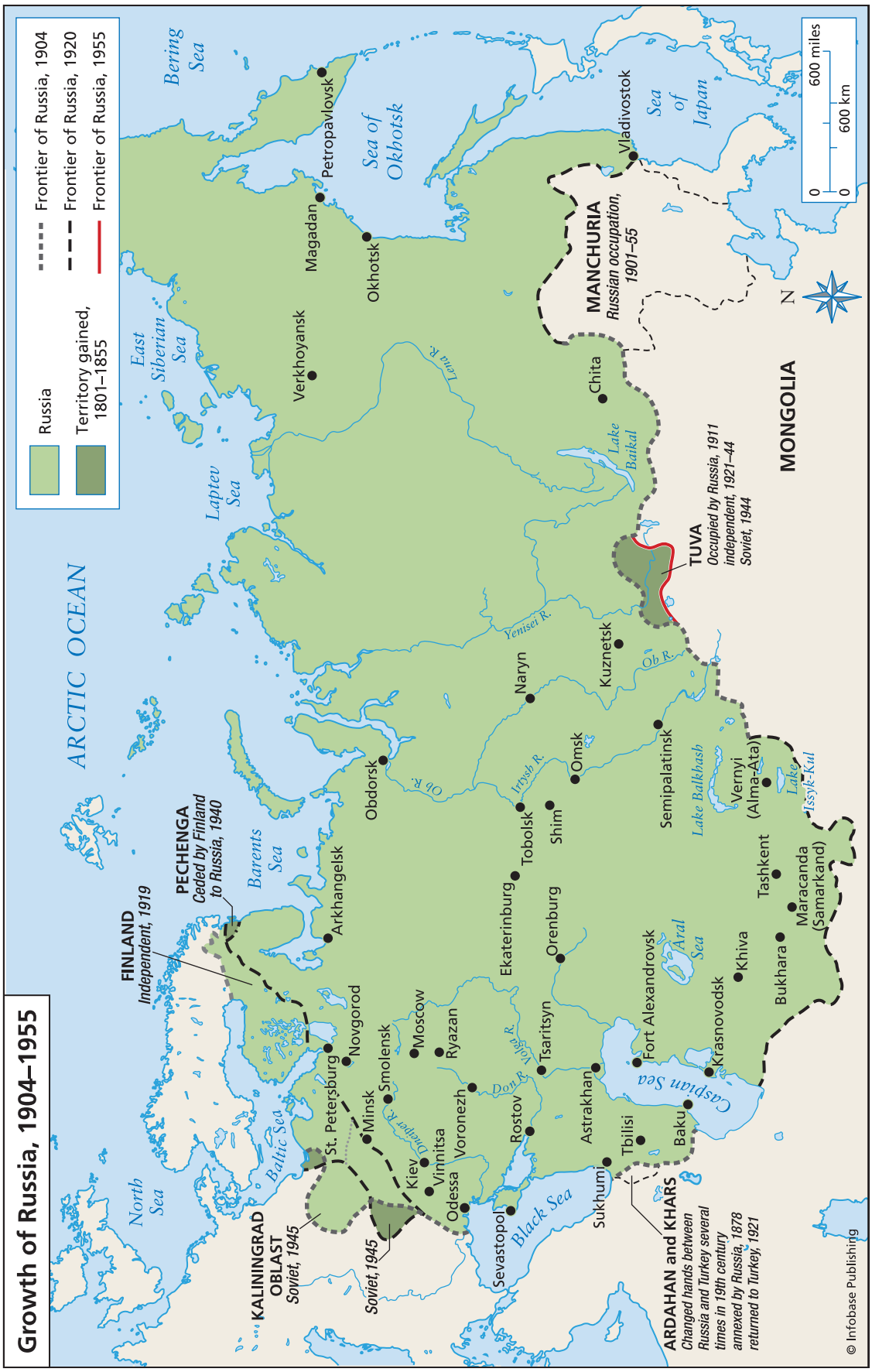
Growth of Russia, 1904–1955
Russia
Territory gained, 1801–1855
Frontier of Russia, 1904
Frontier of Russia, 1920
Frontier of Russia, 1955
0 600 miles
0 600 km
N
ARCTIC OCEAN
Bering Sea
East Siberian Sea
Laptev Sea
Barents Sea
North Sea
Baltic Sea
Black Sea
Caspian Sea
Aral Sea
Lake Balkhash
Lake Issyk-Kul
Lake Baikal
Sea of Okhotsk
Sea of Japan
Lena R.
Yenisei R.
Ob R.
Irtysh R.
Volga R.
Don R.
Dnepr R.
FINLAND
Independent, 1919
PECHENGA
Ceded by Finland to Russia, 1940
KALININGRAD OBLAST
Soviet, 1945
Soviet, 1945
ARDAHAN and KHARS
Changed hands between Russia and Turkey several times in 19th century annexed by Russia, 1878 returned to Turkey, 1921
MANCHURIA
Russian occupation, 1901–55
TUVA
Occupied by Russia, 1911 independent, 1921–44 Soviet, 1944
MONGOLIA
Verkhoyansk
Magadan
Petropavlovsk
Okhotsk
Vladivostok
Chita
Kuznetsk
Naryn
Obdorsk
Arkhangelsk
Novgorod
St. Peterşburg
Minsk
Smolensk
Moscow
Ryazan
Kiev
Vinnitsa
Odessa
Voronezh
Rostov
Sevastopol
Ekaterinburg
Tobolsk
Shim
Omsk
Orenburg
Tsaritsyn
Astrakhan
Sukhumi
Tbilisi
Baku
Fort Alexandrovsk
Krasnovodsk
Khiva
Bukhara
Semipalatinsk
Vernyi (Alma-Ata)
Tashkent
Maracanda (Samarkand)
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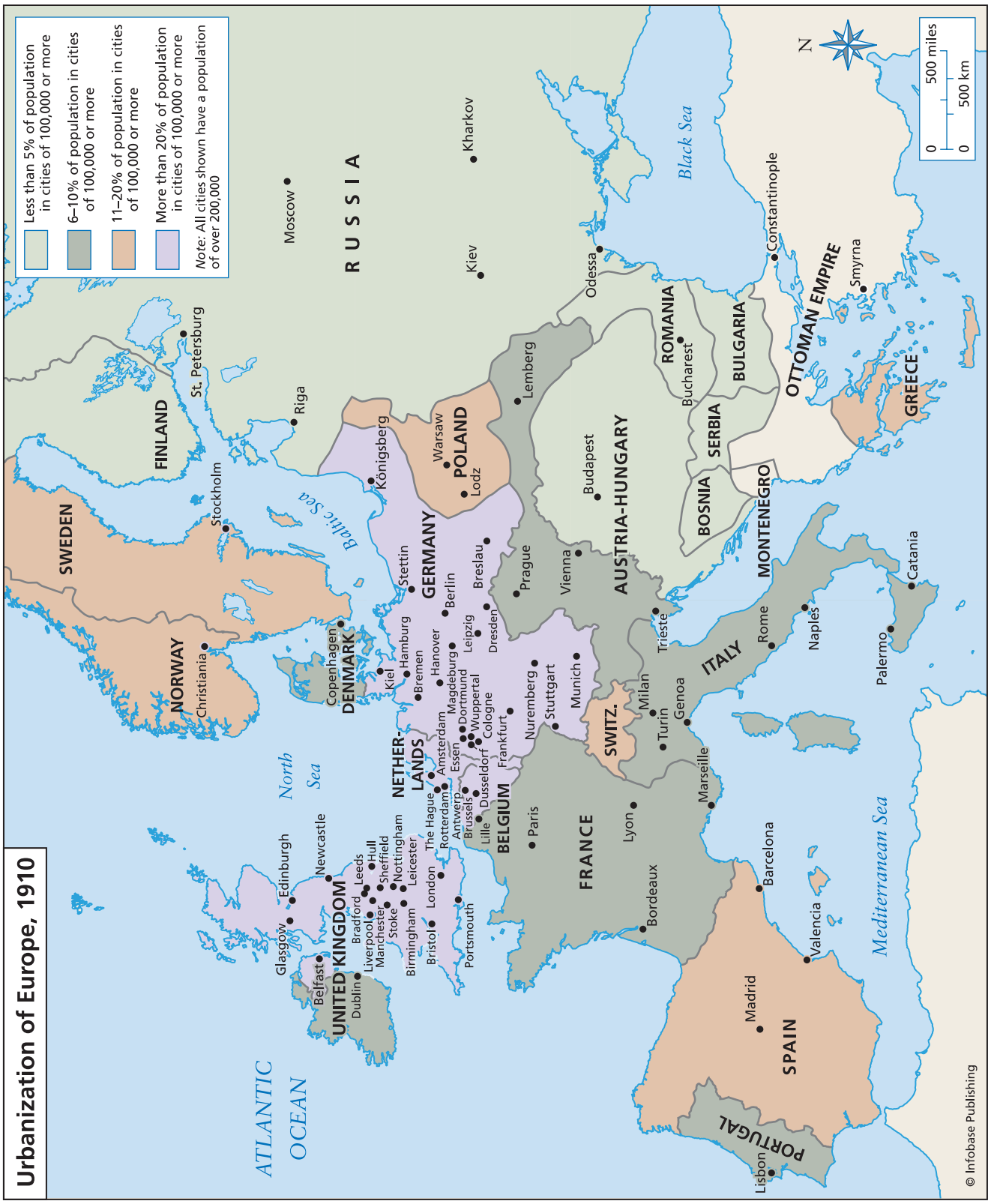
Urbanization of Europe, 1910
Less than 5% of population in cities of 100,000 or more
6–10% of population in cities of 100,000 or more
11–20% of population in cities of 100,000 or more
More than 20% of population in cities of 100,000 or more
Note: All cities shown have a population of over 200,000
N
0 500 miles
0 500 km
ATLANTIC OCEAN
North Sea
Baltic Sea
Black Sea
Mediterranean Sea
SWEDEN
NORWAY
FINLAND
RUSSIA
DENMARK
UNITED KINGDOM
NETHER-LANDS
BELGIUM
GERMANY
POLAND
FRANCE
SWITZ.
AUSTRIA-HUNGARY
ROMANIA
BULGARIA
SERBIA
BOSNIA
MONTENEGRO
ITALY
OTTOMAN EMPIRE
GREECE
SPAIN
PORTUGAL
Moscow
St. Petersburg
Riga
Stockholm
Christiania
Kiev
Kharkov
Odessa
Constantinople
Smyrna
Bucharest
Lemberg
Warsaw
Lodz
Königsberg
Copenhagen
Stettin
Berlin
Breslau
Prague
Vienna
Budapest
Trieste
Milan
Turin
Genoa
Rome
Naples
Palermo
Catania
Marseille
Lyon
Bordeaux
Barcelona
Madrid
Valencia
Lisbon
Paris
Nuremberg
Stuttgart
Munich
Frankfurt
Cologne
Wuppertal
Dortmund
Essen
Magdeburg
Hanover
Leipzig
Dresden
Hamburg
Bremen
Kiel
Amsterdam
Rotterdam
The Hague
Antwerp
Brussels
Lille
Dusseldorf
Edinburgh
Glasgow
Belfast
Dublin
Newcastle
Leeds
Bradford
Liverpool
Manchester
Sheffield
Hull
Nottingham
Leicester
Birmingham
Stoke
Bristol
London
Portsmouth
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The Balkan Wars, 1912–1913 M137

Colonialism in Africa, 1914
Black Sea
Caspian Sea
Mediterranean Sea
Red Sea
SPANISH MOROCCO
TUNISIA
MOROCCO
ALGERIA
LIBYA
EGYPT
RIO DE ORO
FRENCH WEST AFRICA
ERITREA
GAMBIA
ANGLO EGYPTIAN SUDAN
PORTUGUESE GUINEA
NORTH NIGERIA
FRENCH EQUATORIAL AFRICA
SOMALILAND
ETHIOPIA
SIERRA LEONE
SOUTH NIGERIA
KAMERUN
LIBERIA
GOLD COAST
TOGOLAND
UGANDA
BRITISH EAST AFRICA
SPANISH GUINEA
BELGIAN CONGO
CABINDA
GERMAN EAST AFRICA
ATLANTIC OCEAN
ANGOLA
NORTH RHODESIA
NYASALAND
SOUTHWEST AFRICA
SOUTH RHODESIA
MOZAMBIQUE
MADAGASCAR
BECHUANA-LAND
Walvis Bay (BRITAIN)
SWAZILAND
UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA
BASUTOLAND
INDIAN OCEAN
Independent
Portuguese
British
French
Belgium
German
Spanish
Italian
0
800 miles
0
800 km
N
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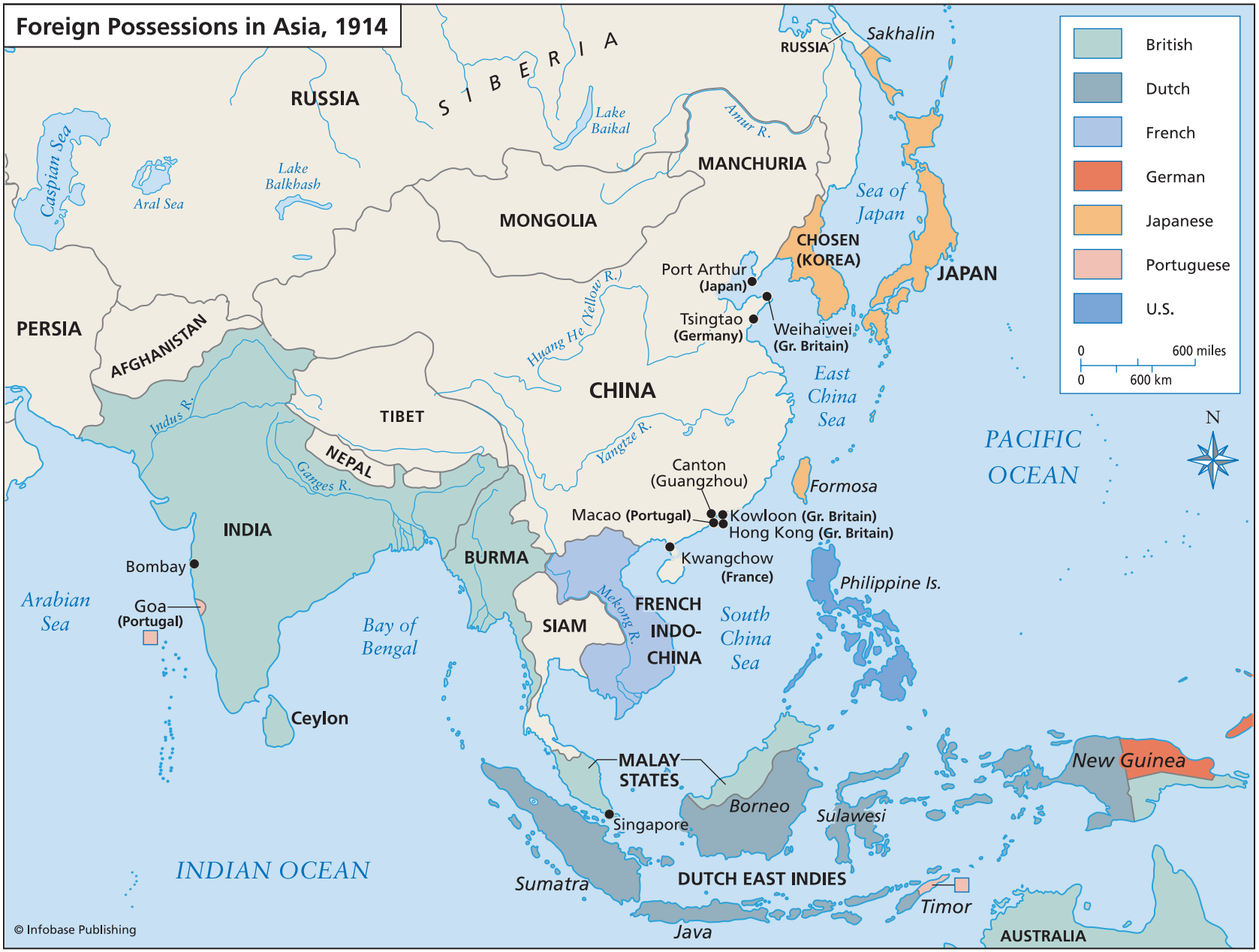

Foreign Possessions in Asia, 1914 M139

Europe before World War I, 1914
Allied powers, Aug. 1914
Central powers, Aug. 1914
0
300 miles
0
300 km
N
RUSSIAN EMPIRE
Moscow
St. Petersburg
Black Sea
Constantinople
OTTOMAN EMPIRE
Baltic Sea
Stockholm
SWEDEN
Christiania
NORWAY
DENMARK
Copenhagen
Berlin
GERMANY
Prague
Vienna
Budapest
AUSTRIA-HUNGARY
ROMANIA
Bucharest
BULGARIA
Sofia
Belgrade
SERBIA
MONTE-NEGRO
Cetinje
Tirane
ALBANIA
GREECE
Aegean Sea
Athens
North Sea
NETHERLANDS
Amster-dam
LUXEMBOURG
Bern
SWITZERLAND
Adriatic Sea
Rome
ITALY
Brussels
BELGIUM
Paris
FRANCE
Corsica
Sardinia
Mediterranean Sea
London
UNITED KINGDOM
ATLANTIC OCEAN
ANDORRA
Madrid
SPAIN
PORTUGAL
Lisbon
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Europe at War, 1914–1918 M141

Russian Revolution and Civil War
Center of Bolshevik influence, July–September 1917
Principal town where Bolsheviks seized power, November–December 1917
Area controlled by Bolsheviks, August 1918
Advance of anti-Bolsheviks
Boundary of Boshevik territory, October 1919
Front line of anti-Bolshevik armies, May 1920
Boundary of Russian Empire, 1914
Boundary of territory occupied by German and Turkish forces after Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, March 1918
Soviet territory, March 1921
Other political boundary, 1921
Entente fleet 1918–20
Barents Sea
White Sea
Gulf of Bothnia
Baltic Sea
Gulf of Finland
Lake Ladoga
Lake Onega
Volga R.
Dnieper R.
Donets R.
Don R.
Ural R.
Dniester R.
Aral Sea
Caspian Sea
Black Sea
Sea of Azov
CAUCASUS MTS.
Petsamo
Murmansk
Arkhangelsk
Shenkursk
Finns
Entente forces
Czechs
Kolchak 1918–19
Ekaterinburg (Sverdlovsk)
Czar Nicholas II and family assassinated by Bolsheviks, July 1918
Perm
Glasov
Vologda
Maloya Vishera
BOLSHEVIK RUSSIA
Petrograd
Kronstadt
Narva
Tallinn
Helsinki
Stockholm
SWEDEN
FINLAND
Estonia
Dorpat
Valka
Pskov
Latvia
Riga
Lithuania
Dvinsk
Konigsberg
Kaunas
Danzig
Vilnius
Minsk
POLAND
Białystok
Warsaw
Brest-Litovsk
Pinsk
Łódź
Lublin
Zhitomir
Galicia
Lvov
Tarnopol
Romanians
Bessarabia
ROMANIA
Izmail
Bucharest
BULGARIA
Sofia
Constantinople
Tver
Ivanovo
Kazan
Nizhni Novgorod
Ufa
Moscow
Government moves from Petrograd, March 1918
Vitebsk
Smolensk
Kaluga
Tula
Mogilev
Poles
Comel
Orel
Tambov
Penza
Samara
Orenburg
Simbirsk
Saratov
Voronezh
Denikin 1919
Sommer 1919
Cossacks 1918–20
Kiev
Khartov
Kharkov
Poltava
Ukraine
Yekaterinoslav
Nikolayev
Taganrog
Mariupol
Rostov
Novocherkassk
Tsaritsyn
Astrakhan
Ukrainians, Cossacks, White Russians
Odessa
French
Simferopol
Sevastopol
Novorosslysk
British
Vladikavkaz
Sochi
Georgia
Batumi
Tbilisi
Kars
Armenia
Baku
Krasnovodsk
TURKEY
Tabriz
PERSIA
Entente fleet 1918–20
0 200 miles
0 200 km
N
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Middle East after World War I, c. 1920
N
Black Sea
Caspian Sea
USSR
USSR
BULGARIA
to Greece 1920–22
(reverted to Turkey, 1923)
Constantinople
Ankara
ARMENIA
1918–20
GREECE
Aegean Sea
to Greece
1920–22
(reverted to
Turkey, 1923)
to France
1920–21
Euphrates R.
Tigris R.
PERSIA
(IRAN)
SYRIA
Fr. Mandate
1920–46
CYPRUS
Baghdad
LEBANON
Fr. Mandate 1920–44
Beirut
Damascus
IRAQ
Br. Occupied 1916–20;
Br. Mandate 1920
Mediterranean Sea
PALESTINE
Br. Mandate 1920–48
Jerusalem
Gaza
Basra
TRANSJORDAN
Br. Mandate 1920;
Emirate under
Br. Suzerainty 1923
Kuwait City
Persian Gulf
Suez Canal
Cairo
KUWAIT
Br. Protectorate
1899–1961
BAHRAIN
QATAR
TRUCIAL OMAN
HEJAZ
1916
EGYPT
Independent 1922
Nile R.
Red Sea
Medina
NEJD
(SAUDI ARABIA)
Mecca
ASIR
ANGLO-EGYPTIAN SUDAN
YEMEN
HADHRAMAUT
ERITREA
ADEN
Gulf of Aden
FRENCH SOMALILAND
ABYSSINIA
(ETHIOPIA)
BRITISH SOMALILAND
ITALIAN SOMALILAND
Ottoman Empire in 1914
(before World War I)
British protectorate, 1914
Turkey by 1925
League of Nations mandate
territory, 1920
PALESTINE
Br. Mandate
1920
Territories taken from
Ottoman Empire
0
300 miles
0
300 km
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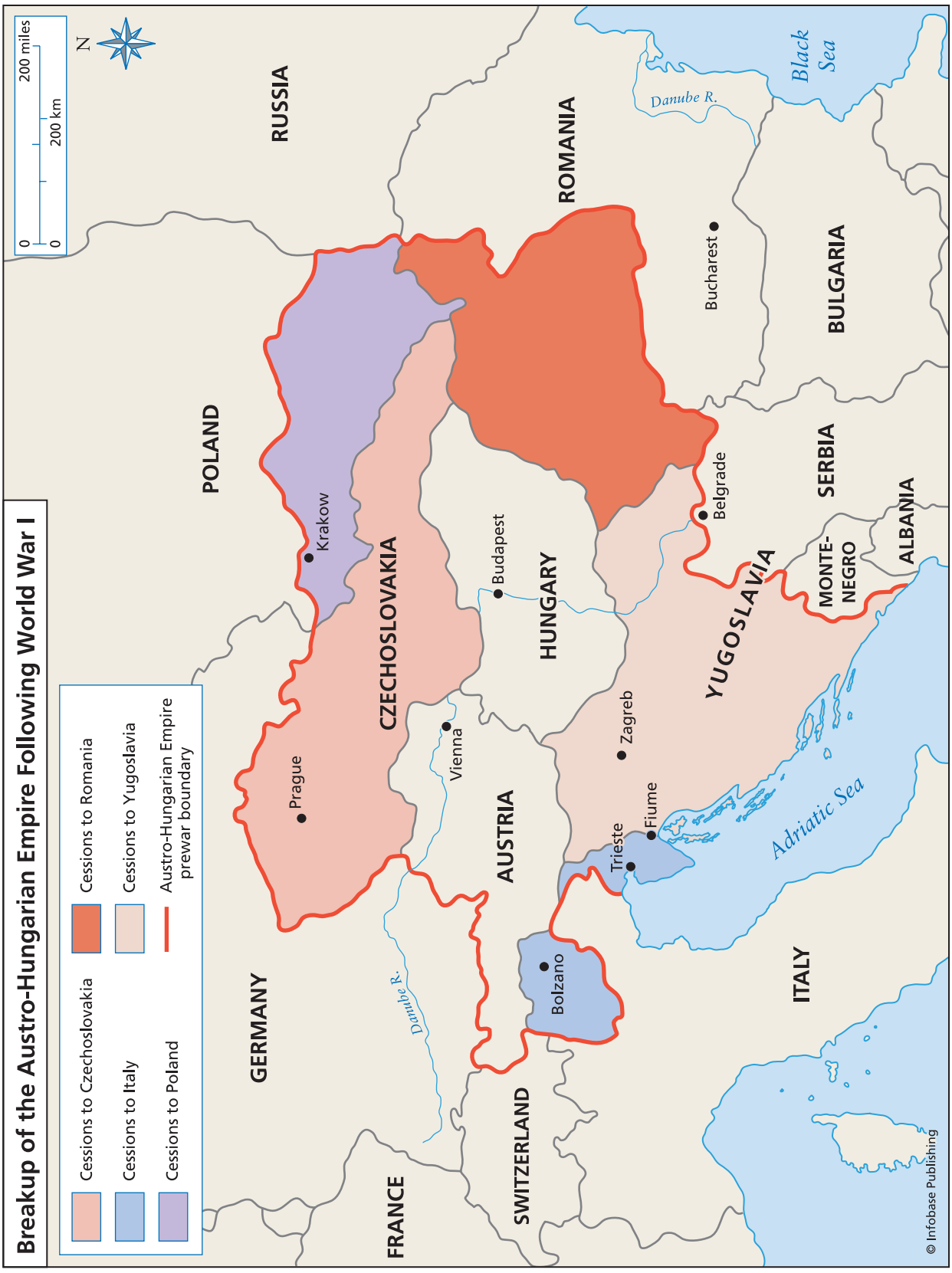
Europe after World War I, 1919
New and reconstituted nations
Demilitarized and Allied occupation zones
0 120 miles
0 120 km
N
FINLAND
Helsinki
Tallinn
ESTONIA
LATVIA
Riga
LITHUANIA
Kaunas
Moscow
RUSSIA (UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS, 1922)
Black Sea
Constantinople (Istanbul from 1930)
TURKEY
SWEDEN
Stockholm
Baltic Sea
EAST PRUSSIA
Danzig (Free city)
Warsaw
POLAND
ROMANIA
Bucharest
BULGARIA
Sofia
Athens
GREECE
NORWAY
Christiania (Oslo from 1925)
DENMARK
Copenhagen
Berlin
GERMANY
Prague
CZECHOSLOVAKIA
Budapest
HUNGARY
Belgrade
YUGOSLAVIA
ALBANIA
Tirane
Vienna
AUSTRIA
Adriatic Sea
Rome
ITALY
Sicily
North Sea
NETHERLANDS
Amsterdam
Brussels
BELGIUM
LUX.
SWITZERLAND
Bern
Corsica
Sardinia
Mediterranean Sea
UNITED KINGDOM
London
Paris
FRANCE
ANDORRA
Balearic Is.
IRELAND (IRISH FREE STATE, 1922)
ATLANTIC OCEAN
Madrid
SPAIN
PORTUGAL
Lisbon
© Infobase Publishing


Breakup of the Austro-Hungarian Empire Following World War I
Cessions to Romania
Cessions to Yugoslavia
Austro-Hungarian Empire prewar boundary
Cessions to Czechoslovakia
Cessions to Italy
Cessions to Poland
0
200 miles
0
200 km
N
RUSSIA
POLAND
ROMANIA
BULGARIA
GERMANY
CZECHOSLOVAKIA
HUNGARY
AUSTRIA
YUGOSLAVIA
SERBIA
MONTE-NEGRO
ALBANIA
FRANCE
SWITZERLAND
ITALY
Krakow
Prague
Budapest
Vienna
Zagreb
Belgrade
Bucharest
Trieste
Fiume
Bolzano
Danube R.
Danube R.
Black Sea
Adriatic Sea
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Colonialism in Africa, 1924
Black Sea
Caspian Sea
Mediterranean Sea
Red Sea
SPANISH MOROCCO
TUNISIA
MOROCCO
ALGERIA
LIBYA
KINGDOM OF EGYPT
RIO DE ORO
FRENCH WEST AFRICA
GAMBIA
PORTUGUESE GUINEA
SIERRA LEONE
LIBERIA
GOLD COAST
NIGERIA
FRENCH EQUATORIAL AFRICA
CAMEROONS
ANGLO EGYPTIAN SUDAN
ERITREA
ETHIOPIA
SOMALILAND
GOLD COAST (Br. Mandate) (Fr. Mandate)
SPANISH GUINEA
BELGIAN CONGO
UGANDA
KENYA
RUANDA-URUNDI (Belg. Mandate)
TANGANYIKA (British Mandate)
CABINDA
ATLANTIC OCEAN
ANGOLA
NORTH RHODESIA
NYASALAND
SOUTHWEST AFRICA
SOUTH RHODESIA
MOZAMBIQUE
MADAGASCAR
BECHUANA-LAND
Walvis Bay (BRITAIN)
SWAZILAND
UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA
BASUTOLAND
INDIAN OCEAN
Independent
Portuguese
British
French
Belgium
Spanish
Italian
Mandate areas
0 800 miles
0 800 km
N
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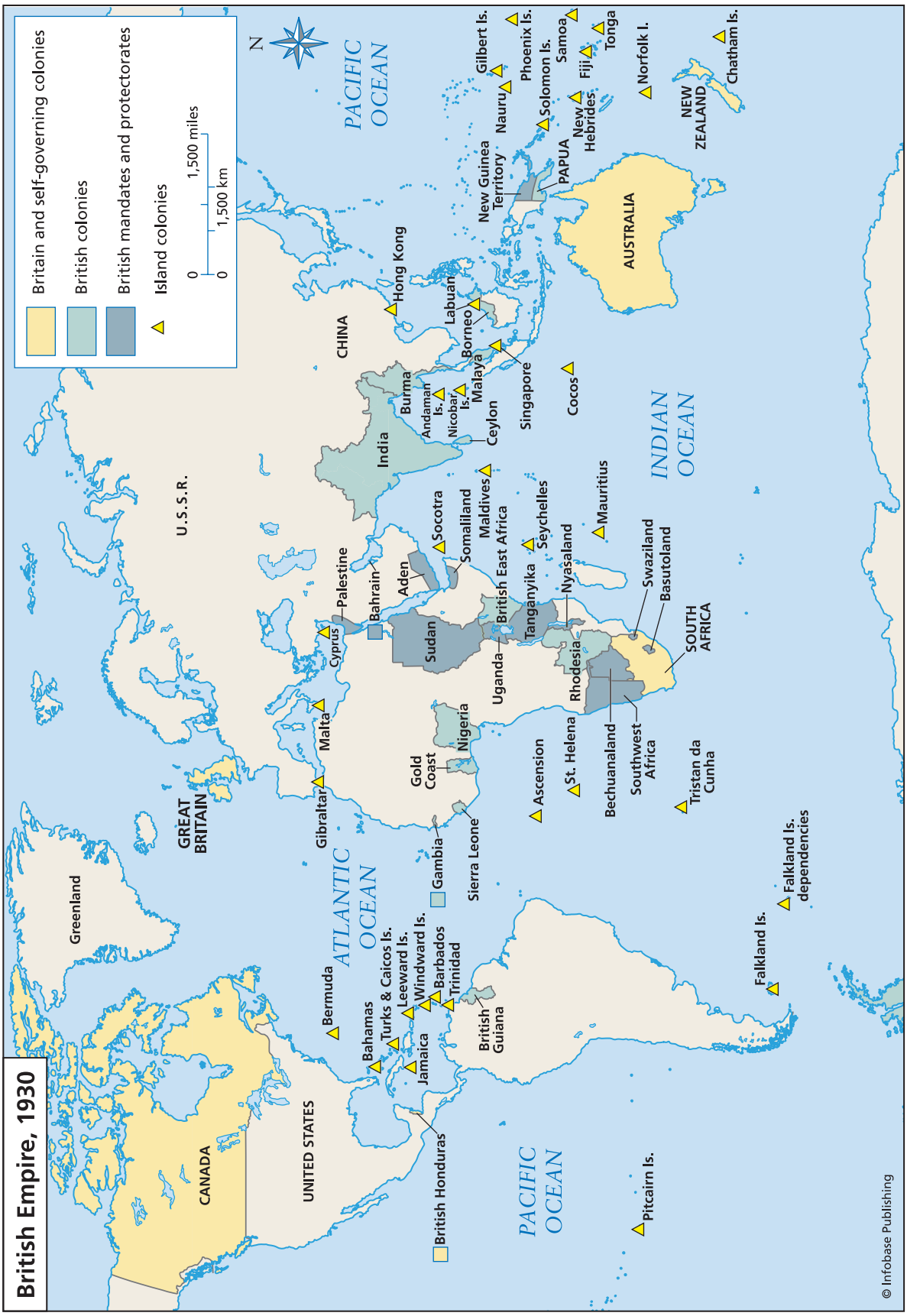
British Empire, 1930
Britain and self-governing colonies
British colonies
British mandates and protectorates
Island colonies
0 1,500 miles
0 1,500 km
N
PACIFIC OCEAN
ATLANTIC OCEAN
INDIAN OCEAN
PACIFIC OCEAN
GREAT BRITAIN
U.S.S.R.
CHINA
India
AUSTRALIA
NEW ZEALAND
CANADA
UNITED STATES
Greenland
Bermuda
Bahamas
Turks & Caicos Is.
Leeward Is.
Windward Is.
Barbados
Trinidad
Jamaica
British Honduras
British Guiana
Gibraltar
Malta
Cyprus
Palestine
Bahrain
Aden
Socotra
Somaliland
Maldives
Ceylon
Andaman Is.
Nicobar Is.
Burma
Malaya
Singapore
Labuan
Borneo
Hong Kong
New Guinea Territory
PAPUA
Nauru
Gilbert Is.
Phoenix Is.
Solomon Is.
Samoa
Fiji
Tonga
New Hebrides
Norfolk I.
Chatham Is.
Cocos
Mauritius
Seychelles
British East Africa
Tanganyika
Nyasaland
Rhodesia
Uganda
Sudan
Swaziland
Basutoland
SOUTH AFRICA
Bechuanaland
Southwest Africa
Ascension
St. Helena
Tristan da Cunha
Falkland Is.
Falkland Is. dependencies
Pitcairn Is.
Gold Coast
Nigeria
Gambia
Sierra Leone
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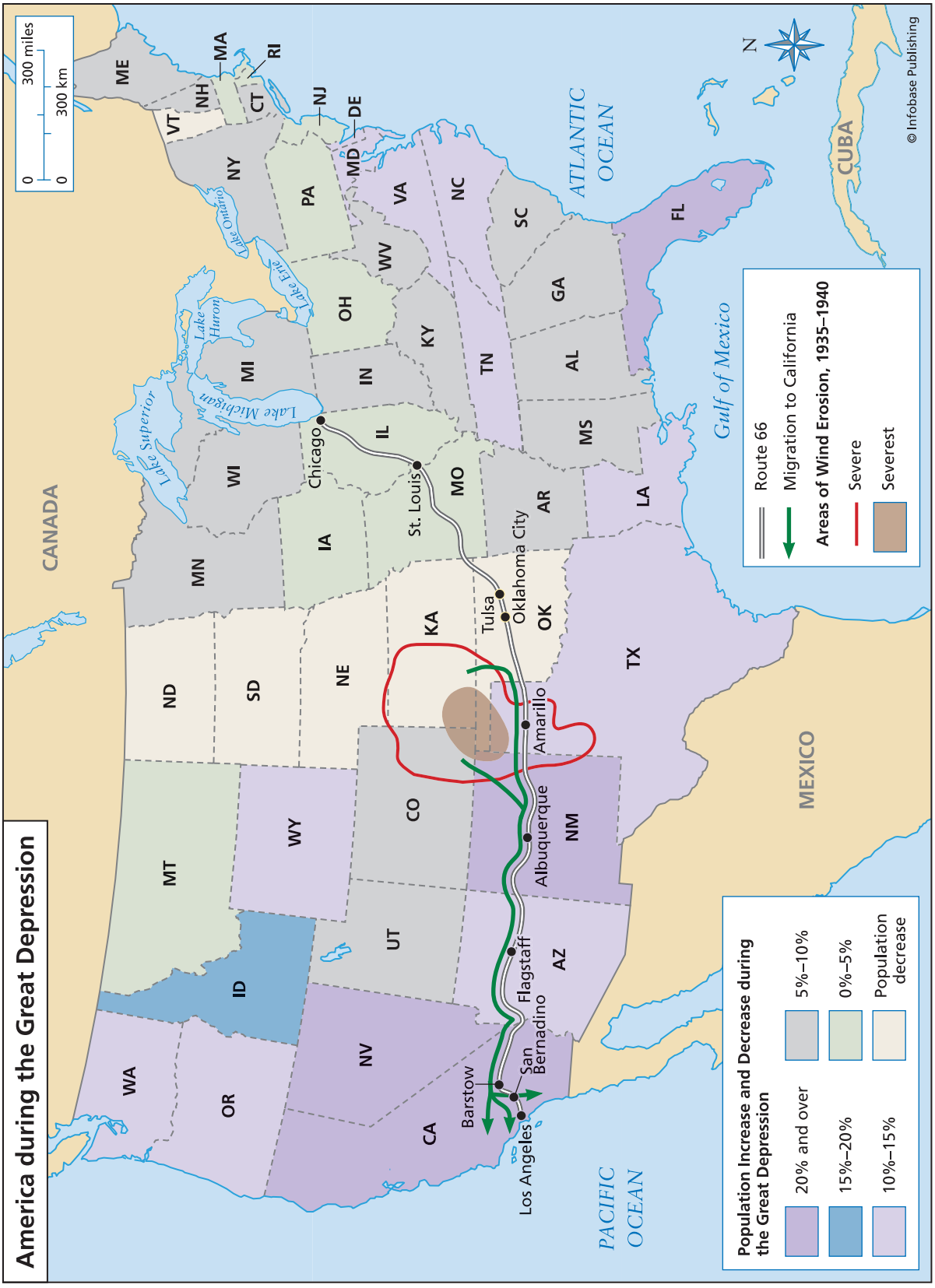
America during the Great Depression
0 300 miles
0 300 km
N
CANADA
MEXICO
CUBA
ATLANTIC OCEAN
PACIFIC OCEAN
Gulf of Mexico
Lake Superior
Lake Michigan
Lake Huron
Lake Erie
Lake Ontario
ME
VT
NH
MA
RI
CT
NJ
DE
MD
NY
PA
VA
NC
SC
GA
FL
AL
MS
LA
TX
AR
OK
KA
MO
IL
IN
OH
WV
KY
TN
MI
WI
MN
IA
NE
SD
ND
CO
NM
AZ
UT
NV
WY
MT
ID
WA
OR
CA
Chicago
St. Louis
Tulsa
Oklahoma City
Amarillo
Albuquerque
Flagstaff
San Bernadino
Barstow
Los Angeles
Route 66
Migration to California
Areas of Wind Erosion, 1935–1940
Severe
Severest
Population Increase and Decrease during the Great Depression
20% and over
15%–20%
10%–15%
5%–10%
0%–5%
Population decrease
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Communists in China, 1934–1949
Area occupied by Japan (with date)
Communist bases, 1934
Long March, 1934–1935
Area controlled by Chinese nationalists, 1937
Area under Communist control by 1949
0 300 miles
0 300 km
Amur R.
USSR
MANCHUKUO
1931
Mogolian People's Republic
1924
REHE
1933
NORTH KOREA
independent in 1948
KOREA
1895
SOUTH KOREA
independent in 1948
JAPAN
Sea of Japan
Beijing (Peking)
Tianjin
Yellow Sea
Yan'an
Communist headquarters, 1935
Gaotai
Huang He (Yellow R.)
Xi'an
Nanjing
Shanghai
CHINA
proclaimed People's Republic of China, Oct. 1949
Yangtze R.
Nanchang
Baiyu
Mekong R.
Chongqing
East China Sea
Fuzhou
INDIA
Guilin
Kunming
Guangzhou
Xun Xi R.
TAIWAN
1895;
Nationalist China, Dec. 1949
Hong Kong
Nanning
BURMA
FRENCH INDOCHINA
South China Sea
SIAM
Thailand from 1939
Mekong R.
Hainan
N
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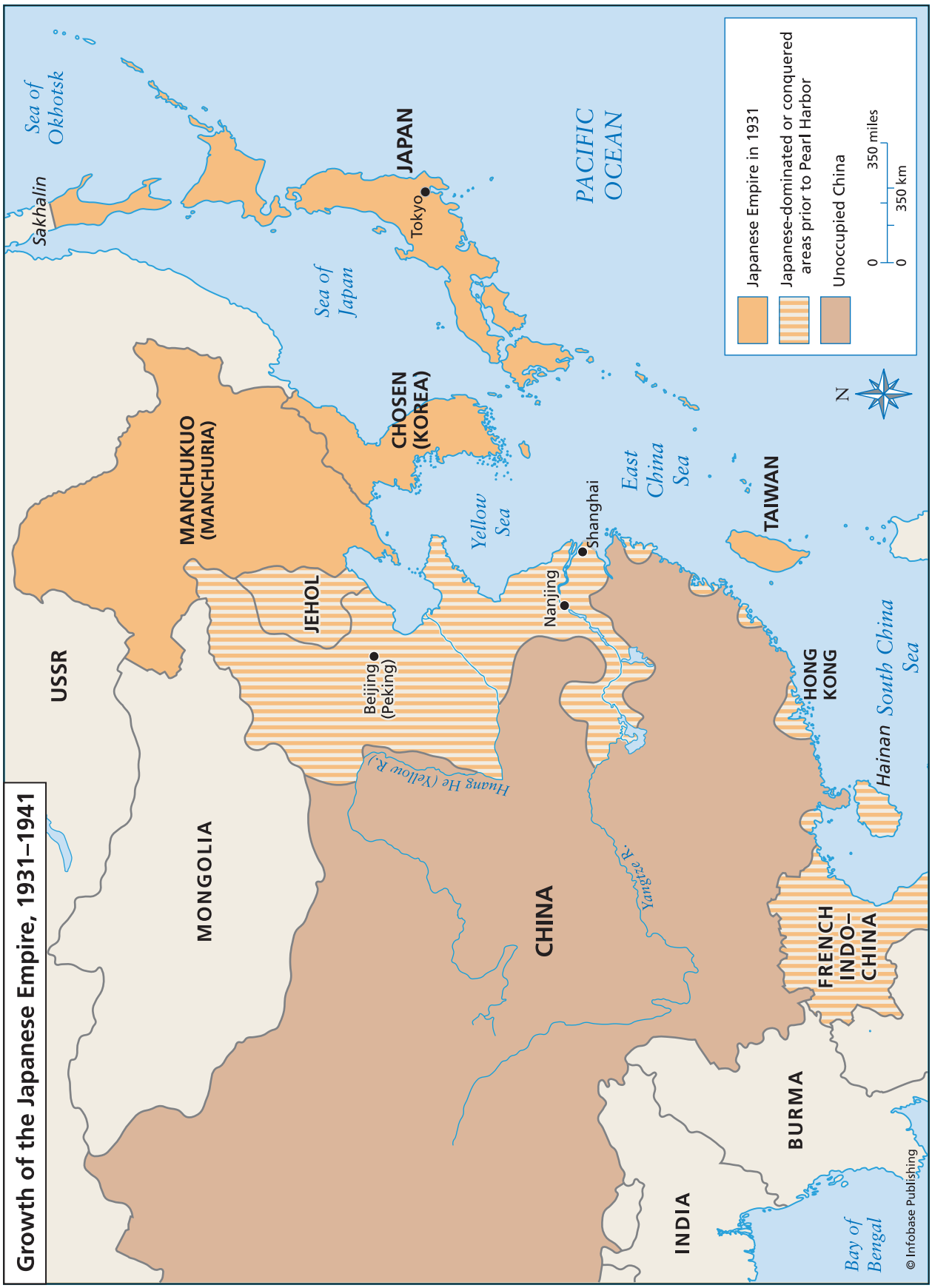
Growth of the Japanese Empire, 1931–1941
Japanese Empire in 1931
Japanese-dominated or conquered areas prior to Pearl Harbor
Unoccupied China
0 350 miles
0 350 km
N
Sea of Okhotsk
Sakhalin
JAPAN
Tokyo
PACIFIC OCEAN
Sea of Japan
CHOSEN (KOREA)
MANCHUKUO (MANCHURIA)
USSR
JEHOL
Beijing (Peking)
Yellow Sea
Shanghai
Nanjing
East China Sea
TAIWAN
HONG KONG
South China Sea
Hainan
Huang He (Yellow R.)
Yangtze R.
MONGOLIA
CHINA
FRENCH INDO-CHINA
BURMA
INDIA
Bay of Bengal
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Expansion of Nazi Germany, 1933–1939
Expansion of Nazi Germany, 1933–1939
Germany, 1933
Saar region, 1935
Rhineland, 1936
Territory annexed
1938
1939
SWEDEN
LATVIA
DENMARK
Baltic Sea
LITHUANIA
EAST PRUSSIA
Danzig
RUSSIAN OCCUPATION
North Sea
Hamburg
Berlin
Poznan
Vistula R.
Warsaw
Amsterdam
Hanover
NETHERLANDS
GERMANY
GENERAL GOVERNMENT OF POLAND
Weser R.
Elbe R.
Oder R.
BELGIUM
Leipzig
Cologne
Frankfurt
SUDETENLAND
Prague
Krakow
LUX.
PROTECTORATE OF BOHEMIA-MORAVIA
Nuremberg
Rhine R.
Paris
Saarbrücken
PROTECTORATE OF SLOVAKIA
Seine R.
Stuttgart
to Hungary 23 March 1939
Munich
Danube R.
Vienna
to Hungary 1938
Freiburg
Salzburg
FRANCE
Budapest
Rhône R.
LIECH.
Innsbruck
AUSTRIA
HUNGARY
SWITZERLAND
Drava R.
ROMANIA
N
Trieste
0
200 miles
0
200 km
ITALY
YUGOSLAVIA
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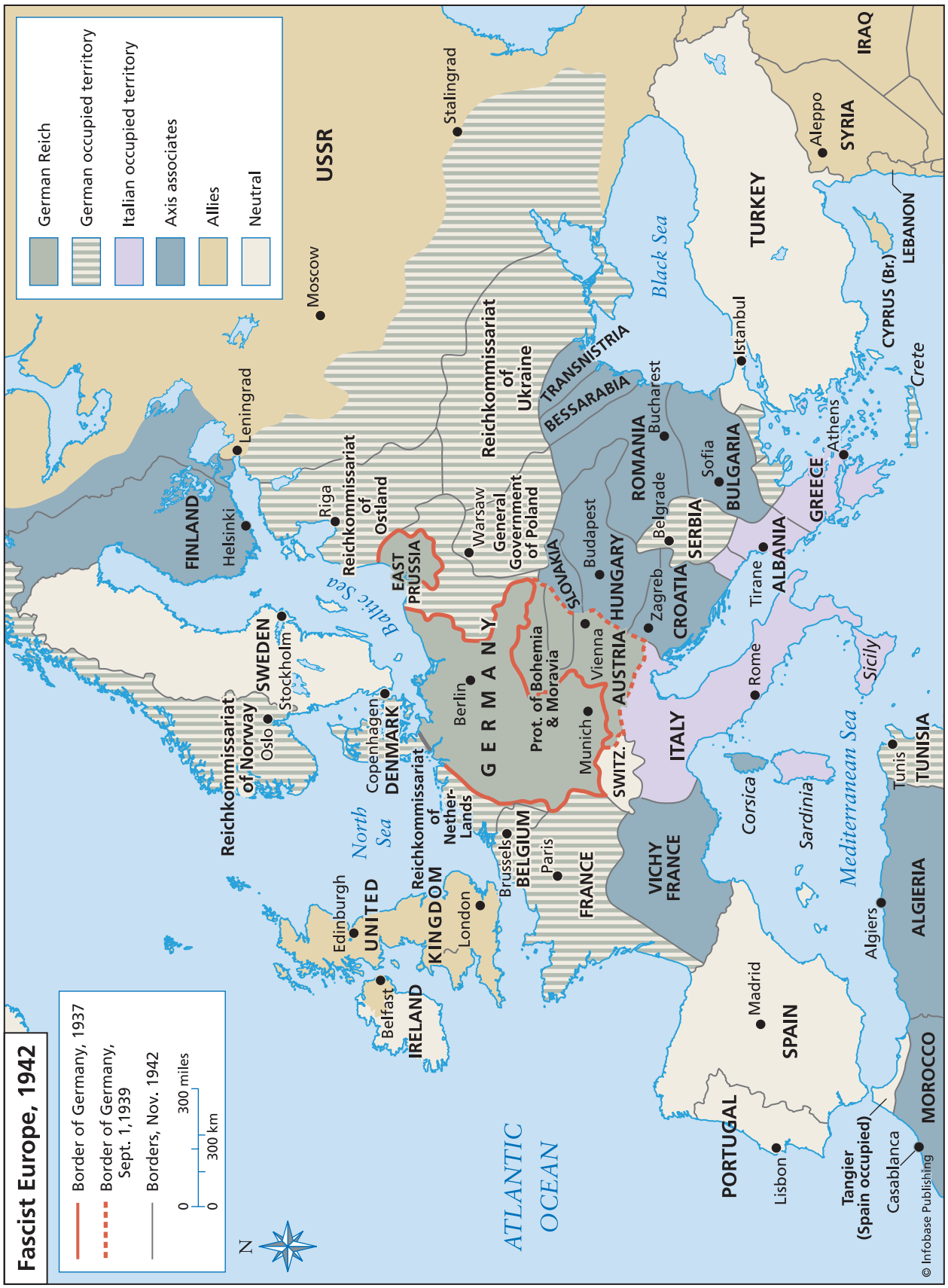
Fascist Europe, 1942
Border of Germany, 1937
Border of Germany, Sept. 1, 1939
Borders, Nov. 1942
0 300 miles
0 300 km
N
German Reich
German occupied territory
Italian occupied territory
Axis associates
Allies
Neutral
USSR
Moscow
Stalingrad
Leningrad
FINLAND
Helsinki
SWEDEN
Stockholm
Oslo
Reichkommissariat of Norway
Reichkommissariat of Ostland
Riga
Reichkommissariat of Ukraine
TRANSNISTRIA
BESSARABIA
Black Sea
TURKEY
Istanbul
IRAQ
SYRIA
Aleppo
LEBANON
CYPRUS (Br.)
Crete
Baltic Sea
EAST PRUSSIA
Warsaw
General Government of Poland
ROMANIA
Bucharest
BULGARIA
Sofia
GREECE
Athens
Budapest
SLOVAKIA
HUNGARY
SERBIA
Belgrade
ALBANIA
Tirane
Zagreb
CROATIA
Berlin
GERMANY
Prot. of Bohemia & Moravia
Vienna
AUSTRIA
Munich
SWITZ.
Copenhagen
DENMARK
Reichkommissariat of Nether-Lands
North Sea
Brussels
BELGIUM
Paris
FRANCE
VICHY FRANCE
ITALY
Rome
Sicily
Corsica
Sardinia
Mediterranean Sea
Tunis
TUNISIA
Algiers
ALGERIA
Edinburgh
UNITED KINGDOM
London
Belfast
IRELAND
Madrid
SPAIN
PORTUGAL
Lisbon
Tangier (Spain occupied)
Casablanca
MOROCCO
ATLANTIC OCEAN
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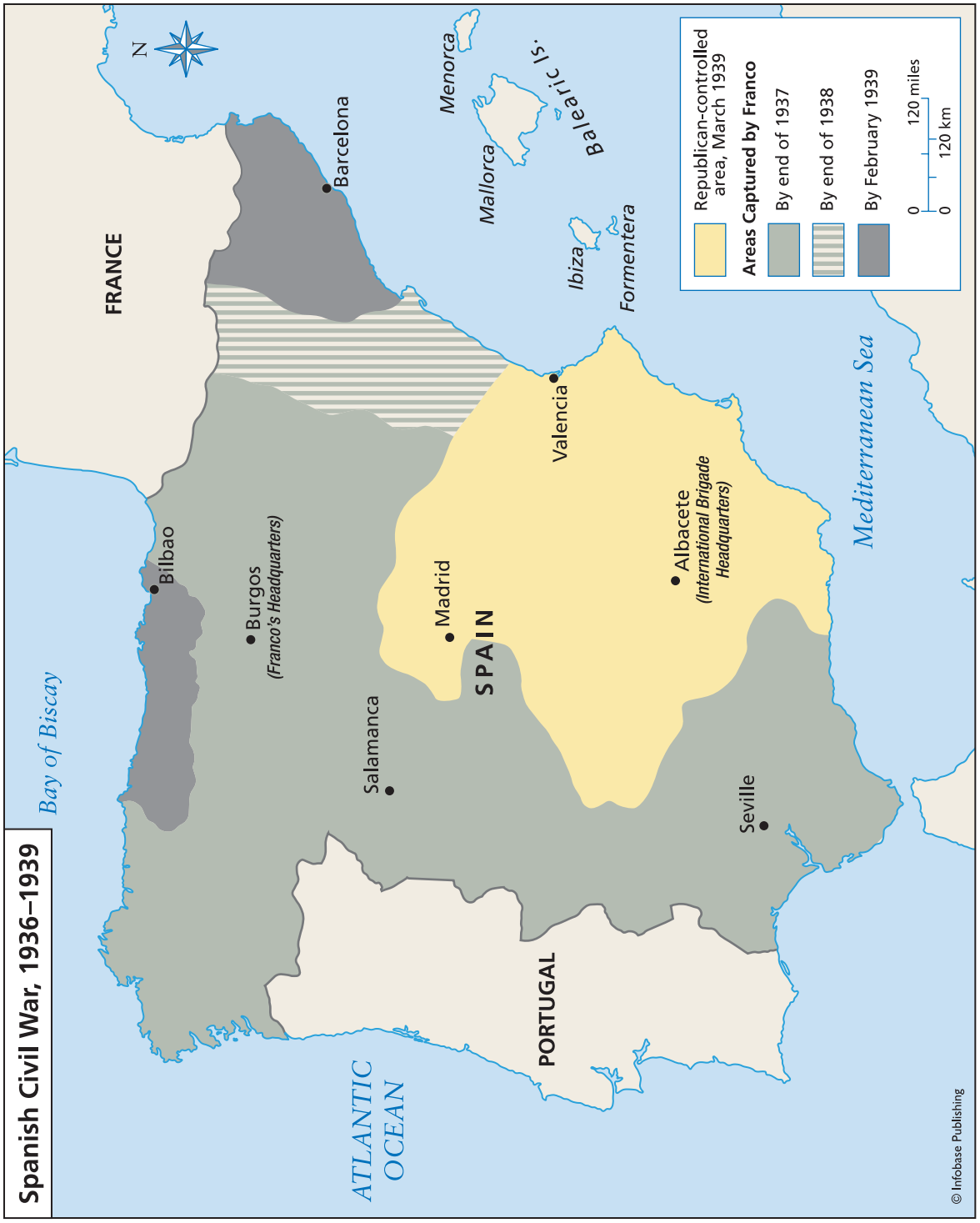
Spanish Civil War, 1936–1939
N
FRANCE
Barcelona
Menorca
Mallorca
Balearic Is.
Ibiza
Formentera
Bilbao
Burgos
(Franco's Headquarters)
Madrid
SPAIN
Valencia
Albacete
(International Brigade Headquarters)
Salamanca
Seville
PORTUGAL
Bay of Biscay
ATLANTIC OCEAN
Mediterranean Sea
Republican-controlled area, March 1939
Areas Captured by Franco
By end of 1937
By end of 1938
By February 1939
0 120 miles
0 120 km
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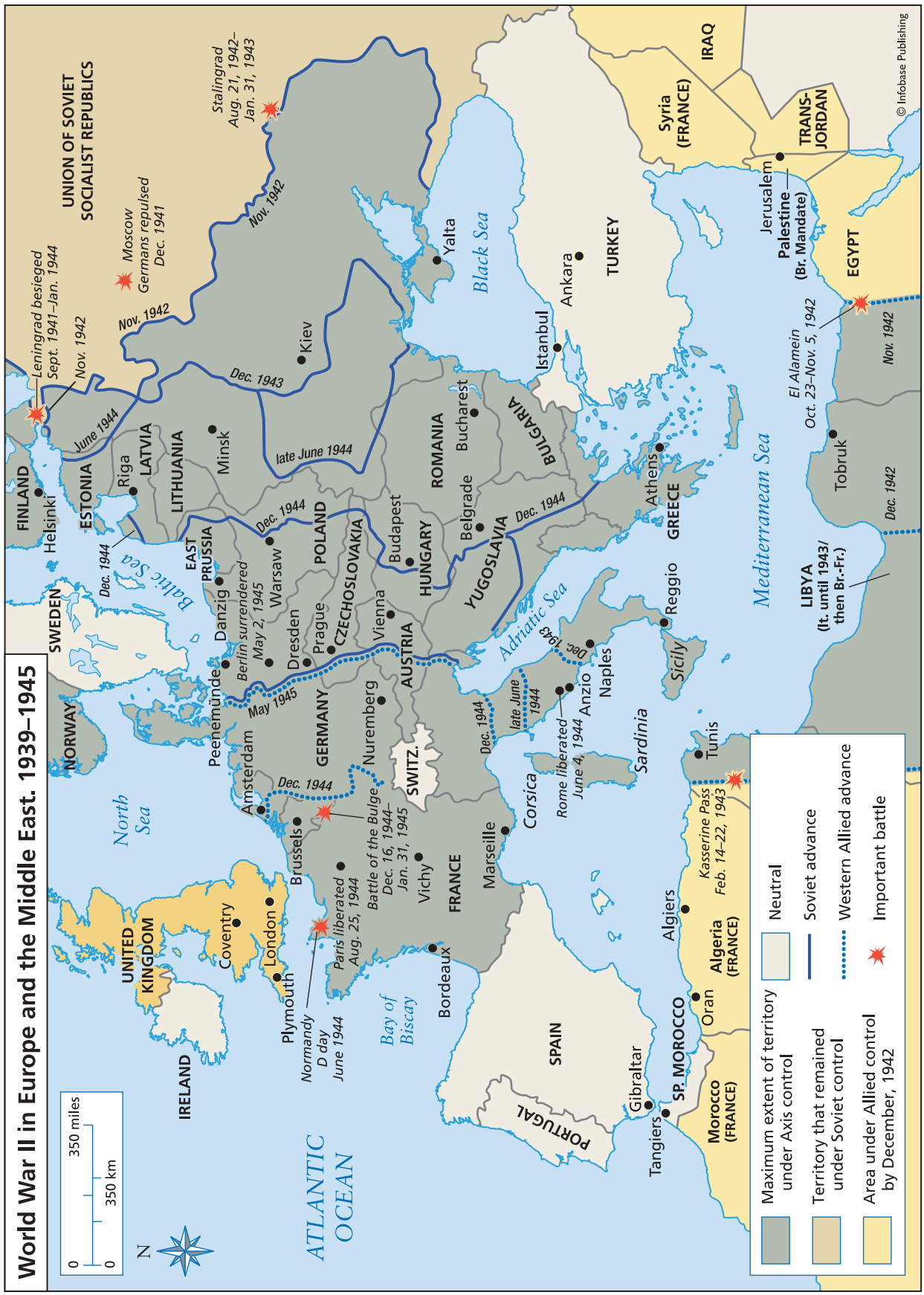
World War II in Europe and the Middle East. 1939–1945
0
350 miles
0
350 km
N
Maximum extent of territory under Axis control
Territory that remained under Soviet control
Area under Allied control by December, 1942
Neutral
Soviet advance
Western Allied advance
Important battle
UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS
FINLAND
SWEDEN
NORWAY
ESTONIA
LATVIA
LITHUANIA
EAST PRUSSIA
POLAND
GERMANY
CZECHOSLOVAKIA
AUSTRIA
HUNGARY
ROMANIA
BULGARIA
YUGOSLAVIA
GREECE
TURKEY
IRAQ
Syria (FRANCE)
TRANS-JORDAN
Jerusalem
Palestine (Br. Mandate)
EGYPT
LIBYA (It. until 1943/ then Br.-Fr.)
Algeria (FRANCE)
Morocco (FRANCE)
SP. MOROCCO
SPAIN
PORTUGAL
FRANCE
SWITZ.
UNITED KINGDOM
IRELAND
Helsinki
Riga
Minsk
Kiev
Moscow
Leningrad besieged Sept. 1941–Jan. 1944
Stalingrad Aug. 21, 1942–Jan. 31, 1943
Nov. 1942
Dec. 1943
late June 1944
June 1944
Dec. 1944
Danzig
Warsaw
Berlin surrendered May 2, 1945
Dresden
Prague
Vienna
Budapest
Belgrade
Bucharest
Yalta
Black Sea
Istanbul
Ankara
Athens
Reggio
Sicily
Naples
Anzio
Rome liberated June 4, 1944
late June 1944
Dec. 1943
Adriatic Sea
Mediterranean Sea
Tobruk
El Alamein Oct. 23–Nov. 5, 1942
Nov. 1942
Dec. 1942
Baltic Sea
Peenemünde
Amsterdam
Nuremberg
May 1945
Dec. 1944
Brussels
Paris liberated Aug. 25, 1944
Battle of the Bulge Dec. 16, 1944–Jan. 31, 1945
Normandy D day June 1944
Plymouth
London
Coventry
North Sea
Bay of Biscay
Vichy
Bordeaux
Marseille
Corsica
Sardinia
Tunis
Kasserine Pass Feb. 14–22, 1943
Algiers
Oran
Gibraltar
Tangiers
ATLANTIC OCEAN
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The Holocaust in Europe
Jews Killed In Europe, 1941–45
Country | 1941 Jewish Population | Estimated Number of Jews Killed by 1945
Austria 70,000 60,000
Belgium 85,000 28,000
Bulgaria 48,000 40,000
Czechoslovakia 81,000 60,000
Denmark 6,000 100
France 300,000 65,000
Germany 250,000 180,000
Greece 67,000 60,000
Hungary 710,000 200,000
Italy 120,000 9,000
Netherlands 140,000 104,000
Poland 3,000,000 2,600,000
Romania 1,000,000 750,000
Soviet Union 2,740,000 924,000
Yugoslavia 70,000 58,000
0 200 miles
0 200 km
N
NORWAY
SWEDEN
ESTONIA
LATVIA
LITHUANIA
Baltic Sea
DENMARK
USSR
Moscow
EAST PRUSSIA
Stutthof
Neuengamme
Ravensbrück
Sachsenhausen
Berlin
Papenburg
Elbe R.
NETHERLANDS
Vught
Bergen-Belsen
Mittelbau-Dora
Buchenwald
BELGIUM
GERMANY
Rhine R.
Paris
Seine R.
LUXEMBOURG
SAAR BASIN
Nuremberg
Natzweiler
Dachau
Landsberg
Flossenberg
Gross Rosen
Theresienstadt
Plaszow
Auschwitz-Birkenau
Chelmno
Vistula R.
Treblinka
Warsaw
POLAND
Sobibor
Maidanek
Belzec
Kiev
Dnieper R.
CZECHOSLOVAKIA
Danube R.
Dniester R.
FRANCE
SWITZERLAND
AUSTRIA
HUNGARY
ROMANIA
ITALY
YUGOSLAVIA
Black Sea
German border, 1939
Movement of Einsatzgruppen (Special-Action Groups)
Extermination camp
Concentration camp
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Partition of India, 1947–1949
N
Kabul
AFGHANISTAN
Kashmir
Srinagar
KUNLUN MTS.
CHINA
Lahore
Amritsar
SULAIMAN RANGE
Punjab
HIMALAYAS
Tibet
(Xizang)
WEST
PAKISTAN
1947 independent
Delhi
Jaipur
NEPAL
Katmandu
BHUTAN
Ganges R.
Karachi
THAR DESERT
Bengal
EAST
PAKISTAN
INDIA
1947 independent
Dhaka
Mandalay
BURMA
DECCAN
PLATEAU
Hyderabad
WESTERN GHATS
EASTERN GHATS
Bay of
Bengal
Arabian Sea
Bangalore
Madras
Calicut
Pondicherry
Colombo
SRI LANKA
INDIAN OCEAN
Major Indian provinces affected by partition
Territory disputed between India and Pakistan
Hindu refugee migration
Muslim refugee migration
Boundary of India before Independence
Boundary of India and Pakistan after independence and partition, August 1947
U.N. cease-fire line between India and Pakistan, 1949
0
300 miles
0
300 km
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Palestine and Israel after 1948–1949 War
LEBANON
Qiryat Shemona
GOLAN HEIGHTS
SYRIA
Mediterranean Sea
Nahariyya
Haifa
Lake Tiberias
Nazareth
Hadera
Jenin
Jordan R.
Netanya
Nablus
Herzliyya
West Bank
Tel Aviv
Jaffa
Ramallah
Amman
Ashdod
Jericho
Jerusalem
Ashqelon
Bethlehem
Gaza Strip
Gaza
Hebron
Dead Sea
JORDAN
Khan Yunis
Rafah
Beersheba
Dimona
Nitzana
NEGEV
EGYPT
N
Territory of Israel
Area under Jordanian control
Area under Egyptian control
Demilitarized zone
1949 armistice line
0
50 miles
0
50 km
Eilat
Gulf of Aqaba
SAUDI ARABIA
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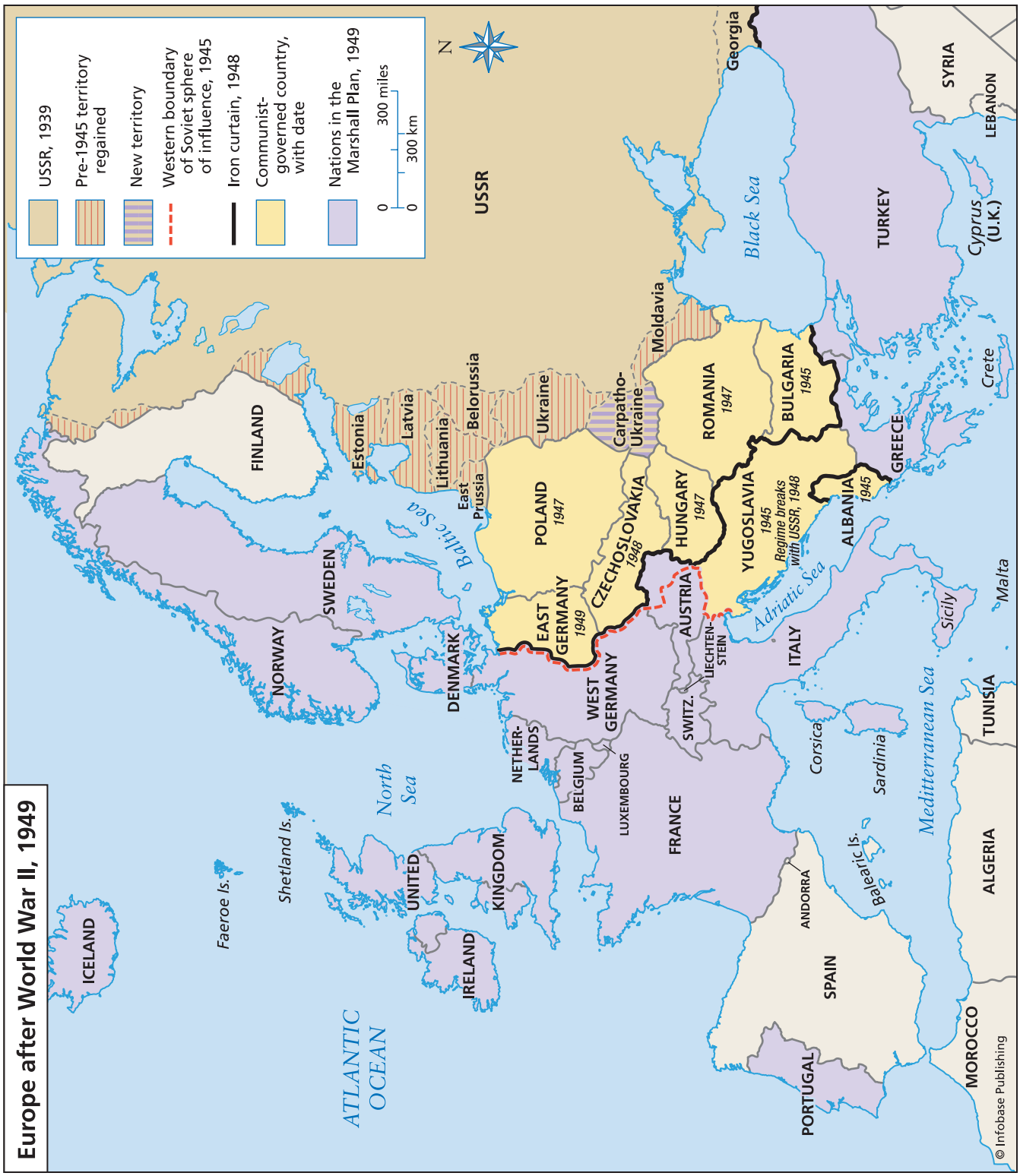
Post–World War II Occupation Zones of Germany M159


Europe after World War II, 1949
USSR, 1939
Pre-1945 territory regained
New territory
Western boundary of Soviet sphere of influence, 1945
Iron curtain, 1948
Communist-governed country, with date
Nations in the Marshall Plan, 1949
0 300 miles
0 300 km
N
ICELAND
Faeroe Is.
Shetland Is.
ATLANTIC OCEAN
North Sea
UNITED KINGDOM
IRELAND
NORWAY
SWEDEN
FINLAND
USSR
Estonia
Latvia
Lithuania
Belorussia
Ukraine
Moldavia
Georgia
Baltic Sea
East Prussia
POLAND 1947
EAST GERMANY 1949
WEST GERMANY
DENMARK
NETHER-LANDS
BELGIUM
LUXEMBOURG
FRANCE
CZECHOSLOVAKIA 1948
Carpatho-Ukraine
HUNGARY 1947
AUSTRIA
SWITZ.
LIECHTEN-STEIN
ROMANIA 1947
YUGOSLAVIA 1945
Regime breaks with USSR, 1948
BULGARIA 1945
ALBANIA 1945
GREECE
ITALY
Adriatic Sea
Black Sea
TURKEY
SYRIA
LEBANON
Cyprus (U.K.)
Crete
Malta
Sicily
Corsica
Sardinia
Mediterranean Sea
TUNISIA
ALGERIA
MOROCCO
SPAIN
PORTUGAL
ANDORRA
Balearic Is.
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